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HISTORY OF CHILDHOOD QUARTERLY:

The Journal of Psychohistory

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INFANTICIDE IN THE WEST

FATHERS AND SONS REVISITED

PSYCHOHISTORICAL APHORISMS

**PSYCHODYNAMICS OF
THE VICTORIAN FAMILY**

**BIBLIOGRAPHIC GUIDE
FOR CHILDHOOD HISTORY**



HISTORY OF CHILDHOOD QUARTERLY:

The Journal of Psychohistory

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FROM THE SOURCES

Tallyrand's Gratitude to his Parents:

"My father held the same views as his mother concerning the education befitting children . . . Too much care would have seemed pedantry; affection too openly expressed would have been regarded as quite unusual and therefore ridiculous . . . Paternal care had not yet come into fashion; the fashion was indeed the very reverse, when I was a child; thus my early years were cheerlessly spent in an outlying district of Paris. At the age of four, I was still there . . . I had been painfully impressed by having been so hurriedly despatched to college without having been previously taken to my father and mother. I was then eight years old, and the eyes of my parents had not yet rested on me . . . I am, perhaps, the only man of distinguished birth and belonging to a numerous and esteemed family, who did not, for one week in his life, enjoy the sweetness of being under his father's roof . . . In after-life, it has struck me that my parents, having decided, in consequence of what they regarded as the interest of the family that I should be trained to a profession for which I showed no aptitude, were afraid that they might fail to carry out their object if they saw me too often. That fear is a proof of affection, for which I ought to feel indebted to them."

Charles Maurice de Talleyrand,
Memoirs (Paris, 1895), Vol. I,
pp. 5-8.

INFANTICIDE: A HISTORICAL SURVEY

WILLIAM L.
LANGER

Professor Langer's overview of infanticide in the West was originally written as an introduction to a projected reprint of William B. Ryan's Infanticide: Its Law, Prevalence, Prevention and History (London, 1862). Since the reprint did not materialize, he has revised and documented the essay for readers of the Journal. He reminds us, however, that it still makes no pretence to being more than a historical review of an important subject which is only now beginning to attract the attention it deserves.

Infanticide, that is, the wilful destruction of newborn babes through exposure, starvation, strangulation, smothering, poisoning, or through the use of some lethal weapon, has been viewed with abhorrence by Christians almost from the beginning of their era. Although often held up to school-children as an abomination practiced by the Chinese or other Asians, its role in Western civilization, even in modern times, has rarely been suggested by historians, sociologists or even demographers.

Yet in these days of world population crisis there can hardly be a more important historical question than that of the chronically superfluous population growth and the methods by which humanity has dealt with it. Among non-Christian peoples (with the exception of the Jews) infanticide has from time immemorial been the accepted procedure for

disposing not only of deformed or sickly infants, but of all such newborns as might strain the resources of the individual family or the larger community. At the present day it is still employed by so-called underdeveloped peoples in the effort to keep the population in reasonable adjustment to the available food supply. Among the Eskimos of Arctic Canada, for instance, many babies are set out on the ice to freeze if the father or elder of the tribe decides that they would be a continuing drain on the means of subsistence.¹

In ancient times, at least, infanticide was not a legal obligation. It was a practice freely discussed and generally condoned by those in authority and ordinarily left to the decision of the father as the responsible head of the family. Modern humanitarian sentiment makes it difficult to recapture the relatively detached attitude of the parents towards their offspring. Babies were looked upon as the unavoidable result of normal sex relations, often as an undesirable burden rather than as a blessing. More girls than boys were disposed of, presumably to keep down the number of potential mothers as well as in recognition of the fact that they would never contribute greatly to the family income. In the seventeenth century, Jesuit missionaries to China were horrified to find that in Peking alone several thousand babes (almost exclusively females) were thrown on the streets like refuse, to be collected each morning by carriers who dumped them into a huge pit outside the city.²

The attitude of the ancient Greeks in this matter is well reflected in the pronouncements of Plato and Aristotle. The former favored the careful regulation of all sex relations, so as to produce the most perfect type of human being, while Aristotle was more concerned with the problem of population pressure. With its limited resources, ancient Greece, according to a modern authority, "lived always under the shadow of the fear of too many mouths to feed." Neglect of this problem by many city-states was denounced by Aristotle as "a never-failing cause of poverty among the citizens, and poverty was the parent of revolution." He firmly contended that the size of the population should be limited by law and suggested that abortion might be preferable to exposure as a method of control.³

In Hellenistic Greece, infanticide, chiefly in the form of exposure of female babies, was carried to such an extent that the average family was exceptionally small. Parents rarely reared more than one daughter, with the result that there was an altogether abnormal discrepancy in the numbers of the sexes.⁴

The practice of the Hellenistic Greeks was continued under Roman rule and probably influenced Roman attitudes. After all, Rome itself was traditionally founded by the exposed youngsters, Romulus and Remus, who were saved from their certain fate by the nursing of a friendly wolf. Throughout the Republic and long after the authority of

the father over his family had worn thin, unwanted children continued to be disposed of in the accepted way. It was thought altogether natural that proletarians, poverty-stricken and hopeless, should protect themselves from further responsibility. As among the Greeks, there was a marked disparity between the sexes, which suggests that many bastards and a substantial number of female infants were abandoned if not murdered by drowning.⁵ Seneca saw nothing unreasonable in this procedure, while Pliny the Elder defended the practice on the ground that the size of the population must be regulated. Edward Gibbon, writing in the late eighteenth century on *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, denounced this exposure of children as "the prevailing and stubborn vice of antiquity," and charged the Roman Empire with being "stained with the blood of infants." Lecky, writing a century later, speaks of infanticide as "one of the deepest stains of the ancient civilization" and as "a crying vice of the empire."⁶

A decisive change of attitude came with Christianity. The Church fathers were undoubtedly, in this respect as in others, influenced by Judaic Law which, while it did not mention infanticide specifically in the discussion of murder, was always interpreted by Rabbinical Law as an equivalent.⁷ Philo Judaeus, the eminent Jewish-Hellenistic philosopher, denounced the exposure of children and declared it a form of murder. Increasingly, Christian leaders thundered against infanticide as a pagan practice and insisted that all human life be held inviolable. Yet it was only with the triumph of Christianity that the Emperor Constantine in 318 A.D. declared the slaying of a son or daughter by a father to be a crime, and only at the end of the fourth century that the Emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian made infanticide a crime punishable by death.⁸

While the contribution of Christian theologians to the adoption of a more humane attitude is obvious, it should be remembered that the later Roman Empire apparently suffered from progressive depopulation, due to devastating epidemics, recurrent famines and general disorder.⁹ Under the circumstances there was clearly no need to limit population growth. On the contrary, increased fertility was desired. Hence the repetition of the exhortation of the Bible: "Be fruitful and multiply." Until the late eighteenth century at least, when the great upswing of the European population set in, large families were the fashion, being regarded as the blessing of a benevolent deity.

Yet there can be little doubt that child murder continued to be practiced, even in the most advanced countries of western Europe. Lecky, in his *History of European Morals* (1869), speaks of the popular distinction in the early Middle Ages between infanticide and exposure, the latter offense not being punishable by law: "It was practiced on a gigantic scale with absolute impunity, noticed by writers with most frigid indif-

ference and, at least in the case of destitute parents, considered a very venial offence."¹⁰

Until the sixteenth century, and in some places until much later, the unenviable task of dealing with the problem was left to the Church authorities. In the hope of reducing the exposure and almost certain death of newborn children (especially girls), foundling hospitals were opened in the eighth century in Milan, Florence, Rome, and other cities. But these institutions proved to be ineffectual, since most of the children had to be sent to the country to be nursed, and the majority soon succumbed either through neglect or more positive action on the part of the wet-nurses.

Infanticide by out-and-out violence of various kinds was probably always exceptional. Throughout European history the authorities were baffled and frustrated primarily by the many cases of reputed suffocation, the "overlaying" or "overlying" of an infant in bed by its allegedly drunken parents. This could and surely did occur accidentally, but the suspicion, always present and unusually warranted, was that of intentional riddance of an unwanted child. Since it was impossible to prove premeditated crime, the authorities contented themselves with the imposition of penance in the case of married women, who were condemned to live for at least a year on bread and water. The unwed mothers and the presumed witches, however, were to bear the brunt as examples and admonitions. A girl known to have committed infanticide in any form might be absolved by pleading insanity, but was otherwise condemned to suffer the death penalty, usually in the most diabolical imaginable manner. Medieval sources tell of women being tied in a sack, along with a dog, a cock, or some other uncongenial companion and thrown into the river for a supreme struggle for life. This method was probably never in general use, and in any case seems to have been abandoned by the end of the Middle Ages.¹¹ A detailed analysis of the court and prison records of Nürnberg from 1513 to 1777 lists by name eighty-seven women executed for infanticide, all but four of them unmarried girls who had committed violent murder. Prior to 1500 the penalty in Nürnberg as in most of Germany was burial alive, often with gruesome refinements. During the sixteenth century the usual method was drowning, and after 1580 decapitation. Hangings were quite exceptional. It was hardly worse, however, than being buried alive, being drowned or decapitated, penalties which continued to be practiced, though less and less frequently, until the nineteenth century.

In any case, overlaying continued to be a vexing problem until modern times. In 1500, the Bishop of Fiesole set fines and penalties for parents who kept babies in bed with them. In the eighteenth century, a Florentine craftsman designed a basket frame (*arcuccio*) which would protect the child from smothering. An Austrian decree of 1784 forbade

having children under the age of five in bed with parents, and Prussian legislation of 1794 reduced the age of the infants to two.¹²

Government authorities were apparently no more successful than the clergy in checking the practice of overlaying, at least among married couples. One may safely assume that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the poor, hardly able to support the family they already had, evaded responsibility by disposing of further additions. But by the eighteenth century another form of infanticide became so prevalent that governments were at their wits' end in their efforts to combat it. For reasons too complex and still too obscure, there was a marked increase in sexual immorality, in seduction, and in illegitimacy. The evidence suggests that in all European countries, from Britain to Russia, the upper classes felt perfectly free to exploit sexually girls who were at their mercy. As late as 1871, Mr. Cooper, the Secretary of the Society for the Rescue of Young Women and Children, testified before a Parliamentary Committee that at least nine out of ten of the girls in trouble were domestic servants: "in many instances the fathers of their children are their masters, or their masters' sons, or their masters' relatives, or their masters' visitors." To be sure, lords of the manor often recognized the offspring as their own and raised them as members of the family. But in the new factory towns foremen favored amenable girls for employment. Young aristocrats, too, were much to blame. When traveling they expected to find relaxation with the chamber maids of the inn. It seems to have been taken for granted that the upper classes were entitled to the favors of pretty girls of the lower classes and that fornication was looked upon as an inevitable aspect of lower class life.

Yet if a girl became pregnant, she was left to shift for herself. She at once became an object of obloquy and might well be whipped out of the village by the more fortunate members of her sex. Many sought anonymity and aid in the cities, where professional midwives would, for a pittance, not only perform an abortion or deliver the child, but would also undertake to nurse and care for it, it being fully understood that the mother would not need to worry further about it. Starvation or a dose of opiates would settle the child's fate in a matter of days.

Naturally all girls in trouble were not willing to resort to so drastic a solution. There was always the possibility, admittedly slim, that if the unwanted baby were left on the steps of a church or mansion, it might stir the sympathies of a stranger and be adopted by him, as was Tom Jones by Squire Allworthy. Many young mothers therefore bundled up their offspring, and left them at churches or other public places. In the late seventeenth century, St. Vincent de Paul was so appalled by the number of babies to be seen daily on the steps of Notre Dame that he appealed to ladies of the court to finance an asylum for foundlings. His efforts soon inspired others to similar action, and before long most

large towns in Catholic Europe had established similar institutions. In England a retired sea captain, Thomas Coram, was so depressed by the daily sight of infant corpses thrown on the dust heaps of London that he devoted seventeen years in soliciting support for a foundling hospital. Eventually a group of his supporters petitioned the King to charter a Foundling Hospital so as "to prevent the frequent murders of poor, miserable infants at their birth," and "to suppress the inhuman custom of exposing new-born infants to perish in the streets."¹³

The story of the foundling hospitals is too long and complicated to be more than sketched here. For a time they were the favorite charity of the wealthy and huge sums were expended in lavish construction and equipment. Although the London and Paris hospitals were the best known, the establishment at St. Petersburg, actively patronized by the imperial court, was undoubtedly the most amazing. Two competent western observers of the early nineteenth century agree in their enthusiastic praise. It was housed in the former palaces of Counts Razumovski and Bobrinski and occupied a huge tract in the very center of St. Petersburg. By the mid-1830s, it had 25,000 children on its rolls and was admitting 5000 newcomers annually. Since no questions were asked and the place was attractive, almost half of the newborn babies were deposited there by their parents. A dozen doctors and 600 wet-nurses were in attendance to care for the children during the first six weeks, after which they were sent to peasant nurses in the country. At the age of six (if they survived to that age) they were returned to St. Petersburg for systematic education. The program was excellent, but its aims were impossible to achieve. Despite all excellent management and professional efforts, thirty to forty percent of the children died during the first six weeks and hardly a third reached the age of six.¹⁴

The chronicle of the hospitals everywhere was one of devoted effort but unrelieved tragedy. The assignment was simply impossible to carry out. Everywhere they were besieged by mostly unwed mothers eager to dispose of their babies without personally or directly committing infanticide. Even so, actual child murder appears to have continued to an alarming extent, due to the fear of many girls of being identified at the hospital. Napoleon therefore decreed (January 18, 1811) that there should be hospitals in every departement of France, and that each should be equipped with a turntable (*tour*), so that the mother or her agent could place the child on one side, ring a bell, and have a nurse take the child by turning the table, the mother remaining unseen and unquestioned.

Although it is agreed that Napoleon's provision of *tours* helped to diminish the number of outright child murders, it meant that the hospitals were swamped with babies. It was impossible to find enough wet-nurses for even a short period, and most of the infants had to be shipped

off to the country at once. Relatively few survived the long journey over rough roads in crude carts, and those happy few generally succumbed before long due to the ignorant treatment or the intentional or unintentional neglect of their foster parents. Small wonder that Malthus referred to the asylums as "these horrible receptacles," while others spoke freely of "legalized infanticide." In the years 1817-1820, the number of foundlings in charge of the Paris hospital, many of them brought in from the provinces, and, interestingly, about a third of them children of married couples, was about equal to a third of all babies born in Paris in that period. Of 4779 infants admitted in 1818, 2370 died in the first three months. It would be unjust, no doubt, to put the entire blame for this situation on the foundling hospitals. Many of the infants were diseased or half dead when they arrived, and we may well believe that prior to the nineteenth century many newborn babies would in any event have succumbed to the methods of clothing and feeding then still in vogue.¹⁵

By 1830, the situation in France had become desperate. In 1833 the number of babies left with the foundling hospitals reached the fantastic figure of 164,319. Authorities were all but unanimous in the opinion that the introduction of the *tours* had been disastrous, that they had, in fact, put a premium on immorality. Thereupon the *tours* were gradually abolished until by 1862 only five were left. Instead, the government embarked upon a program of outside aid to unwed mothers. Presumably the growing practice of birth control and the advances made in pediatrics also contributed to the reduction in infant mortality.¹⁶

The story of the foundlings in England was no less tragic than that of France. The London Foundling Hospital (opened in 1741) was intended for the reception of London children only, but the pressure for admissions soon became so great as to give rise "to the disgraceful scene of women scrambling and fighting to get to the door, that they might be of the fortunate few to reap the benefit of the Asylum."¹⁷ Under the circumstances Parliament in 1756 provided a modest grant on condition that the hospital be open to all comers, but that at the same time asylums for exposed or deserted young children be opened in all counties, ridings, and divisions of the kingdom. Parish officers promptly took advantage of the act to empty their workhouses of infant poor and dump them on the new hospices, while others had them shipped to London. By 1760, the London Hospital was deluged with 4229 newcomers, making a total of 14,934 admissions in the preceding four years. It was impossible to cope with the situation, and "instead of being a protection to the living, the institution became, as it were, a charnel-house for the dead."¹⁸ In 1760, Parliament reversed itself by putting an end to indiscriminate admissions and returned the care of the provincial foundlings to the parishes. The London Hospital soon be-

came more of an orphanage than a foundling asylum. By 1850, it had only 460 children and admitted only 77 annually.¹⁹

The parish officers were helpless in the face of the problem. A law of 1803 specified that charges of infanticide must be tried according to the same rules of evidence as applied to murder, while yet another law required that "it must be proved that the entire body of the child has actually been born into the world in a living state, and the fact of its having breathed is not conclusive proof thereof. There must be independent circulation in the child before it can be accounted alive." In other words, to kill a child by crushing its head with a hairbrush or hammer, or cutting its throat was technically not a crime, so long as its lower extremities were still in the body of the mother.²⁰ Since the required evidence was all but impossible to obtain, infanticide could be committed almost with impunity. In any case, juries refused, even in the most flagrant cases, to convict the offender, holding that capital punishment was far too harsh a penalty to pay when the real culprit was usually the girl's seducer. So infanticide flourished in England. Disraeli was only the most famous of several writers who maintained that it was hardly less prevalent in England than on the banks of the Ganges.²¹ Dr. Lankester, one of the coroners for Middlesex, charged that even the police seemed to think no more of finding a dead child than of finding a dead dog or cat. There were, he asserted, hundreds, nay thousands of women living in London who were guilty of having at one time or another destroyed their offspring, without having been discovered.²²

By the mid-century the matter had become one of public scandal. One doctor in 1846 commented on "the great indifference displayed by parents and others in the lower ranks of life with regard to infant life." Women employed in the factories and fields had no choice but to leave their babies in the care of professional nurses, sometimes called "killer nurses," who made short shrift of their charges by generous doses of opiates.²³

Worse yet was the revelation that some women enrolled their infants in Burial Clubs, paying a trifling premium until, after a decent interval, the child died of starvation, ill-usage, or poisoning. They then collected £3 to £5 by way of benefit. Cases were reported of women who had membership for their babies in ten or more clubs, reaping a rich return at the proper time.²⁴

The institution of "killer nurses" or "angel-makers" eventually became known as "baby-farming." By 1860, it had become the subject of lively agitation, both in lay and in professional circles. In 1856, Dr. William B. Ryan was awarded a gold medal by the London Medical Society for his essay on "Infanticide in its Medical-Legal Relations." He followed this two years later by an address on "Child Murder in its Sanitary and Social Bearings," delivered before the Liverpool Associa-

tion for the Promotion of Social Science, presided over by Lord Brougham. He eventually published his findings in a book: *Infanticide: its Law, Prevalence, Prevention and History* (London, 1862), concluding: "We cannot ignore the fact that the crime of infanticide, as well as that of criminal abortion, is widespread and on the increase."

A survey of the British press in the 1860s reveals the frequent findings of dead infants under bridges, in parks, in culverts and ditches, and even in cesspools. The *Standard* in 1862 denounced "this execrable system of wholesale murder," while the *Morning Star* in 1863 asserted that "this crime is positively becoming a national institution." In Parliament an outraged member declared that the country seemed to be reveling in "a carnival of infant slaughter, to hold every year a massacre of the Innocents."²⁵

In February, 1867, Dr. Curgeven, Dr. Ryan, and a formidable delegation of medical men from the elite Harveian Society called upon the Home Secretary with a lengthy list of specific recommendations for checking the increase in infanticide, with emphasis on the need for the registration of all child nurses and for annual reports on all "baby farms." The government acted with no more than its habitual alacrity, and it was only in 1870 that it was further pressed by the Infant Protection Society founded by Dr. Curgeven and when the country was shocked by the news that in Brixton and Peckham two women were discovered to have left no fewer than sixteen infant corpses in various fairly obvious places. The women were tried for murder and one of them was convicted and executed. Parliament at long last set up a committee to study the best means "of preventing the destruction of the lives of infants put out to nurse for hire by their parents." It can hardly have come as a surprise to the members that babies commonly died through being given improper or insufficient food, opiates, drugs, etc. In many baby-farms they were in crowded rooms, with bad air, and suffered from want of cleanliness and willful neglect, resulting in diarrhea, convulsions, and wasting away. The evidence was more than enough to induce Parliament to pass in 1872 the first Infant Life Protection Act providing for compulsory registration of all houses in which more than one child under the age of one were in charge for more than twenty-four hours. Each such house was required to have a license issued by a justice of the peace, and all deaths, including still-births, which had not previously been recorded, were to be reported at once. The penalty for violation of the law was to be a fine of £5 or imprisonment for six months.²⁶

Less was heard or written about infanticide in the last quarter of the nineteenth and in the twentieth century. This was certainly a reflection of the beneficial results of the abolition of the *tours* in France, Belgium, and other countries, and of the increasingly stringent regulations in

Britain.²⁷ But credit must also be given to the growing public interest in maternity and child care, and to the progress in pediatrics which contributed to the reduction of the high infant mortality rate. Finally, consideration must also be given to the adoption and spread of contraceptive practices, even among the lower classes. Nonetheless, infanticide continued and still persists, albeit on a much lower scale. The ignorance and recklessness of many young people, and initially the expense and inconvenience of contraceptive devices made the unwed mother and the illegitimate child a continuing social problem. Only since the Second World War has the contraceptive pill, the intrauterine devices, and the legalization of abortion removed all valid excuses for unwanted pregnancy or infanticide. To the extent that these problems still exist, at least in western society, they are due primarily to carelessness, ignorance, or indifference.

William L. Langer is Archibald Cary Coolidge Professor of History, Emeritus, at Harvard University. The author of several books on diplomatic history, he is also the editor of the Encyclopedia of World History (fifth edition, 1972) and of the twenty-volume series The Rise of Modern Europe. In recent years he has devoted himself chiefly to the furtherance of psychohistory and to the history of the European population.

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2. According to Dr. John B. Beck: "On infanticide in its relation to Medical Jurisprudence" (in his *Researches in Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence* second, revised edition, New York 1835) 13, this Chinese custom was still prevalent in the 1830s. Léon Lallemant: *Histoire des enfants abandonnées et délaissés* (Paris, 1885), 606 ff. cites efforts of provincial governors as late as the 1870s to suppress infanticide. A basic work is P. Palâtre: *L'infanticide en Chine* (Shanghai, 1878).
3. Plato: *The Republic*, Books V and VII; Aristotle: *Politics* (Jowett Translation), II, 6-7; VII, 4, 16. The Greek attitude and practice is well discussed by A. R. Hands: *Aspects of Greek and Roman Life* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1968) 66 ff. Classical thought and attitudes were systematically discussed by M. de Gouroff (Antoine J. Dugour) in his *Essai sur l'histoire des enfants trouvés* (Paris, 1829), the first and only published volume of an exhaustive study the remainder of which was eagerly awaited by his contemporaries. See also Léon Lallemant: *Histoire des enfants trouvés et délaissés* (Paris, 1885) 71 ff.; William B. Ryan: *Infanticide: its Law, Prevalence, Prevention and History* (London, 1862), Part III. Recent studies are for the most part confined to medical and legal aspects of the problem, but see A. M. Carr-Saunders: *The*

- Population Problem* (Oxford, 1922), 256 ff.; John T. Noonan, Jr.: *The Morality of Abortion* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).
4. For details, based largely on inscriptions, see W. W. Tarn: *Hellenistic Civilization* (third edition, 1952, 100-102); Hands: *op. cit.*, 68 ff. I am indebted for these references to my friend and colleague Professor Mason Hammond.
5. J. P. Balsdon: *Roman Women* (London, 1962), 196-197; Jerome Carcopino: *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (New Haven, 1940), 77; Lallemand: *op. cit.*, 38, 53.
6. Beck: *op. cit.*, 11-12; John T. Noonan, Jr.: *Contraception* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965) 85.
7. Among the Hebrews, as among many peoples, the patriarch or head of the family had absolute power of life and death over members of his family, including the right to decide the fate of new-born babies. However, fruitfulness without limit was one of the very first commandments; hence infanticide was all but unknown. (Raphael Patai: *Sex and Society in the Bible and the Middle East* (New York, 1959), 136 ff. De Gouffo: *op. cit.*, 8, 12; Beck: *op. cit.*, 8, 12; Noonan: *op. cit.*, 86; Lallemand: *op. cit.*, 21 ff.
8. The attitude of the Christian Emperors was somewhat ambivalent. Constantine never explicitly forbade infanticide and the later Emperors did nothing to abolish exposure or the sale of exposed children as slaves. Not until the legislation of Justinian (529) was the subjection of foundlings to slavery forbidden. De Gouffo: *op. cit.*, 57 ff., 73 ff.; 85 ff.; Noonan: *op. cit.*, 86 ff.; Amédée Bonde: *Etude sur l'infanticide, l'exposition et la condition des enfants exposés en droit romain* (Paris, 1883).
9. A. E. R. Boak: *Manpower Shortage and the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West* (Ann Arbor, 1955).
10. William E. H. Lecky: *A History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne* (London, 1869), II, 27.
11. H. Bode: "Die Kindestötung und ihre Strafe im Nürnberg des Mittelalters" (*Archiv für Strafrecht und Strafprozess*, LXI, 1914, 430-481). Y-B. Brissaud: "L'infanticide à la fin du Moyen Age, ses motivations psychologiques et sa répression" (*Revue Historique de Droit Français et Etranger*, L. 1972, 229-256) concludes, on the basis of French records that this penalty, while it remained on the books as a deterrent, had disappeared by the fifteenth century.
12. Richard C. Trexler: "Infanticide in Florence" (*History of Childhood Quarterly*, I, 1973, 98-115). Mrs. Baines: "On the Prevention of Excessive Infant Mortality" (*Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society*, 1868-1869, 1-20); Alfons Fischer: *Geschichte des deutschen Gesundheitswesens* (Berlin, 1933), II, 240; Arthur Thomsen: "Bankvavningen" (*Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis*, LVIII, 1960), with German summary, pp. 225 ff.; P. E. H. Hair: "Death from Violence in Britain" (*Population Studies*, XXV, 1971, 5-24).
13. The early history of the London Foundling Hospital was recorded by Jonas Hanway, an eminent philanthropist and one of the Hospital's governors. See his *Candid Historical Account of the Hospital for the Reception of Exposed and Deserted Young Children* (London, 1759), as well as the account of Hanway's biographer, John Pugh: *Remarkable Occurrences in the Life of Jonas Hanway, Esq.* (second edition, London, 1788). John Brownlow's *The History*

and *Design of the Foundling Hospital* (London 1868) is a basic treatment, but may be supplemented by M. Dorothy George: *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1925) chap. v, and by the beautifully illustrated work by R. H. Nichols and F. A. Wray: *The History of the Foundling Hospital* (London, 1935).

14. See the glowing account of the eminent English physician A. B. Granville: *St. Petersburg* (second edition, London, 1829), II, 290 ff.; and the enthusiastic observations of the well-known German traveler Johan G. Kohl: *Petersburg in Bildern und Skizzen* (second edition, Dresden, 1846), II, 72 ff. See also Bernice Madison: "Russia's Illegitimate Children" (*Slavic Review*, XXII, 1963, 82-95).
15. The swaddling clothes, which generally equalled in weight that of the baby, were frequently too tightly wound. According to Dr. William Cadogan, chief physician of the London Foundling Hospital and author of one of the earliest handbooks of child care, the newborn babes were often "crammed with cakes, sweetmeats, etc. until they foul their blood, choak their vessels, pall the appetite, and ruin every faculty of their bodies." Cadogan: *An Essay upon Nursing and the Management of Children* (London, 1748; fifth edition, 1752), a book full of sane advice. Also Dr. John Theobald: *The Young Wife's Guide to the Management of her Children* (London, 1764).
16. The initial phase of the problem is competently treated in Shelby T. McCloy: *The Humanitarian Movement in Eighteenth Century France* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1957), 21 ff. and in Roger Mercier: *L'enfant dans la société du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1961), 29 ff. Brief recent accounts may be found in the present author's articles: "Europe's Initial Population Explosion" (*American Historical Review*, LXIX, 1953, 1-17), and "Checks to Population Growth, 1750-1850" (*Scientific American*, February, 1972). The literature on the subject, now mostly forgotten, was generally by competent writers. The most important were:

Baron de Gerando: *De la bienfaisance publique* (Paris, 1829);

Jean Terme and J. B. Monfalcon: *Histoire des enfants trouvés* (Paris, 1837), a work crowned by the French Academy;

Bernard Remacle: *Des hospices des enfants trouvés en Europe, et principalement en France* (Paris, 1838);

Abbé Adolphe Gaillard: *Recherches administratives, statistiques et morales sur les enfants trouvés* (Paris, 1837);

Louis Benoiston de Chateauneuf: *Considérations sur les enfants trouvés dans les principaux états de l'Europe* (Paris, 1824);

F. S. Hügel: *Die Findelhäuser und das Findelwesen in Europa* (Vienna, 1863);

Ernest Semichon: *Histoire des enfants abandonnés depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1880);

Léon Lallemand: *Histoire des enfants abandonnés et délaissés* (Paris, 1885).

The progressive abolition of the *tours* is analyzed in detail by Adolphe Baudon: "De la suppression des tours d'enfants trouvés" (*Le Correspondant*, XIX, 1847), 674-718.

17. John Brownlow: *The History and Design of the Foundling Hospital* (London, 1868), 7.

18. Brownlow: *op. cit.*, 14.
19. Nichols and Wray: *The History of the Foundling Hospital*, 36 ff.; 47 ff., 56 ff.
20. Dr. George Greaves: "Observations on Some of the Causes of Infanticide" (*Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society*, 1862-1867, 2-24) quoting Archbold: *Pleading and Evidence in Criminal Cases* (fourteenth edition, 529-530); William B. Ryan: *Infanticide: its Law, Prevalence, Prevention and History* (London, 1862), Part I. These provisions were not changed until enactment of the Infant Life Preservation Act of 1929, making "child destruction" a crime (Nigel Walker: *Crime and Insanity in England* (Edinburgh, 1968), chap. vii.).
21. Disraeli, in his novel *Sybil* (1846).
22. *Daily Telegraph*, September 10, 1862; January 21, 1863.
23. The most popular tranquilizer was Godfrey's Cordial, a concoction of opium, treacle, and a bit of sassafras. In Coventry 3000 children were treated to this remedy, of which ten gallons, enough for 12,000 doses, were sold weekly. In one Lincolnshire town of 6000 a single chemist sold 25½ gallons annually. (Testimony of the eminent physician Dr. John Curgeven, to a Parliamentary inquiry, 1871). See also C. Fraser Brockington: *Public Health in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1965) 225-226.
24. Joseph Kay: *The Social Condition and Education of the People in England and Europe* (London, 1850), I, 433 ff., who added (p. 447): "There can be no doubt, that a great part of the poorer classes of this country are sunk in such a frightful depth of hopelessness, misery and utter degradation, that even mothers forget their affection for their helpless little offspring and kill them, as a butcher does his lambs, in order to make money by the murder, and therewith lessen their pauperism and misery."
25. A thick volume of newspaper clippings in the Harvard Law School Library contains a wealth of evidence.
26. Further refinements were added by the supplementary acts of 1897, 1908 and 1932. See Dr. George F. McCleary: *The Maternity and Child Welfare Movement* (London, 1935), 84 ff.
27. Only in 1938 did Parliament enact the *Infanticide Act*, which recognized infanticide as a crime distinguished from murder. The courts have become increasingly less punitive. In 1961-1965 seventy-two women were convicted of infanticide, but 68.1% of them were put on probation and only one imprisoned for less than six months (Walker: *op. cit.*).

FROM THE SOURCES

Ancient Egyptian remedy to stop child's crying:

"Pods-of-the-Poppy-plant, Fly-dirt-which-is-on-the-Wall,
Make it into one, strain, and take for four days.
It acts at once!"

Cyril P. Bryan, Ed. *The Papyrus Ebers* (New York, 1931), p. 162.

FROM THE SOURCES

Confusions On The Proper Age To Whip Children (1847):

"Because there is so great a *difference* of opinion among those parents and teachers who *do* whip their children or pupils, about the *proper* age to *commence* whipping, and at *what* age to *stop* whipping . . . The *teacher*, perchance, thinks that *small* children should be whipped; while the *parent* is *horried* at the thought of having a *small* child flogged . . . Another *teacher* is 'ashamed to strike a *little* boy; but when they are *larger*, he flogs them;' while the *parent* thinks that 'boys should *not* be flogged after they are *old* enough to be *reasoned* with.' . . . I have known many schools *broken up* in consequence of the universal dissatisfaction and complaint of the parents, that 'the teacher flogs the SMALL boys *most cruelly*, but permits the LARGE ones to do as they please.' Some parents *begin* to whip their children at the age of *six MONTHS*. Others at *six YEARS*! Some *stop* at *six YEARS*. Others at *thirteen*, others at *sixteen* or *eighteen YEARS*! But, suppose a child should do nothing, in the opinion of his parent or teacher, worthy of *punishment* until he had *passed* the age of one or had not *reached* the time fixed by the other. What then is to be done?"

Lyman Cobb, *The Evil Tendencies of Corporal Punishment as a Means of Moral Discipline In Families and Schools*. (N.Y., 1847) pp. 30-31.

INFANTICIDE IN ENGLAND IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

BARBARA A.
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Medievalists have tended to deny the existence of massive infanticide during the Middle Ages because it is so little mentioned in the demographic sources and therefore so difficult to measure. Yet literary sources have revealed that the rivers and latrines of medieval Europe "resound with the cries of children who have been plunged into them." Barbara Kellum's study not only examines new evidence on the casual nature and mild consequences of infanticide in late medieval England, but begins to break new ground in the recognition that the motivation can hardly have been limited to economic pressures alone, leading to the possibility that a widespread infanticidal component was present in the medieval personality.

Pore & naked and hongry,
Hast thou I-sokeret mekely?
Hast thou in herte rowthe [compassion] I-had,
Of hem that were nede be-stad [bestand]?
To seke & sore and prisonerus
I-herberst [entertained] alle weyferus?
Hast thou I-lyued also in chost & stryf
Wyth they meyne [household] and wyth they wyf?
Hast thou also by hyre I-layn,
And so by-twene you they chylde I-slayn?
Also they chyldre that were schrewes [wicked]
Hast thou I-taght hem gode thenes [manners]?

*Instructions for Parish Priests (1359-68)*¹

Here, casually, the sin of overlaying (smothering) one's child takes its place alongside failure to be a good samaritan and quarreling with one's wife as simply another item on a list of venial (pardonable) sins in a late fourteenth-century handbook of *Instructions for Parish Priests*. Given our own feelings about the "crime" of infanticide,² this ordering may seem incongruous, but it is, I suggest, indicative of the commonness of, and the general attitude toward the disposal of infants, accidental or otherwise, in England in the later Middle Ages. Support for this hypothesis has been drawn from consulting published penitential material and sermons, all available Coroners' Rolls, Gaol Delivery Rolls and Rolls of the Justices in Eyre, and the standard sources on witchcraft, the Jews, and folklore in the Middle Ages. Evidence gathered from these works sheds light on the frequency of infanticide as well as its possible motivations and implications.

The suggestion that infanticide was indeed a reality in medieval England is not entirely new; some twenty-five years ago Josiah Russell postulated that the elimination of at least female infants was probable in medieval England, since this would explain the markedly higher sex ratios³ among the heirs listed in the *Inquisitions Post Mortem* from about 1250 to 1348 and again from 1430-1545. When the records began in the mid-thirteenth century the ratio of male to female children was about equal, but during the two periods mentioned the ratio grew to four (males) to three (females).⁴ In another, perhaps even more striking instance, this time working with a 1391-2 list of serfs and their families on the lands of John of Hastings, Russel declares:

The difference in numbers of boys and girls is extraordinary out of 128 children 78 males to 46 females . . . Either the liquidation of females among the serfs was much more common than among the favored classes or there is some peculiarity in the collection of the evidence. The first possibility has some basis in the necessity for restricting the number of children in view of the limited opportunities open to people of that class. The possibility of a peculiar bias in the collection of the evidence is somewhat more difficult to explain.⁵

In a very recent paper Emily Coleman has come to similar conclusions about the peasants of Saint Germain-des-Pres. Extracting demographic information from a detailed ninth-century polyptych tax census, she determines "that the larger the family, the higher the sex ratio—meaning more males in proportion to females. Conversely, the larger the farm itself and the greater the numbers on it, the smaller the sex ratio—the sexes became, on the whole, more evenly balanced."⁶ All of which may sound rational enough until one looks at the numbers involved, for example: "The sex ratio ran from a high of 421.05 for the land of less

than one bunuarium to a low of 97.33 on manses with between 17 and 18 bunuaria."⁷ That the undercounting of females or a high death rate in childbirth could fully account for figures like these is unlikely;⁸ instead, it is her contention that on the smaller, less populous, and less productive farms, female infanticide was practiced, of necessity, to rid families of potentially unproductive and economically unsupportable mouths.⁹ Statistically, she concludes, "It is, in fact, probably fair to wonder if the answer to many a hard-pressed peasant's prayer came in the form of death, primarily of girl babies."¹⁰

Seemingly, the institution most concerned with these prayers and their results was the Church. From the time of Augustine it had been held that ensoulment took place either at conception or, in the more popular view, forty days thereafter;¹¹ hence, as Meffret, a fifteenth-century preacher, declared, abortion and the killing of unbaptized infants damned not only a body but also a soul to eternal punishment.¹² The penalty was accordingly strict, at least as recorded in some of the early penitentials. Theodore (Archbishop of Canterbury 668-90) equated child murder with homicide and prescribed a fifteen-year penance; but, significantly, he also stipulated that if a woman who slew her own child was poor, the penance should be reduced to seven years.¹³ Likewise, in an eighth-century penitential attributed to Bede, the penance was to be that of a murderess: "But it makes a great difference whether a poor woman does it on account of the difficulty of supporting the child or a harlot for the sake of concealing her wickedness."¹⁴

The special consideration for poor women here gives recognition to the link between infanticide and poverty which Emily Coleman detected in France, and which I plan to discuss more fully later in this paper; however, at present it should be noted that not even the abridged forms of these penances were incorporated into the English handbooks of the later Middle Ages. Instead, the penalty advised in a parallel tradition was adopted. As early as ca. 600, Columban had set the penance for overlaying—smothering—one's child: one year on bread and water and two more years without wine or flesh. Columban added that husband and wife were to refrain from sexual relations during the penance period—an appropriate punishment of sorts, but also, perhaps indirectly, a good way to postpone the repetition of the sin.¹⁵ Be this as it may, the Burgundian penitential (ca. 700-725) omitted this sexual abstinence clause, though the penalty for overlaying remained otherwise the same—a penance of three years, one of these on bread and water—a relatively light penance when one considers that the punishment for even accidental killing of an adult was five years, three of these on bread and water.¹⁶

Nonetheless, the three year penance for overlaying became standard, and, with a few added distinctions, it seemed to set the precedent for

the whole approach to infanticide in the later penitentials. The added distinctions were already evident in the concise statement of St. Hubert (ca. 850): "If anyone overlays an unbaptized baby, she shall do penance for three years. If unintentionally, two years."¹⁷ Not only does he deal specifically with the problem of unbaptized children and with the difficulty of determining the motivation for overlaying—both of which will be handled in subsequent sections—but also he connects the sin directly and solely with the woman involved. Previously, the penance for overlaying was addressed to the husband and/or wife, but now, increasingly, overlaying and infanticide became associated with women alone.

Thus, Bartholomew of Exeter in his twelfth-century penitential began the section "De eo qui infantem opprimit" by reiterating the usual three-year penance; however, he elaborated on this with an interesting specification. If a mother placed her child near the hearth, and "another man"—presumably her husband—came along to boil a pot of water the overflow from which scalded the child to death, it was the mother who was to do penance for her negligence while the man was to go carefree (*securus*).¹⁸

Thomas of Chobham (thirteenth century) extended the range of possibilities even further by introducing death at birth by the mother's own hand and refusal to nurse as sins on a par with overlaying.¹⁹ He spends little time on the first of these but devotes many words to what he evidently felt were the most common or perhaps most readily apparent types: the mother who would not nurse her own child and the mother who by sleeping in the same bed with her child, overlaid it. All these were technically listed as homicides, but the Bishop admonished that all overlaying cases be carefully investigated by the priests, for, as in all parental child-slayings, there was the chance that the traditional penance might be relaxed somewhat.²⁰

Not all books of penance in the later Middle Ages invariably ascribed infanticide solely to women. It is to be remembered that John Myrc's *Instructions for Parish Priests* (ca. 1400) put the overlaying question to both husband and wife; and, in another section, he warned the godparents as well that they should not sleep with their charge "till he can himself well keep."²¹ The penalty, however, seemed to remain a relatively light one. Myrc, after all, placed overlaying among the venial sins.²² Since the eighth century the penance for overlaying—and as we move into the later Middle Ages for the other designated forms of infanticide—was consistently lighter than the penance for even accidental homicide if the victim were an adult. Furthermore, in the time of Chobham and then Myrc, the penance for infanticide could be made lighter still. Nevertheless, definitionally, for the Church, as Chaucer's prolix parson admonishes, "Eek if a womman by neclignece overlyeth his child in hir sleping, it is homicyde . . ."²³ albeit, to judge by the

penitentials, a comparatively lesser form of homicide; secular law, however, conveys a decidedly different impression.

Estimating from the number of times overlaying and infanticide appear in the penitential context alone, it would only seem likely that similar cases would be mentioned in the contemporary coroners' and judicial records. Instead, they are conspicuously absent. Not one case of what could now be technically termed infanticide—the killing of a child under a year old²⁴—is reported in the Coroners' Rolls (A.D. 1265-1413) published by the Selden Society. The only death of a child a year or younger that was looked into was that of six-month-old Joan Ross who was scalded to death when a pot of boiling water, which was precariously balanced on the hearth, fell on her.²⁵ The incident was treated as an accident, as, of course, it could have been; but the case does bear close resemblance to that example of infanticide Bartholomew of Exeter attributed to maternal negligence in his penitential; and it is here to be seen in context with a whole series of accidental deaths involving slightly older children. Another little boy of two suffered the same fate as Joan when, while at home, he fell into a vessel of boiling water; still another, three-year-old Robert, mysteriously drowned in a pan of milk.²⁶

The outside world was also fraught with danger: five-year-old William was crushed by a garden wall as he was running past. Drowning in wells and especially ditches was by far the most common type of infant-child death found. John, one and a half years old, toddled out of the house one day while his parents were eating dinner and was later found by his mother drowned in a ditch. Similarly, three-and-a-half-year-old William drowned in a ditch while his mother, Matilda, was having a quick beer with her neighbor, Robert. Yet another child took a fatal fall into a well while his parents were at church.²⁷ Indeed, eight out of twelve cases in the Coroners' Rolls, twenty-one out of twenty-nine cases in the Rolls of the Justices in Eyre, two out of three cases in one membrane transcribed from the Rolls of the Itinerant Justices involved the death of a child by drowning.²⁸ It also might be interesting to note here that in many instances it was one of the parents who found the child first.²⁹

Undoubtedly many factors are involved in these cases: little children are sometimes fascinated by water, and parental absence or disregard would have been all that was necessary for an accident to occur. However, other possibilities must not be overlooked: it is, perhaps, more than mere coincidence that James I's statute (1623) against the murder of bastard children—the first of its kind—named drowning as one of the two most common ways "lewd Mothers" did away with their children.³⁰ The other means mentioned was secret burial which again seems to have had its medieval parallels in the Rolls of the Justices in Eyre: in one case "a boy was found dead in an earthen pot in a pit" and in another

"a boy was found shut in a chest in the fields of Bilborough."³¹ Some cases, no matter what the means, do hint of covert murder more than others; but there is, of course, no way to determine whether the parents involved actually took an active role in any of these mishaps. Nevertheless, accidental deaths can in themselves have interesting implications as J. C. Rheingold points out in his *The Fear of Being a Woman*:

Accidents do occur, but when they are scrutinized, they may be seen to be the result of adult carelessness and neglect . . . It does seem strange that so many infants perish by reason of being dropped, left in precarious positions, swallowing a solid object or a noxious substance, drowning in the bath water, or suffocating in the crib. In the case of one woman I treated, her guilt over the death of her daughter by swallowing an object became easier to understand when I learned that the mother had placed injurious objects within reach of the infant.³²

Certainly, in the medieval context, with small children falling into pots of boiling water, wandering outside and drowning in a ditch, or staying inside and drowning in a pan of milk, there must have been a good deal of what might be termed homicidal neglect. After all, Bartholomew of Exeter put the scalding deaths in his infanticide section, and though these parents may not have directly killed their children, they seemed to have adhered to the less damnable but often lethal maxim—"Thou shalt not kill but needst not strive officiously to keep alive."³³ Not only would this have been a fairly efficient means of ridding oneself of unwanted and demanding burdens but also the death would be acceptably accidental at least by secular law standards.

However, a few were caught exceeding the bounds of the accidental; reminiscent of some of the later penitentials, those indicted were almost without exception women,³⁴ and invariably their plea was insanity. Again, as in the coroners' rolls already examined, there is a tendency here for the victims to be over a year old: in her paper on "The Female Felon in Fourteenth Century England," Barbara Westman reported "There was only one case of infanticide [the killing of a child under a year old] in 2,933 homicides reported in gaol delivery and coroners' rolls."³⁵ Thus one finds examples like that of Matilda, wife of Walter Levying, who, "suffering from ague and frenzy killed her two-year-old son and daughter with an axe," but due to her malady was pardoned and released—in this case to twelve of her kinsmen, since her husband didn't feel equal to the task of guarding against a second attack.³⁶ Likewise, Agnes, wife of Roger Moyses, who killed their son Adam in one of her repeated fits of madness (*amentia*), and Emma, wife of Henry Wolfrom of Cantele, who, feeling "demented and vexed," killed her child, were both investigated and pardoned.³⁷ In a more sadistic instance, Margery, wife of William Calbot fatally stabbed her two-year-old daughter and

made her four-year-old sit on the hearth-fire flames; yet, she too was declared insane and pardoned.³⁸ Once proved insane, at least at the time of the crime, the women, like infants (children) themselves, were "held incapable of felonious intent" and therefore their malefactions were excusable.³⁹ Two final similar cases are of particular interest in relation to current ideas about child murder by a parent being "a suicidal act as a result of identification processes."⁴⁰ Indeed, Matilda, widow of Mark le Waleys of Buthwell, attempted suicide, but then went home and killed her children; as usual she was found to be insane and pardoned.⁴¹ Evidently ego identification with her children was not so complete for poor Emma le Bere, who on June 15, 1316, suffering from "frenesye" rose from her sick bed, took an axe, and cut the throats of her children, John, Helen, Felise, and Maude, then hanged herself.⁴²

Up to this point, however, it will be noted that we have yet to encounter one case of what would technically be termed infanticide—the killing of a child of twelve months or less. A rather suggestive transition piece is the case of Juliana Matte of Killingbury, who, having been driven out of her mind by fever, was caught after drowning her one-year-old son in a well.⁴³ She was, of course, pardoned, but her choice of method itself is of interest recalling as it does all those accidental drownings in the other set of coroners' rolls. So too does the one case of infanticide Barbara Westman cites: "Alice Grut and Alice Grym drowned a three-day-old child in a river. They did it with the consent of Isabelle of Badenham, her daughter, Alice and her son, John." As Dr. Westman points out, "One would like to know whose child it was and why it was drowned."⁴⁴ Unfortunately, though, the remainder of the record is no longer extant and thus no one knows the ultimate fate of the two Alices. At the very least, however, it seems clear that, as James I was to record much later, drowning was one of the most popular means of child disposal—accidental or otherwise.

Only four more examples of infanticide have been located in the legal records, but at least two of these seem to follow the same pattern as the child-murder cases. For instance, in 1226, an inquiry was ordered to ascertain whether one Alice de la Lade had killed her baby "from madness or maliciously and intentionally;" if from madness she was to be let go.⁴⁵ Analogously, in 1272 a woman was freed after having killed her baby at birth on the grounds of insanity.⁴⁶ The other two cases, however, are somewhat more singular. One involves a woman who, walking near a chapel, gave birth to a son, promptly slit his throat, threw him in a stagnant pond, and fled.⁴⁷ She was sentenced to be outlawed, a punishment for infanticide with some precedent in the ecclesiastical tradition—Gratian cites rulings of both Alexander III and Lucius III that specify exile as a penalty for mothers who have killed their children, subject to commutation if she had a husband and/or other children to

care for.⁴⁸ In this case, though, we don't even know the name of the woman involved, let alone her marital status; all we do know from the line and a half account that remains are the details of her crime and the place near which it took place—the chapel. To include an approximation of the location at all in this abbreviated format would seem to suggest that it was a significant factor here. Any of a number of reasons might explain why this was so; among others, the fact that the birth and immediate disposal of the infant occurred in at least semi-public circumstances may well have meant that the mother was not able to effectively plea that her child was stillborn, or that, beside herself with pain, she had succumbed to insanity. There is, however, another element that I would speculate also made it important that the baby was born and likely killed in the proximity of the chapel. Unbaptized infants were literally “captives in the devil's power, both in this world and the next;”⁴⁹ baptism then was truly an exorcism, and, if the infant died without it, the place he was laid was looked on as polluted. Thus, as will be seen in the subsequent discussion of folk beliefs, dead unbaptized children were not to be buried in the churchyard, and their graves were avoided as spots associated with threat and disease.⁵⁰

The final case again involves a neonate killed at birth, and the by now familiar plea of maternal insanity, but the verdict is radically different from any yet encountered. Sabina de Coetingle killed her newborn infant, but claimed that it had been stillborn and that she had been insane at the time. Notwithstanding, the jury declared that the child had been born alive and that Sabina had been sane. She was sentenced to be burned. As Dr. Hurnard remarks wryly: “Perhaps her defence showed too much presence of mind to be convincing.”⁵¹ At any rate, the punishment itself is obviously an extreme one, especially when compared to those in the child murder and infanticide cases where a plea of insanity was involved; indeed, Dr. Hurnard states unequivocally that, “This is the most shocking case found. Provided mental derangement was mentioned at all, punishment was extremely unlikely.”⁵² One gets the feeling that the jury may have been reacting against the woman on something more than the issue at hand, but this is pure speculation.⁵³

Taken in isolation, the case of Sabina de Coetingle would seem to indicate that infanticide was considered a particularly heinous crime that was dealt with accordingly; yet, as we have seen, this was not so in cases concerning other infants and children of one year or more. Additionally, there is corroborative evidence in contemporary abortion cases that if anything, newborn infants counted for little in terms of the taking of human life. As Professor Means has demonstrated, abortion at any stage of gestation was no felony or misprision in fourteenth-century English common law.⁵⁴ The reasons usually cited were the difficulty of determining the time and cause of the child's death and the fact that the

child, being unbaptized, had no name.⁵⁵ Even if the infant lived for a short time and was baptized it made little difference. For example, in 1327, a man was indicted for having beaten a pregnant woman so severely that she had given premature birth to twins. One of them was born dead, but the other lived, was baptized with the name John, and survived for two days before dying of his injuries. The man was freed, however, since it was decided that no homicide had been committed.⁵⁶ The general tone of this case, the feeling that the death of an infant or a child is something less than homicide, is, in my opinion, characteristic of most of the judicial instances of infanticide and child murder. Be this as it may, in reviewing all the judicial instances of child murder and infanticide currently known for thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England, I think attention should be drawn at least to the significant tendency to pardon the "insane" women who committed the act, and to the curious fact that not one case involved overlaying, the means most commonly referred to in the penitentials. This could, of course, be accounted for in several ways. Perhaps no overlaying took place—but the penitential evidence alone makes this conclusion seem extremely doubtful; or, perhaps, overlaying occurred but was not considered a crime, for it would have been next to impossible to determine whether or not the death was accidental. As always, was the act intentional or unintentional? Often the guilty parent(s) probably didn't know themselves.

For what was not known, however, imaginations provided an explanation. Just as women who committed the more blatant crimes against their children were possessed at the time by fever or fit, so women who overlay their children were victims, this time of external agents. In one of his sermons John Myrc claimed that it was vicious "fendys [fiends] . . . thay make wymen to overlye hor children."⁵⁷ More specifically it was usually a witch that was thought to be at fault: according to the *Malleus maleficarum*, witches often killed children and then placed the body in bed in such a way that it appeared the parent had overlaid the child.⁵⁸ The lowly village midwife who would have had some elementary knowledge of herbs and potions used in what were probably for the most part inefficacious panaceas was usually the most suspect in matters involving witches and doomed children. Thus the *Malleus maleficarum* declared that the midwife-witch would take any opportunity she could to get the child out of the mother's sight in order to offer up the newborn to the Devil.⁵⁹ Wet-nurses too were implicated as is reflected in the later witchcraft trial of one Cicely Selles who did her dastardly deeds after having been refused the nursing of a child.⁶⁰ There is an obvious, almost obsessional, relish to the descriptions of what it was fancied the witches did with the children once they had procured them. Either they sacrificed them to the Devil, or they ate the child's flesh raw, or they roasted and sucked the child's blood. Magic

salves were also concocted from the fat or "from the heart of an unbaptized child or other murdered infant. The salve made from children's guts or bones was usually employed to render one airborne and for this purpose was rubbed on one's hands and palms, or, more commonly, upon a stick, a chair, or a broom."⁶¹

This same dark fascination with killing children, especially by means grotesque or sacrificial,⁶² is evident in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century fantasies woven around the related themes of infanticide and Jewish ritual murder. By far the most famous of these tales is that of young Hugh of Lincoln, first embellished by Matthew Paris, and lately dissected by Gavin Langmuir. Little eight-year-old Hugh was, according to the famous tradition established by Matthew Paris, kidnapped, kept alive for ten days on "childish foods," and then crucified, stabbed, and disembowelled; the body was later thrown in a well where the boy's mother, the pitiful widow Beatrice, spotted him. He was removed and given a martyr's burial. Promptly the burial-site became a well-known shrine. In actuality, as Langmuir and Joseph Jacobs before him point out, Hugh probably drowned accidentally in a cesspool adjacent to the house of a Jew, where unpropitiously a number of Jews had gathered for a wedding. Nevertheless, Henry III became involved and ultimately nineteen Jews were put to death for their supposed "crime."⁶³ Nor was this an isolated example. In 1244, a baby's body found in a London churchyard was said to bear strange marks on it, recognized by some convenient pious converts as Hebrew. And in 1232, several Jews were imprisoned as scapegoats in a case involving the discovery of the disfigured body of a little boy; fortunately for them this time, however, the Jews were freed before trial and the boy's mother held for the crime.⁶⁴ In the many ritual-murder accusations that both preceded and followed the Hugh of Lincoln story, the motivation ascribed to the Jews' "crimes" was either to mock the Easter celebration or to celebrate the Passover. The one pervasive motive mentioned was to obtain the fresh blood of a Christian child presumably for drinking and other purposes.⁶⁵ Ascribing this motive to a people to whom the tasting of even animal blood is forbidden may sound a bit irrational, but it was nonetheless the reason cited.⁶⁶ Although the Christian hatred for the Jews was of course a many-faceted phenomenon, here in their ritual-murder fantasies it seems likely that the Christians were projecting on to their enemies their own deepest latent desires.

Which brings us to a larger question of motivation. So far we have considered what information exists concerning the incidence of infanticide and child murder: seemingly common occurrences that were for the most part dealt with as accidental, unintentional, or, even if brought to court, pardonable. But the question remains as to why this was so. Certainly socio-economic factors provide at least a part of the explanation.

Just as in Emily Coleman's study of Saint Germain-des-Pres, poverty must have invariably taken its toll here too; however, the spectrum of possibilities must have been widened immeasurably by the form of marriage that had been established in England in the later Middle Ages. As M. M. Sheehan has shown in his article on the "Formation and Stability of Marriage" by the fourteenth century "betrothal followed by intercourse became marriage."⁶⁷ Theoretically there was to be a public announcement and blessing after the fact, but practice varied and there were a large number of technically "clandestine" marriages and a correspondingly large number of bigamy cases.⁶⁸ Frequently situations must have arisen where it became convenient to "remember" or "forget" previous unions; hence one finds cases like this:

William Chilterne and Amicia Nene were married before the Church and had lived together for two years when William, 'acting' as he was later to confess, 'to the injury of Amicia, his wife, from malice towards her that had grown in him,' entered into collusion with Joan Squire. They went before the official of the archdeacon claiming pre-contract and children. The court, scandalously inept or corrupt, or both, annulled the marriage of William and Amicia, declaring William and Joan to be husband and wife. Joan soon went off and married another man. On learning of this, Bishop Arundel ordered the case re-opened. The corruption of the court and William's crime were revealed and the marriage of Amicia declared valid from the first.⁶⁹

As Sheehan wisely notes, "It need hardly be said that the consistory was not always able to expose collusion in this way." Be this as it may, the numbers of extraneous children potentially produced in such unions and left with little in the way of support must have been considerable. Even if the union remained monogamous and the family was financially fortunate, problems could ensue. Inheritance battles raged over legitimacy—was the child born after the troth-plight but before the public ceremony a bastard, or could he be considered his father's legitimate eldest son? In most cases such a child was ruled legitimate and able to inherit,⁷⁰ but what of the sons and daughters not inheriting? Often arrangements were made by the elder brother, as in the case of Reginald Damemalde, who, claiming his inheritance in 1287, granted his brother Walter "a house and every year at Michaelmas one quarter of wheat, so long as he remains without a wife and on this domain."⁷¹ Or younger brothers and unmarried sisters could take what if anything was left them in goods and try to make their way in the world, usually among the *anilepimen* hired workers or wandering harvesters who were by definition unmarried.⁷² In either case, whether unallowed or unable to marry, this 'younger generation' must have produced a number of illegitimate children, who, because of their dubious social status and likely

the poverty of their mothers' situation, were possible victims of infanticide. Traditionally, "Even if not willfully murdered, illegitimate babies have, in some societies, a slim chance for survival. The mortality rate during the first year of illegitimate babies' lives is frequently reported to be twice as high as their legitimate counterparts."⁷³ England in the later Middle Ages was no exception. Besides the inevitable assortment of overlayings and drownings, one also finds cases like the following which took place at Wiltshire in 1281:

A woman had brought her year-old son to the father, who refused to accept and care for him; she thereupon dumped the infant in the village street and during the following night he died from exposure. The jurors did not suspect either parent of causing the death, presumably intentionally, but the justices held both of them and the whole village responsible for it by their negligence; the matter was not treated as homicide, but all were amerced [fined] for their offence.⁷⁴

In general, however, it was solely the mother's responsibility to care for the illegitimate child up to and including paying a childwite fine for having bore a child out of wedlock;⁷⁵ under the circumstances the temptation to rid oneself of such a burden must have been great.

The temptation, however, as we know, did not apply only to illegitimate children. Most of the child murder and infanticide cases dealt with in court concerned, so far as can be ascertained, legitimate children who were just as dead. The frequent tie here between insane mothers and dead children may have been nothing more than an easy way out of the accusation for both mother and court, but in looking at the woman's position in the family and in relation to her child, one discovers that the roots may well go deeper. Take for example this representative description of her situation:

Mark her well how she travailleth in childbirth, travailleth to suckle the child, travailleth to rear it, travailleth in washing and cleaning by day and by night. All this travail, seeth thou, is of the woman only, and the man goeth singing on his way.⁷⁶

Sounding vaguely reminiscent of Bartholomew of Exeter's resolution of the scalding case, the circumstances themselves I think made it more than likely that sooner or later any hostility the mother had for her child would come out.

Once more, a custom known as the Curtesy of England had been developing since the twelfth century. Originally it granted the husband the right to his wife's property for use during his lifetime if she died after bearing him a child. By the fourteenth century, however, it was simply stated that the husband's right increased—while his wife's correspond-

ingly decreased—with the birth of issue. What property the wife was seised of would become her husband's to demise as he wished for a period of twenty-nine years after the birth.⁷⁷ Certainly this kind of thing could well have been one of the factors in making the infant an object on which was concentrated, even if unconsciously, feelings of resentment; perhaps it is not so surprising that increasingly infanticide was looked on as a woman's offense.

On an even more basic level, the infant—especially the unbaptized infant—seems to have been regarded as something evil. As one author describes it, "the mother is no longer a real Christian until she is churched, for she has been despoiled of her Christianity by the child in the act of birth."⁷⁸ The "despoiling" child could do even more damage, though, if he died unbaptized. Thus, Burchard of Worms (ca. 1008-12) referred to the custom of burying an unbaptized infant with a stake through its heart so that it would not arise and injure many.⁷⁹ Similarly, John Myrc, although he made no reference to such a custom, included in his *Instructions for Parish Priests* a long, involved section of advice to midwives on emergency baptizing techniques for infants even if only half way out of their mother's body, if it appeared they were going to die.⁸⁰ Conceivably there is something more here than simple solicitude for the child's immortal soul. Even more directly parallel to Burchard is Myrc's sermon on who was to be buried in the Church. The woman who died in childbirth was not to be buried there; she could be buried in the churchyard but only if first the dead infant had been removed and buried well outside the churchyard.⁸¹

As will be remembered, the unbaptized infant was thought to be a "captive in the devil's power,"⁸² and in folklore the infant—especially the unbaptized one—was surrounded by a large and sinister tradition. The newborn was in great danger of being carried off by fairies and replaced by a changeling—who in a fairy-like manner craved and demanded human milk:⁸³ the imagination's embodiment, one might guess, of a petulant and hungry, but very real child. At any rate, to rid oneself of a changeling one was to place it close to the fire and it would disappear up the chimney vent; or, if that didn't work, one was to take the suspected changeling, put it in a basket, and hang the basket over the fire; if the child screamed—as naturally it would—it was a changeling and was to be dealt with accordingly.⁸⁴ Of course all the concentration on placing the child near the fire seems reminiscent of Bartholomew of Exeter's and the coroners' rolls' descriptions of infanticide by scalding; and seemingly, the mishaps involving infants and fire were numerous enough that the diocesan synod of Canterbury in 1236 advised local priests to admonish the women of the parish weekly not to place their babies too close to the fire.⁸⁵ There is as well another section of Bartholomew's Penitential in which he condemns superstitious people and includes in

his list "Whosoever shall have set his child on the house-roof or in an oven or furnace to recover its health."⁸⁶

Often, too, in legend unbaptized infants were the object of "wild hunts," packs led by witches, fairies, and other unnatural beings that raised havoc; but on the other hand, unbaptized children replaced the witches, etc. in some tales and led the "wild hunt" themselves, the very sight of which would reputedly cause madness.⁸⁷ The willful, close to diabolical, nature of infants is a theme that is constantly reiterated, as is their association—here a directly causative one—with insanity.

In folk tradition, dead unbaptized children were, if anything, more of a problem than living ones. In the background of English tradition lay the Nordic dead-child beings that rose from the bodies of murdered—usually unbaptized—children and returned to haunt their families and sometimes to suck their mothers or even to kill them.⁸⁸ Their British counterparts were also known to haunt woods and solitudes, and if a person inadvertently walked over one of their graves that person contracted "the fatal disease of the grave-merels, or grave scab."⁸⁹ Interestingly enough, one of the few means of ridding oneself of such a monster was to posthumously baptize the being.⁹⁰

Baptism in life also helped, to judge by the Middle English tale of the King of Tars. In this story a Christian princess married to a heathen king gives birth to an unusual offspring "beautiful on one side, rough and hairy on the other."⁹¹ To make the blatant moral message even clearer, the child is baptized and immediately becomes beautiful all over; awed by this, his heathen father converts and the whole thing ends happily.

Nevertheless, in the real world, even baptized infants seem to have been considered as something other than human—as parasitic in fact. Indeed this was literally true since mother's milk was thought to be whitened blood,⁹² and therefore with every feeding the infant was sucking away some of the mother's own vital substance. It is not really too surprising then that wet-nurses were much in demand among those who could afford to pay for them. However, wet-nurses too could be victimized, as is reflected in the tale of the diabolical Sir Gomther, who, as a child, is said to have killed his wet-nurse.⁹³ In all, it is tempting to think that there may be some relation here to the fantasies where, with a kind of repulsive reciprocity, witches sucked baby's blood and Jews drained children's bodies dry.

Putting these things together with what we have already heard of the "travail" of suckling and of the methods of infanticide among which Thomas of Chobham listed denying the child suck, we get a picture of an infant who at the breast and in the bed of his mother or of his wet-nurse was not likely to survive the first few months of life, especially if added to all this he was illegitimate or particularly petulant. For those

children who did live through it, they must have emerged from what Erik Erikson would call the first stage of life—the oral-sensory stage when the child's basic trust or mistrust of parents is formed—with a profound insecurity about mother and the food supply. Ultimately, they would, I think, be perpetuating a pattern not unlike that which has been demonstrated in recent case histories of parents of battered infants. They too have had problems coping with their mothers in early life and with their own internal representations of their mothers; moreover, they all had "strong oral-dependent needs as significant intrapsychic areas of difficulty . . . and displayed evidences of . . . distrust and feeling victimized."⁹⁴

On the other hand, feelings of hostility toward two, three, and four year olds who appear so often as the victim in accidents and court cases are, I think, related to something a little different. The basic description in the literature outside the court records of a child in that age group often stresses the extreme willfulness of such a child.⁹⁵ This assertion of self-will may well have been what made three and four year olds so difficult to tolerate, the more so because their parents were a part of a more or less hierarchical social system both within the family and within the world at large. As David Hunt states it: "The adult who in his own life had little experience of genuine self-determination and only limited opportunity to observe it in the conduct of others, was not able to tolerate his child's efforts to be self-determining."⁹⁶ Conceivably this would have been most true for the mother whose chances for self-determination were so slight.

Indeed, the mother-child relationship seems to be the crux of the issue here and Rheingold's theory of maternal destructiveness can, I think, be equally well applied. In essence, he claims from his clinical observations that mothers communicate varying proportions of nurturant and destructive feelings toward their child from the very first stages of its existence. The destructive urge itself stems from the new mother's fear of her own mother's hostilities toward her daughter, the birth of whose child serves as the ultimate usurpation of the mother's place. When nurturant desires are low, the effect of the destructive influence can be so strong that the new mother may sacrifice the infant in a frantic attempt to save herself from her own mother. But even for the children that survive, aware of their mother's hostility toward them from the very first stages of life, "It creates the life orientation of insecurity. The world is filled with threats that attend innocent wishes and acts."⁹⁷ The consequences in terms of the children's children and beyond speak for themselves: destructive feelings toward children, intensive child beating, in some instances even child murders, and once again a new generation of child-beaters—precisely, it seems, the situation in England in the later Middle Ages.

Of course no one type of theory necessarily encompasses the entire phenomenon; and it is quite likely that each case of infanticide or child murder, intentional or unintentional, was made up of a *mélange* of motives both immediate and psychological. As I have tried to indicate, economic and social pressures played a large role here, and it may well have been, in part, the very commonality of infanticide and child murder that allowed them to be condoned even in court. The relatively light penances and the frequent pardons due to "insanity" are also, I think, directly related to the idea that infants and small children were demanding, willful, sometimes truly, harmfully evil; and, moreover, to a general societal callousness toward these infants and small children. Perhaps a pale reflection of this attitude is to be found in some judicial opinions from nineteenth-century England, notorious itself for burial clubs, baby farms, and astronomical infanticide rates:⁹⁸

There was a general feeling emphasized in the evidence of Stephen, Cranworth, and Walpole, that child murder is not so heinous as other forms of murder because of the nature of the victim. A child could not be regarded quite in the same light as a grown-up person; the loss to the child itself could not be estimated; 'it were as if the child never come into the world than that, having coming into it, it was murdered.' After all, the killing of a child by its mother did not create the same feeling of alarm in society as other forms of murder did . . ."⁹⁹

In a similar vein, L. O. Pike, also writing in the nineteenth century, concluded from the 1348 Coroners' Rolls that, "The verdicts of 1348 all relate to grown persons killed by grown persons. It cannot be supposed that in an age in which the lives of adults were so insecure as they were in the fourteenth century the lives of infants were more secure than they are in the nineteenth."¹⁰⁰ Assuredly they were not.

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REFERENCES

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1. John Myrc, *Instructions for Parish Priests* (London: Early English Text Society, 1902), p. 42, l. 1359-1368.

2. Despite the lurid coverage such an act is often given and the sometimes strict laws against it, infanticide has traditionally, in more modern times, been one of the more lightly punished offences in England. Detection, especially in the case of a new-born child, is often difficult, and pardon for the mother a likelihood. See Nigel Walker, "Infanticide," *Crime and Insanity in England I* (1968): 125-137. In our own child-conscious and child-centered century, probation, increasingly in conjunction with psychological help, has become the rule for mothers found guilty of infanticide. See Nigel Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 133 and also H. Z. Winnik, "The Psychopathology of Infanticide," *The Israel Annals of Psychiatry and Related Disciplines I* (1963) 293-309.
3. "Sex ratio is defined as the number of males in a population to an arbitrary number of females, usually one hundred. Thus a sex ratio greater than 100 indicates more men than women. Normally more males than females are born so that the sex ratio at birth is not far from 105. This superiority in numbers is gradually lost by males until the sex ratio is about 100 in adolescence and less than that figure in adult life. Any marked divergence from this pattern causes suspicion that some tempering with human life has occurred." Josiah C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1948), 148-149.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 147-149.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-168.
6. Emily Coleman, "Peasant Population Control," *Annales E.S.C.* (forthcoming issue) p. 14.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 19-20. The undercounting of females is not the significant factor here, she claims: adult women were carefully counted because they passed on their social status to their children. And although some little girls may not have been counted this would not explain why the ratio for the child population is exactly like that of the entire population: "as the size of the arable land of the farms increased, the children's sex ratios on those farms decreased." (p. 20).
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21, 24-26.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
11. John T. Noonan, *Contraception: A History of Its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belnap Press of Harvard University Press, 1965) 90.
12. G. G. Coulton, *Infant Perdition in the Middle Ages*, (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd., 1922) 19.
13. John R. McNeil and Helena M. Gamer, trans., *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938) 197.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 225.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 274-275.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
18. Dom. Adrian Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter Bishop and Canonist: A Study in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: University Press, 1937) 224. "Mater si iuxta focum infantem posuerit et alius homo aquam in caldariam miserit et ebullita aqua infans superfusus mortuus fuerit, pro negligentia mater penitescet et ille homo securus sit."

19. Thomas of Chobham, *Summa Confessorum*, (Paris: Beatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1968) 463-466. It is quite possible here I think to associate this refusal to nurse one's own child not only with the generally negative attitudes towards nursing, but also with the consequent demands for and on the wet-nurse: likely she would have had to deny her own child suck to insure milk for her charge(s). Overlaying too, of course, was a sin often attributed to wet-nurses. See Richard C. Trexler, "Infanticide in Florence: New Sources and First Results," *History of Childhood Quarterly*, 1 (1973), 108.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 466, and the last sentence of cap. v "De eo occidit filium suum." Cap v is an in-depth look at the observation of the penance up to and including the restriction of Church privileges that accompanied it (already mentioned in a more general way in Columban, McNeill and Gomer, *op. cit.*, p. 254). The section is brought to a close with the words "si quis autem episcopus vel religiosus presbyter causa pietatis aliquid sibi remedii relaxare voluerit, hoc ei ex auctoritate apostolica concedimus."
21. John Myrc, *Op. cit.*, 1. 155-156, p. 5.
22. *Ibid.*, 1.1303f., pp. 40-42. Though Myrc does classify infanticide as a venial sin, and recommends light penances for venial offences (1.1509f, p. 47), he later lists those who overlie their children with those who smite priests, clip coins, murder, are unlawfully wed, etc., as *casus reservatus* (1.1651f., p. 51). An interesting contrast here it would seem between church tradition (infanticide as a *casus reservatus* and local practice (overlaying as a venial sin).
23. Walter W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1900) v. 4, The Canterbury Tales Text. p. 604, 1.514. The Parson continues "What seye we eek of wommen that mordren hir children for drede of worldly shame? Certes, an horrible homicyde. Homicyde is eek if a man approcheth to a womman by desir of lecherye, thugh which the child is perished, or elless smyteth a womman witingly, thugh which she leseth hir child."
24. Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
25. Charles Gross, ed. *Select Cases from the Coroners' Rolls A.D. 1265-1413*, (London: Bernard Quaritch, Selden Society, 1881) v. 9, pp. 39-40. The case was dated May 31, 1363, at Stone, Buckinghamshire.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 40 (July 8, 1364), p. 50 (Sept. 13, 1396).
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82 (March 8, 1332), 13 (Oct. 6, 1269), 8 (Sept. 8, 1267), 11 (April 8, 1268).
28. Gross, ed., *op. cit.*, Drownings: pp. 1, 7, 8, 11, 13, 41, 81. Other forms of accidental death: pp. 6, 12, 50. Doris Mary Stenton, ed., *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre, Yorkshire, 3 Henry III (1218-19)*, (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1937) Selden Society, V. 56. Brownings: #431, 434, 464, 484, 500, 501, 554, 555, 567, 568, 602, 610, 629, 665, 679, 735, 749, 782, 787, 1039. Other: 442, 469, 630, 640, 652, 667, 778, 943. Transcription of J. I. 1/818, m. 47. Drownings: #19, 20; Other: #6.
29. Coroners' Rolls 12 cases: father finds—1 case; mother finds—3 cases; Justices in Eyre 29 cases: father finds—5 cases; mother finds—11 cases; nurse finds—1 case; Itinerant Justices 3 cases: father finds—1 case; mother finds—2 cases.
30. This strict statute said that anyone using these or any other means of concealing the death of a bastard was to receive a murder sentence. The statute

- was repealed, however, *The Statutes at Large*, v. 3, JI, c. 27. For repeal see Chitty et al., *Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England*, v. 2, Book IV, p. 151. Published first in the same year—1623—Shakespeare's *Macbeth* included in the witches' brew "Finger of Birth-strangled babe/Ditch-deliver'd by a drab."
31. Stenton, ed., *Justices in Eyre*, #943, 778.
 32. Joseph C. Rheingold, *The Fear of Being a Woman: A Theory of Maternal Destructiveness*, (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1964) 75.
 33. E. A. Wrigley, *Population and History*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969) 125.
 34. The only case that I have found which involves a man killing children is one mentioned briefly by Naomi D. Hurnard, *The King's Pardon for Homicide before 1307 A.D.*, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969) 161. The man had killed two boys but, interestingly enough, he pled insanity and was pardoned.
 35. Barbara Westman, "The Female Felon in Fourteenth Century England." To appear in *Viator* V, 1974, p. 9 of pre-print. She does however, include one case involving the drowning of a one year old that I think might by current definition be termed infanticide.
 36. Hurnard, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
 37. KB 27/273 M. 29; KB 27/327 M. 36d. From Westman, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
 38. JI 3/48 M. 6. From Westman *op. cit.*, p. 11. Both stabbing and placing a child in a lighted hearth or an oven, as well as axe murder and drowning, still play a large part in infanticide and child murder cases and fantasies about them today—see Rheingold, *op. cit.*, p. 41, 48, 63, 73, 76, 101. There is also a persistent and suggestive association between babies and knives in folklore—John Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* (Sir Henry Ellis revision, London: George Bell and Sons, 1908) 80, in noting the ancient tradition quotes an epitome by Herrick, "Let the superstitious wife/ Neer the child's heart lay a knife,/ Point be up, and haft be down,/ (While she gossips in the towne:)/ This, 'mongst other mystick charms,/ Keeps the sleeping child from harmes." On the same theme, William Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders*, (London: W. Satchell, Peyton and Co., 1879), 14, reports that in West Riding of Yorkshire "a child was kept safe while sleeping by hanging a carving knife from the head of the cradle with the point suspended near the infant's face."
 39. Hurnard, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
 40. Rheingold, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
 41. JI 3/119 M. 14d. Westman, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
 42. R. F. Hunnisett, ed., *Beldfordshire Coroner's Rolls* #277. An interesting clue to women's rights in holding and willing property is provided in the last sentence of this case: "There are no chattels because she had a husband."
 43. JI 3/52/3 M.13 Westman, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
 44. JI 3/48 M.4d. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
 45. Hurnard, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
 46. *Ibid.*, p. 163. There was some controversy over this case—not over the woman's right to be freed but over the sheriff's right to do so himself. He was fined because it was officially not his duty "to release on bail people who had slain while mad, however, strong the case for leniency."
 47. Anthony Fitzherbert, *La Graunde Abridgement*, (In Aedibus Ricardi Tottell,

- 1565), "Corone et plee del corone Fol. 259, pl. 418 8 Edw. II 1314-15. Cited by Sir William Stanford, *Les Plees del Coron* which is quoted in Cyril C. Means, "The Phoenix of Abortional Freedom" *New York Law Forum* XVII (1971) 340.
48. Aemilius Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonica* (Akademische Druck-V. Verlagsanstalt, 1955) Part II, Decretalium Collectiones Lib. V, Tit. X, c. 1—Alexander III. Tornacenci Episcopo, c. 2—Lucius III. Parisiensi Episcopo. I would like to thank Dr. John Benton and Glenn Edwards for this reference.
 49. G. G. Coulton, *Infant Perdition in the Middle Ages*, (London: Simpkin Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd. 1922) 9.
 50. Theodor Erbe, ed., *Mirk's Festival: A Collection of Homilies*, (London: Early English Text Society, 1905) v. 96, pt. 1, 72.28-30, p. 208. William Henderson, *Notes on the Folklore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders* (London: W. Satchell, Peyton and Co. [for F.L.S.], 1879) 12-13. Rev. W. Gregor, *Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland*, (London: Elliot Stock [for F.L.S.], 1881) 214-15.
 51. J.I. 1/818, M.47, #10 (transcription). Also Hurnard, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
 52. Hurnard, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
 53. Interestingly enough, however, by the fifteenth century in France burning had become the established penalty for women guilty of infanticide. Though pardon was granted in some cases, it never was in those in which the mother had killed her child before giving it baptism. Once more, I think, feelings about the pollutive, unbaptized child are involved here, but from what scraps of evidence we have the policy towards neonaticide-infanticide in England in the later Middle Ages seems to have been not nearly so standardized. Y. B. Brissaud, "L'Infanticide a la Fin du Moyen Age, ses Motivations Psychologiques et sa Repression," *Revue historique de droit francais et etranger*, L (1972) 240f, 248f., 252-254.
 54. Cyril C. Means Jr., "The Phoenix of Abortional Freedom: Is a Penumbra or Ninth-Amendment Right About to Arise from the Nineteenth Century Legislative Ashes of a Fourteenth-Century Common-Law Liberty?" *New York Law Forum* XVII (1971) 335-362. I would like to thank Professor Means both for his interest in this article and for the valuable references he provided.
 55. Fitzherbert, *op. cit.*, Corone, f. 255, pl. 263 (Mich. 22 Edw. 3 1348). Also Means, *op. cit.*, p. 339. W. S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1923) v.III, p. 315.
 56. Means, *op. cit.*, p. 337. Also Fitzherbert, *op. cit.*, Corone f. 251, pl. 146 (Mich. 1 Edw. 3 1327).
 57. Theodor Erbe, *Mirk's Festival: A Collection of Homilies*, E.E.T.S. v. 96, part I, p. 150.
 58. Alan C. Kors, ed., *Witchcraft in Europe 1100-1700: A Documentary History*. (Philadelphia: University of Penn. Press 1972), p. 134.
 59. Montague Summers, trans. *Malleus maleficarum* (London: J. Rodker, 1928) 140-144.
 60. Joseph H. Marshburn, *Murder and Witchcraft in England, 1550-1640*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971) 53.
 61. Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972) 251-252. Thomas Wright, ed. *A Contemporary Narrative of the Proceedings Against Dame Alice Kyteler Prosecuted For Socery In 1324*

By Richard de Ledrede, Bishop of Ossory. (London: Camden Society by John Bonyer Nichols and Son, 1843) p. 2 mentions "pannis puerorum de-
cedentium sine baptismo." In Thomas Rogers Forbes, *The Midwife and the Witch*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966) 119 f. selections from the contemporary descriptions of witch activities are given. Also there is a summary of the research done on the possible pharmacological effects of the flying salves—it seems hallucinogens like henbane and moonshade were often included but a fatty base would have been needed for "percutaneous absorption"—though the fatty substance did not, of course, perforce have to come from dead infants.

62. Child foundation sacrifices were in the nineteenth century, popularly attributed to the Middle Ages—see for example Sabine Baring-Gould's *Strange Survivals*. But so far as I know, Medieval evidence is lacking (judgment based on the research of Doug McElroy, Cal. Tech., "On Foundation Sacrifices and Children.")
63. Gavin I. Langmuir, "The Knights Tale of Young Hugh of Lincoln," *Speculum* July, 1972, p. 459-469.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 463.
65. Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943) pp. 132-139.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
67. Michael M. Sheehan, C.S.B., "The Formation and Stability of Marriage in Fourteenth-Century England: Evidence of an Ely Register," *Mediaeval Studies*, vol. 33, 1971, p. 237-239.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 251.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 252.
70. George Caspar Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942) p. 164-165.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 136-139.
73. Ray E. Helfer and C. Henry Kempe, *The Battered Child* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968) p. 7.
74. J.I. i/1007, M.91. Hurnard, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
75. Homans, *op. cit.*, p. 169. Also W. S. Holdsworth, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 258.
76. G. G. Coulton, Trans., *Life in the Middle Ages* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930) Book I, p. 224.
77. Mary Bateson, ed., *Borough Customs*, (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1906) v. II (Selden Society v. 21), p. 108-112.
78. Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 129.
79. McNeill and Gamer, *op. cit.*, p. 339.
80. Peacock, ed., *op. cit.*, 1. 87f., pp. 3-5.
81. Erbe, *op. cit.*, 72.28-30. p. 208.
82. Coulton, *Infant Perdition*, p. 9.
83. Gregor, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 9, 11-12. Once it was determined the child was a changeling, one attempted to hold the child down until it could be taken to a place where four roads met. There it was to be laid down and a dead body carried over it; afterward the "true child" was supposed to appear. Actually, if the child survived the trial by fire and the exposure at the crossroads it would be some-

- thing of a minor miracle in itself. Other variations of the motif included the changeling escaping up the chimney (Thomas Keightley, *The Fairy Mythology* (London: H. G. Bohn, 1850) p. 356; Miss Dempster, "The Folklore of Sutherlandshire," *The Folklore Journal*, 1888, p. 216), or being left on a dunghill (Francis Grose, *A Provincial Glossary*, 1787 (Menston, Engl.: The Scholar Press, Ltd., 1968), "Superstitions," p. 41), or being put on the ashes' pile, beaten well with a broom, laid naked under a church stile, and then left until nightfall ("Cornish Folklore," *The Folklore Journal*, 1887, p. 184).
85. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence and Venice, 1759-98), Tome 23, col. 420.xv.
 86. Quoted by Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*, Book I, p. 33.
 87. Stith Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955-1958) v. II, p. 464 f. Hans Plischke, *Die Sage vom Wilden Heere* (Leipzig, 1917) 30, 65, 70. Also Jacob Grimm, (James Stallybrass, trans.), *Teutonic Mythology* (New York: Dover, 1966), v. 1, p. 269; v. 3, p. 918, 920f.
 88. Juha Pentikainen, *The Nordic Dead-Child Tradition: Nordic Dead-Child Beliefs, A Study in Comparative Religion*, (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia Academia Scientiarum Fennica, FF communications No. 202, 1968) 190 f. This is only one strand of the tradition that of the "utburd," but it is the most widely known. The idea of the parasitic child may well be more deep-set universal one—see Rheingold, *op. cit.*, p. 570 f. "It appears then that the idea of being destroyed by the infant is a projection of the mother's wish to destroy it . . ."
 89. Brand, *op. cit.*, V.II, p. 73; Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
 90. Pentikainen, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
 91. Laura A. Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England: A Study of the Sources and Analogues of the Non-cyclic Metrical Romances*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1924) 45.
 92. See for example Jacques Guillemeau, *The Nursing of Children Wherein is Set Down the Ordering and government of them, from their Birth*. (London: A. Hatfield, 1612) Li 2. But the tradition is a long one and can also be found in Trotula etc.
 93. Thompson, *op. cit.*, v. 5. Also Hibbard, *op. cit.*, pp. 49f.
 94. Helfer and Kempe, ed. *op. cit.*, p. 136. See also Shirley M. Nurse, "Familial Patterns of Parents Who Abuse Their Children." *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, XXXV (Oct. 1964).
 95. See for example, Richard Morris, ed. *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt or Remorse of Conscience* (London: N. Trubner & Company, E.E.T.S., 1866) v. 23, p. 82.
 96. David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History: The Psychology of Family Life in Early Modern France* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970) 153.
 97. Rheingold, *op. cit.*, pp. 694-697.
 98. See William L. Langer, "Infanticide: A Historical Survey" *History of Childhood Quarterly* I (1973).
 99. D. Seaborne Davies, "Child Killing In English Law," *Modern Law Review* I (Dec. 1937) 221.
 100. Luke Owen Pike, *A History of Crime in England* (Montclair, N.J.: Patterson, Smith, 1968 reprint) v. 2, p. 469.

FATHERS AND SONS REVISITED: THE CHILDHOOD OF VISSARION BELINSKII

PATRICK P.
DUNN

In the first issue of this Journal, the experiment of Bronson Alcott in attempting to bring up his children without physical punishment was described. At about the same time, early in the nineteenth century, a Russian father was trying to do much the same thing, but in an atmosphere of even greater social disapproval. Professor Dunn describes the results in his fascinating study of the family origin of personal autonomy, and speculates on broader trends in Russian childrearing which may have helped create the conditions for later revolutionary action.

"... you weren't treated harshly as a child?"

"You see the kind of parents I have: not at all strict."

"Are you fond of them, Yevgeny?"

"I am Arkady!"

"They're very fond of you!"

—Turgenev, *Fathers and Sons*

... [Grigorii Belynskii] was the only father in the city who understood that in raising children it is not necessary to treat them like cattle."

—D. P. Ivanov

For a variety of reasons Ivan Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons* has long been recognized as a great novel: in it Turgenev creates his first strong masculine hero, Evgenii Bazarov; it has become a symbol of generational conflict; and it occupies a central position in Russian intellectual history, marking simultaneously the emergence of the term "nihilism" and the split between Turgenev and the leaders of the radical tradition in Russian literary criticism. Bazarov, the central character in the novel, was modeled on the life of the noted literary and social critic, Vissarion Belinskii (1811-48). Both fictional Bazarov and real Belinskii were commoners, sons of military doctors who had retired to the provinces after the Napoleonic Wars; both made their way in the world by their intelligence rather than by inherited wealth or position; both hastened their death through their own carelessness about their health; and both were revolutionaries, seeking to destroy (through ideas and persuasion rather than violence) the very foundations of mid-nineteenth-century Russia.

Rarely noticed, however, is the unusual relationship between Bazarov and his father. The warm, nurturant attitude of the elder Bazarov stands in stark contrast to the cold, distant, even hostile attitude characteristic of Russian fathers in the nineteenth century. But this fictional relationship too had its reference in reality, in the relationship of Belinskii and his father. In this article I will explore Belinskii's unusual childhood and how it influenced his later career as literary and social critic.

Vissarion Belinskii was born in Sveaborg, Finland, apparently in May of 1811. His father, Grigorii (1784-1835), was a physician assigned to the Russian Baltic Fleet stationed in that city; his mother, Mariia Belynskaia (1788-1834), was the daughter of a ship captain whom Grigorii had met the previous year when assigned to the Kronstadt naval base. Both Belynskii and his father-in-law were sons of priests who, because of wartime needs, now found themselves in military rather than clerical garb. Grigorii and Mariia were married less than six months after they had first met; their son followed nine months later, and then in the fall of 1811 Grigorii left for sea duty until 1813.¹

Vissarion's first year was a difficult one.

I remember the history of my mother. She loved to roam about like a scandal-monger, to make idle chatter. As an infant I was left to a nurse, a hired wench; so that I would not disturb her with my cries, she smothered and struck me. . . . of course I was not given the breast; I was a sickly infant, near death, and did not take the breast, did not know it (although now I love it doubly), I sucked on a nursing bottle and even then, if the milk was soured or spoiled—I was not able to get fresh milk.²

There is no additional account of these early events which might confirm or disconfirm Belinskii's recollection, but it would be unfair to

doubt the honesty of these words, to doubt that this at least is what Belinskii believed occurred. Further, as I shall show later, the inability of Mariia Belinskaia to comprehend and satisfy her children's psychological needs can be substantiated. Vissarion's memory of infancy either genuinely or symbolically indicates the early extreme oral deprivation which was to influence his adult life.

Mariia Belinskaia, however, was not an unusual mother. The traditional Russian mother was detached from her children, restrictive rather than permissive in handling their spontaneous behavior, and understood only the basic material needs of her children. Although I have dealt with this topic elsewhere,³ for proper perspective it should be pointed out that the use of wet-nurses was widespread in Russia, as was swaddling children and then entrusting them to the care of older children or old women. Mothers simply were not greatly involved with their children; indeed in the 1780's when the mother of Sergei Aksakov personally put her infant daughter to the breast of the wet-nurse and personally rocked her child to sleep, a relative warned that "such exaggerated love was a crime against God, and he would surely punish it."⁴ Mariia Belinskaia did not commit such a crime. She emerges from the recollections of friends and relatives as a "fiery and irritable" woman who was unable to relate to her husband "in a loving and trusting manner," and "all of her concern, as with the majority of provincial mothers, was concentrated on clothing her children properly and especially on feeding them satisfactorily."⁵ Her concern with feeding children is not inconsistent with Belinskii's memories of infancy; a hired girl with a bottle would be satisfactory in the mind of an adult who had no realization of the significance of the mother-infant relationship at feeding.

In 1816 Grigorii Belynskii resigned from service for reasons of health (further details unknown) and took a government position as the district doctor in Chembar, located in his home province of Penza. He had excellent connections in Chembar; the Secretary of the District Court, Petr Ivanov, had married one of Belynskii's cousins, and Vissarion was to become very close to the Ivanov children, especially Ekaterina and Dmitrii; the wealthiest landowner in the district, Nikolai Vladykin, was also related by marriage to the family of the new doctor. With his profession and these social ties Belynskii might well have become a popular and respected member of society; instead he became alienated, lonely, and bitter.

What differentiated Belynskii from the rest of society and led to his alienation were his experiences in the years 1805-11. The son of an Orthodox priest, at an early age he had begun formal preparation for the traditional career of the family. But in 1805, at the age of 21, he left the seminary, somehow made his way to St. Petersburg, and enrolled in the Imperial Medical-Surgical Academy which, since its estab-

lishment near the end of the Wars of the French Revolution, encouraged the enrollment of seminarians with a good knowledge of Latin. The details surrounding Belynskii's decision are unclear, but the consequences were enormous. It broke the tradition of sons of priests following the careers of their fathers, it removed him from the controlling influence Russian parents, especially fathers, traditionally exercised over the lives of even their adult sons,⁶ and it replaced the comparatively sterile cultural climate of the provinces with the fertile one of the capital. In these conditions Belynskii was able, if not forced, to develop a sense of personal autonomy, to exercise his powers of discrimination and to control his own actions, rather than merely adhering to tradition and traditional authority. His career was unlike his father's; in Petersburg, Kronstadt, Sveaborg, and at sea he moved in and out of situations for which his previous experiences as the son of a provincial priest were inappropriate. He had to make his own decisions, form his own opinions, and act on them; the results were untraditional. He chose his own wife, for example, and Voltaire and Masonic writings formed his attitudes toward authority and religion. Even the medals he won for valor, although traditional awards, indicate his personal courage to do what he felt necessary, to act alone, under adverse conditions. And returning to Chembar, he did not change. He horrified local residents by rarely attending church services, and was given the nickname of Ammos Fedorovich, the free-thinking character in Gogol's *Revizor*. He spoke out on current issues and would not yield to the traditional power of the nobility. The most notable example of the latter involved the apparent suicide of the maid of Princess Kugusheva, wife of the district police captain; after examining the girl Belynskii reported to the District Court that the girl had died of injuries sustained during a beating administered by the Princess, who then shoddily staged the suicide. Outspoken and showing no deference to superiors, Belynskii watched his practice dwindle and his circle of friends shrink.⁷

Alienated from Society, Belynskii turned to his family. His wife offered little solace. Illiterate, but with hopes of rising in social circles, she continually criticized her husband's carefree attitudes toward religious and social obligations. Her criticism and demands became more insistent as the physician's practice, reflecting social opinion, dwindled. He usually answered her criticism with cold silence or caustic wit, the latter reply often sparking heated quarrels which frequently drove their children to refuge in the Ivanov home. One relative even believed that one source of conflict was that Belynskii failed to show proper deference to his wife, daughter of a shipmaster, while he was but the son of an impoverished priest.⁸ Alienated from society and having little in common with his wife in terms of education and attitudes, Grigorii Belynskii turned to his eldest son, Vissarion, developing with him a

warm, nurturant relationship uncharacteristic of nineteenth-century Russian fathers.

Russian priests traditionally become involved with their sons early in life; it was under his father's direction that the future priest probably first studied Latin, first read the scriptures. So to Belynskii, the son of a priest, it probably seemed natural that he become involved in his son's education. He taught Vissarion Latin, but there the traditional content ended. Along with scripture, Vissarion read Voltaire;⁹ along with interpretations of scripture, Vissarion listened to his father's interpretations of past and current events. His father's involvement did not end when Vissarion entered the district school at the age of eleven. For example, one of the teachers at the school was a devotee of the birch as an instrument of discipline and a method of hardening young bodies, justifying his actions in terms of both the Spartan educational system and the accepted practices of seminaries. The young Vissarion, although not himself beaten, but unaccustomed to physical discipline, was indignant and turned to his father. Belynskii, who considered birching "barbarian," intervened in his capacity as district doctor and through the school Inspector put an end to the practice. Dmitrii Ivanov, Vissarion's cousin, summed up the father-son relationship by saying that there existed "a true empathy between them, which was preserved forever and acted nobly on both during the harsh events of life."¹⁰ There was a negative side however; even as a child Belinskii shared his father's social alienation. In 1829, upon his acceptance into Moscow University, Belinskii wrote to his father: "I suppose that in the well-known city of Chembar people are amazed that I have been accepted into the Imperial Moscow University. Of course I care very little for the opinions of the citizens of Chembar. I was not appreciated in Chembar, but I have been recognized in Moscow."¹¹

Such a father-son relationship was truly unusual in nineteenth-century Russia. The father was a significant figure in the child's world, but as an awesome antagonist who demanded strict obedience rather than as a teacher who nurtured and empathized. In 1783, for example, the French influence publicist N. I. Novikov pleaded with Russian fathers to spend at least one hour a day with their children and warned that control of children through "strict rules, severe punishment . . . and angry deeds" would breed filial contempt rather than love.¹² Yet over and over again one finds in memoirs memories of paternal detachment and hostility. Filial love, when mentioned, is usually coupled with fear, so that it resembles identification with an aggressor rather than empathy between individuals. Again, although I have dealt with this topic elsewhere, a few examples help place the Belynskii family in perspective. Of his childhood years in the first decade of the nineteenth century, Aleksandr Deliaev remembered of his non-noble father:

We children were very much afraid of him, since he was very strict, but simultaneously we also loved and respected him immeasurably. When he rested after dinner, we all had to go about on tip-toes . . . It was not I alone, but also all the servants in the house and on the estate loved and feared him at the same time.¹³

Alexander Herzen (b. 1812) in describing his father wrote:

Mockery, irony, cold, caustic, utter contempt, were the tools which he wielded like an artist; he employed them equally against us and against the servants. . . . until I went to prison I actually was estranged from my father, and joined with the maids and men-servants in waging a little war against him.¹⁴

Of his childhood in the 1840's N. Levakovskii recalled that "Our father's treatment of us, beyond providing the means of material existence, can be formulated in one word 'strictness,'" and in the home where "affection was considered impermissible," any show of it was met with a "cuff on the nape of the neck."¹⁵ When one finds warm, involved parents, they are also recognized by their contemporaries as being somehow different, as being "sinful" as the mother of Aksakov, or alienated like Grigorii Belynskii, or odd like the father of V. Lebedev:

His idea concerning the upbringing of children was that their primary education as well as their preparation to social life . . . was a duty of the parents. His ideas about childrearing, as well as those about social events, both of which were the result of observation and thought . . . earned for him . . . the reputation of an eccentric.¹⁶

The unusually warm relationship with his father, like the early extreme oral deprivation, was to have a profound effect on Vissarion's character.

Belinskii left no memoirs, and references in his letters to his childhood are rare. But there are two sources dating from his early years in Moscow (1829-34) which yield evidence both of the domestic drama in the Belynskii household and its effect on the children. The first of these is the correspondence among Vissarion, his parents, brothers, and the Ivanovs. The second is *Dmitrii Kalinin*, a play Vissarion completed in 1831 (at the age of 19).

The correspondence can be divided into two phases. From the fall of 1829 through 1831 the central concern is Vissarion's difficulties at the university and Belynskii's encouragement, advice, and prodding of his son; the family remained relatively stable. From 1831 until Belynskii's death in 1835 the letters reveal the family's growing disappointment with Vissarion, the heightening of its internal conflicts, and the deterioration of the health of both parents.

Grigorii Belynskii expected two things of his son: that he pursue his own interests and that he eventually obtain a position in teaching or

civil service which would then enable him to help his younger brothers follow his path. Belynskii's letters to his son contained advice and money. For example, when it appeared that Vissarion might have to wait a year before formally enrolling in the university, his father cautioned him not to squander the year but to "attend the lectures in those subjects you wish to study" even if it would gain him no credits. When Vissarion needed money his father cautioned him to be more provident, but sent the funds in order that his son "learn to value such a sum through its application to necessities." When Vissarion contemplated leaving the university in 1831 because of what he felt to be intolerable living conditions and the tyranny of administrators, his father reminded him that such an action would preclude fulfillment of both the youth's own dreams and those of the family. He cautioned his son to hold his tongue, but especially to "obey authority, for without this you will never become what you wish to be; if you ignore this, then farewell! . . . God preserve you! Believe your father who desires only good for you."¹⁷ Although his advice was heeded, Belynskii was losing his influence with his son; in late 1830, as cholera closed the university, students quarantined to the dorm began forming circles. In one of them Vissarion found a source of encouragement and ideas more immediate than his father. In January of 1831 Belynskii conceded to Ekaterina Ivanova that "we are no longer necessary to him [Vissarion], he needs only money, and if I would send him a hundred rubles or so, he'd surely remember about us."¹⁸ Late that same month Vissarion used lines from the minor poet I. M. Dolgorukov, to announce that he was embarking on "the great, spacious sea" of literature, that he was submitting the play *Dmitrii Kalinin* to the censorship committee for permission to publish it. Both Ekaterina Ivanova and Belynskii had read drafts of the play and both wrote, warning Vissarion to reconsider his decision; Belynskii even quoted to his son lines of the same minor poet, Dolgorukov, that he "watch out—lest woe come to you."¹⁹ But Belynskii's university friends, the so-called "Literary Society of [Dorm room] #11," urged the aspiring playwright on in hopes of performing the play at the university, and he submitted it; it was banned and its author put under special surveillance by the inspector of students. Relations between father and son cooled rapidly, the former feeling forgotten by his son, the latter increasingly widening his contacts in Moscow. Belynskii now turned his attention to his third son, Nikanor.

The letters to Vissarion from home after 1831 came mainly from his brother Konstantin and his mother. The central concerns became Vissarion's search for a position, his father's increased drinking, and the "problem" of the youngest son, Nikanor. Nikanor (b. 1821) seemed to be the focus of the problems. Like Vissarion, he was intelligent and close to his father, who encouraged his literary aspirations, even sending

some of his writings to Vissarion for submission to the censorship committee. Nikanor shared his father's disdain for religion and his caustic wit, and Belynskii considered this son to be gifted and destined to follow in the footsteps of Vissarion. This infuriated Mariia Belinskaia who favored her second son, Konstantin, who "lives the life of a virgin, never missed Holyday or Sunday matins, tolerates his poverty, does not drink, is frugal, orderly, quiet . . ." The differences between the two boys was clearly revealed in one of their mother's letters to her eldest son: "It is noon, Nikanor is completely engrossed in reading a book on Russia in 1812 which father bought for him yesterday, while Konstantin is smearing butter on flat cakes and eating heartily with one hand and churning fresh butter in a carafe with the other." In his mother's view, Vissarion, too, should reform his life, become like Konstantin, and she explained all his difficulties by his failure to be a devout Christian. When Vissarion was expelled from the university in 1832, primarily for reasons of health (he had been hospitalized several times for respiratory difficulties, forerunners of the T.B., which, at the age of 37, was to cause his death), his mother wrote that this was the result of the fact that "you did not have true faith in God, hope in the Creator, and did not beseech the Mother of God; turn to God more, have faith, pray, go to church oftener. . ."²⁰ But Vissarion snapped back that "childish toys such as religious ceremonies" could do him no good.²¹ And he asked his father not to judge him too harshly, not to condemn him, for "only when the curtain falls do they call an actor back with cheers and hisses, only when he has finished his performance."²² Vissarion was beyond his mother's control, but Nikanor was not. She tried to enforce his obedience, even striking him; and her use of physical discipline guaranteed an angry explosion by her husband.²³ Perhaps, a few years earlier, her attempts to bring Vissarion into line had fueled the fires of the heated parental arguments that drove the children from the house. In short, the correspondence reflects a family split into two camps; Vissarion and Nikanor lined up behind their father who encouraged his sons' non-traditional behavior and judged by performance, while Konstantin and his mother tended to traditional obedience and religiosity. This reveals much of the conflict within the family.

Dmitrii Kalinin is an angry play about incest, murder, and suicide, but written by a frail, gentle young man who was paralyzed by fear at the sight of physical violence. It is a fantasy, a release of repressed emotions and attitudes. The plot is simple. Dmitrii is a young man, raised as a ward of a landowner named Lesinskii, who detests his wife and their sons but spends much time reading and talking with his ward. Dmitrii falls in love with Lesinskii's daughter and asks for her hand, but Lesinskii dies suddenly and his wife opposes the marriage because she plans to marry off Sophia to a Prince for purposes of social prestige. Further she reveals that Dmitrii's parents had been serfs, hence Dmitrii is a serf, and will become

a household servant; Dmitrii later finds out that Lesinskii had freed him from serfdom, but that Lesinskaia and her sons had destroyed the legal document. When Andrei, Lesinskaia's favorite son, calls Dmitrii a slave [*rab*], a fight ensues and Andrei is killed; Dmitrii then stabs Sophia in the heart, fulfilling her request to die rather than live the life her mother had charted for her. Finally Dmitrii takes his own life, but not before learning that he is Lesinskii's illegitimate son; hence in his death scene he denounces his father and condemns himself as guilty of incest and murder.

Belinskii's conscious purpose in writing the play was to gain a bit of fame and enough money to ease his economic need; unconsciously it expressed his deepest personal resentments and conflicts. The Lesinskii family is clearly modeled on the Belinskii family; both husbands had little in common with their wives and turned most of their attention on their eldest son. The members of #11 knew that "the hero of the drama we read was the author himself, and the scenes depicted were taken from his family life."²⁴ If Vissarion and his father shared an empathy, then Lesinskii and Dmitrii are described as "akin in heart and soul." Like Belynskaia, Lesinskaia is an uneducated woman who craves social status; the second sons of both fathers were obedient and close to their mothers. Sophia, an intelligent, sensitive young woman who was raised outside the household by an aunt, is modeled on Ekaterina Ivanova, Vissarion's intelligent, sensitive cousin (henced also raised outside the household by an aunt). Finally, the correspondence between Belinskii and his family discussed above revealed quarrels between his parents over the behavior of their children; in the play Dmitrii recalls "there were often disagreements between her [Lesinskaia] and her husband because of me, even quarrels and fights."²⁵ Thus, *Dmitrii Kalinin* is really a drama about the Belynskii household, a vehicle for Vissarion's expression of emotion.

The emotions which found expression in the play were Vissarion's hatred of his mother, ambivalence toward his father, and frustration with a society which did not conform to his childhood expectations, which blocked the development of the personal autonomy encouraged by his father's guidance and support.

When Dmitrii describes Lesinskaia as "from the first day of my life . . . a perpetual enemy," Belinskii is venting more than his feelings toward a mother who abandoned him to an inconsiderate hired girl; he is denouncing a woman who never understood his personal needs. One key to the play is the use of the word "slave" (*rab*) to describe Dmitrii who was not technically a slave but a serf (*krepostnoi*). N. M. Mikhailovskii traced Belinskii's use of the words slave and slavery in letters, articles, and recorded conversations and concluded that slavery was the subjugation of the human personality to authority, be it political authority or the authority of custom, tradition, or social opinion.²⁶ To do or be-

lieve anything because such actions or beliefs are dictated by authority, tradition, or even an intellectual system, was to be a slave; belief and action must spring from personal conviction. Both Lesinskii and Belynskii encouraged their sons to develop autonomy, to live by their convictions; Lesinskaia's attempt to rob Dmitrii of the freedom his father had given him symbolizes Vissarion's reaction to his mother's efforts to convince him that his difficulties in life proceeded from his failure to observe social and religious traditions. Like Lesinskaia, she is the "superstitious female-snake," the "constant tormenter"²⁷ who never understood her son's need to believe and act from conviction, who taunted him because he was neither obedient nor religious—like her Konstantin or Lesinskaia's Andrei. Vissarion's attraction to his mother as a woman was deflected to Ivanova and emerges in the play in the intense, incestual relationship of Dmitrii and Sophia. But it was an inadequate substitute for the fullness of the missing mother-son relationship.

Belinskii's ambivalence toward his father and his frustration in society are bound together, the realization that his childhood was dysfunctional reinforcing what "natural" ambivalence he might have felt. His upbringing prepared him for a world in which individual effort and merit brought recognition, and instead he found himself in a world where birthright and wealth outweighed, almost crushed, effort and merit. On the journey to Moscow in 1829, for example, the nobles in the party objected to traveling with him; he almost failed to gain entry into the university because the noble assembly of Chembar was slow in forwarding certification of his free birth; while he lived miserably in a dormitory, sons of nobles lived well, even had servants; cholera confined commoners to their quarters, while sons of nobles went home. Students were told what they could do, where they could go, what they could read; nowhere was merit and effort recognized, everywhere was "slavery," the subjugation of personal autonomy to social and governmental authority. The play was Belinskii's protest. Sophia, for example, argued that "rights by birth . . . are an insult to humanity, that only the worthiness of a person must grant rights in honor and glory."²⁸ Dmitrii argued that:

When laws are contrary to the rights of nature and humanity, to reason itself, then man can and should violate them. Do I not have the right to love a girl because her father is wealthy and carries the empty title of nobleman, while I am poor and without title? She loves me; here is the source of the inalienable right with which I answer.²⁹

The most famous passage in the play is Dmitrii's denunciation of serfdom:

Could it be that these men were born into the world only to serve the whims of such men as those [landowners]? . . . Who gave them this fatal right—for one man to enslave by force the wills of other creatures like himself, to take from them their holy treasure—freedom? Who gave them permission to violate the laws of nature and humanity?³⁰

That Belinskii was protesting serfdom is undeniable; but his protest is broader, it is against anything—law, tradition, or custom—which is placed in value above the human personality. As Mikhailovskii pointed out, the play, like all of Belinskii's work, "is permeated by this struggle with slavery in the cause of the value of the human personality."³¹ But upholding the human personality meant transgressing social, legal, and religious mores, involved suffering and guilt. It was not a fate Belinskii would wish on anyone and he warned his brothers not to follow his lead; but he could not live otherwise, there was no turning back from the path on which he had set out under his father's direction. And Belinskii's hatred for his father, the other side of their warm relationship, is expressed by Dmitrii just before his suicide: ". . . damn you [Lesinskii] and this terrible gift, this life of guilt for which I am indebted to you."³² The incest theme developed in the play makes it possible, of course, that this is also an expression of father-son Oedipal rivalry; still, the stronger theme here is the ingratitude of the son for the gift of an unhappy life.

Belinskii's experiences in childhood dominated his adult life by predisposing him to certain types of behavior, certain modes of thought and feeling, which, because of social factors and the "intellectual climate" were relevant to (or at least tolerated in) nineteenth-century Russia. The impact of childhood is most evident in two areas—his constant need for oral gratification and his lifelong struggle for the worth and dignity of the individual.

Belinskii's career as a literary critic was consistent with his early childhood interest in literature; as early as 1824, at the age of 12, he impressed the curator of his school with his knowledge of literature, and one of his teachers at the *gimnaziia* wrote that "I do not recall talking so sincerely about literature and education with anyone else in Pensa."³³ So it is natural that he seek a job dealing with literature. Further, "the time was ripe"; literary journals were an established fact in Russia by 1830 (although the existence of any specific publication was precarious), yet journalism was not yet a socially acceptable career for a nobleman. Hence Belinskii, competent in literature but not of the nobility,³⁴ was ideally suited for such a career. Finally, chance played a part; N. I. Nadezhdin, editor of the *Teleskop*, was a professor at the university and turned to students for the help he needed in publishing the journal. In early 1833 he asked Belinskii to join the staff. Hence Belinskii's career as a literary critic was a result of training and circumstance. But litera-

ture had a deeper meaning for Belinskii: it was a leading component of that part of his personality shaped by oral and maternal deprivation. In 1835 Belinskii wrote a stirring tribute to woman, as man's "guardian-angel, whose solicitous gaze greets man on his entry into the world, toward whom the child turns his first smile, through whom noble passions are aroused in man eventually leading to a life of reciprocal love with a woman," but, the essay concludes, what is the fate of a man "if death or the circumstances of life do not allow him to drink of this cup of bliss or, if instead of the cup of shared love he tastes the pain of rejected love? . . ."³⁵ For Belinskii oral needs were displaced from the physical to the intellectual sphere, and interaction with friends replaced the maternal interaction usually accompanying oral gratification. Books and ideas were clusters of nutrients to be taken in and restructured into personal, usually unique, ideas and attitudes. Consistent with this, Belinskii was little concerned with what he ate or with his physical appearance; he always seemed to lack the "feminine attention" that kept clothes mended, cheeks rosy. Not that he was pitiable, for he always acted proud and bold and people realized his unconcern for his physical appearance reflected his concentration "on other, more important, interests."³⁶ Belinskii's writing abounds with oral metaphors; for example Dmitrii Kalinin says "blessed is he who experiences the enchantment of love, who *tastes* its joy," "love *filled* my being," and again "the right to *nourish* love and enjoy it."³⁷ [Italics mine.] "To drink of the bitter cup of fate" was one of his favorite phrases. The social interaction accompanying oral gratification was furnished by circles of friends; a book, an idea, was not something to be devoured alone, but to share with others. In Chembar Belinskii had the Ivanovs, in Penza Popov and a group of seminarians, at the university the "Literary Society of #11," and after the university the Stankevich circle; the emotional impact of the circle can be gauged by Belinskii's letters. Through the summer of 1833 he found Moscow boring and applied for a teaching position in Belorussia, but in a letter in September he told of his joining the Stankevich circle and wrote of Moscow:

O Moscow, Moscow! To live and die in this city of white stone is my greatest desire. I confess to you, brother, that to leave Moscow would be to leave paradise. If I am sent to damn Belorussia, then I shall stay but a year, two at most—then back to Moscow, beloved Moscow.³⁸

In his published reviews, which probably reflect a displacement of the need to experience gratification to the need to give it verbally, the critic always tried to establish a personal relationship with the reader, speaking to them directly, often using the familiar "ty" rather than the formal "vy." For example, the third installment of Belinskii's first major

publication, "Literary Reveries," begins:

"How, now, what is this? Not a review, surely?" the alarmed readers ask me.

Yes, dear sirs, though perhaps not quite a review, but something like that. And so—*silence!* But what do I see? You make a wry face, you shrug your shoulders, you shout at me in chorus: "No, sir, that's an old trick—you cannot fool us. . . . We have not yet forgotten the previous reviews, they made us feel bad enough! . . ."

What can I say to this unavoidable greeting? Really, I am completely at a loss . . . Well then . . . read it, if merely to beguile the time—there is nothing to read nowadays, you know, so this might prove a stop-gap³⁹

When Belinskii was cut off from contact with others, he became discouraged and depressed. Undoubtedly the most severe instance of this was the period immediately following his move from Moscow, the center of intellectual life in the 1830's, to St. Petersburg, the city of practical men and bureaucrats. Cut off from friends, from the excitement of literary and philosophical gatherings, and mired in deep depression, Belinskii, in a letter to his close friend Botkin, had the clearest insight into his own needs. He recalled how as an infant he had not been given the breast, confessed that he now desired it strongly, and admitted that lately in the company of women, whether he was acquainted with them or not,

I am on fire. I feel everything felt by a man who has, for a long time, been chasing a woman who inflames his passions, a man who is making his final assault on her. Were I in this position (let us suppose it for a joke), it seems to me that blood would gush from my mouth, nose, ears, and I would fall upon her breast like a dead body. . . . I am ill, friend, very ill—pity me. I shall talk no more about this subject which fascinates me against my will. . . .⁴⁰

Finally, it appears that in his marriage Belinskii sought to reestablish the elements of his own childhood and through his son resolve more favorably his childhood crises. He married a woman with the same name as his mother, Mariia; he named his children Vladimir and Ol'ga. In all the drafts of *Dmitrii Kalinin* prior to its submission to the censors, Dmitrii and Sophia were named Vladimir and Ol'ga. Thus, symbolically, Belinskii's wife represented his own mother, his son represented himself as a child, and under his guidance the warm mother-son relationship he himself craved could now symbolically be established. But even here Belinskii was frustrated; Vladimir died shortly after his birth.

On the one hand, then, Belinskii's choice of a career, his personal relationships, and his marriage, were influenced by his relationship with

his mother; on the other hand, the major themes of his literary and social criticism were influenced by the warm, interactive relationship with his father. The amount of freedom coupled with advice and support allowed to Belinskii by his father allowed the son to learn to regulate his own actions and through this to develop a certain sense of pride and autonomy.⁴¹ Belinskii's pride in self was noted by his teachers in the *gimnaziia*, reflected in his correspondence to his parents, and symbolized in Dmitrii Kalinin's protests against "slavery," against anything which limited a person's right to determine his own actions. For a brief period in late 1837 Belinskii almost capitulated to a reality which failed to appreciate him, almost succumbed to Hegel's "beautiful and holy world" where "in order that my existence be necessary, I be the piece of trash that I am." By June of 1838, however, Belinskii was demanding of his Hegelian friend, Michael Bakunin: "respect my individuality, my subjectivity."⁴² By July his acceptance of reality was severely strained: "To hell with it! You accept everything here, you bear everything, take everything upon yourself if only to live; to hell with it, to live!"⁴³ But he clung desperately to Hegel, it was the tie to his friends, to Stankevich, the central figure in the circle of men and ideas that nourished his being. And then Stankevich died; Belinskii tore into Hegel's Absolute: "What is this Universal (for the perception of which Stankevich lived and died alone)? A Moloch devouring its own, a Saturn eating its children?"⁴⁴ "This Universal," he finally realized, "is the executioner of human individuality,"⁴⁵ and must be abandoned. By early 1841 Belinskii reaffirmed that "the fate of a subject, an individual, a personality is more important than the fate of the world. . . ."⁴⁶ From 1841 on Belinskii wrote against the slavery he had protested in *Dmitrii Kalinin*, whether the agent of enslavement be intellectual systems, the government, or the church. For example, in his most famous work, a letter of 1847 to Gogol protesting the latter's defense of serfdom, he wrote:

That you base such teaching on the Orthodox Church I can understand: it has always served as the prop of the knout and the servant of despotism; but why have you mixed Christ up in this? What in common have you found between Him and any church, least of all the Orthodox Church? He was the first to bring to people the teaching of freedom, equality and brotherhood and set the seal of truth to that teaching by martyrdom. And this teaching was men's *salvation* only until it became organized in the Church and took the principle of Orthodoxy for its foundation. The Church, on the other hand, was a hierarchy, consequently a champion of inequality, a flatterer of authority, an enemy and persecutor of brotherhood among men—and so it has remained to this day.⁴⁷

The belief in the value of the human personality remained his central concern throughout his life; even his acceptance of socialism was merely to affirm this belief. Socialism, he wrote Botkin in 1841, "has become for the idea of ideas . . . the alpha and omega of belief and knowledge." But he revealed later in the letter his understanding of socialism: "Sociality, sociality—or death. That is my motto. What do I care for the existence of the universal when individuality is suffering?"⁴⁸

The belief in the value of the human personality is also the central tenet of Belinskii's literary criticism. In an essay "On the Russian Short Story and the Stories of Gogol (1835)," Belinskii called for a literature in which the plots were simple, and the author's creativity was expressed in characterization. Gogol's stories presented the "poetry of life" because the reader experienced empathy with characters: ". . . you sob with Filemon, experience with him the depths of bitterness and emotion. . ."⁴⁹ In his "Survey of Russian Literature in 1846" Belinskii criticized the Young Dostoevskii, warning him that "in art there should be nothing obscure or incomprehensible; its creations transcend the so-called 'real occurrences' in that the poet lights up with the torch of his imagination all the recesses of his heroes' inmost souls and all their secret motives. . ."⁵⁰ Literature, by exploring the inner world of fictional characters (without passing judgment), pays respect to the individual personality in a way that Belinskii wished personality be respected in the real world. And Belinskii often used a consideration of a fictional character as a vehicle with which to move to a statement about real life, about the society in which he lived, to move, for example, from a consideration of Beltov, a character in Herzen's *Who Is to Blame*, to the question of parent-child relationships in Russia:

How many mothers and fathers are there who really love their children in their own way, but consider it their sacred duty to drum in their ears that they are obliged to their parents for their lives and clothing and education! These wretched people do not even suspect that they are depriving themselves of their children and replacing them with foundlings and orphans whom they have adopted out of charity. They calmly doze on the moral rule that children must love their parents, and later, in their old age, they repeat with a sigh the well-worn truism that nothing but ingratitude can be expected from children. Even this fearful experience does not remove the thick crust of ice from their benumbed minds or make them realize at last that the human heart obeys its own laws, and will not and cannot accept any others, that love from a sense of duty or obligation is a feeling contrary to human nature, . . . that love cannot be demanded as though it were something we are entitled to, but must be won and deserved, no matter who the giver is, whether he be higher than us, or lower, whether it goes from father to son or from son to father. Now take

children; it often happens that a child regards its mother with indifference, although the mother suckles it, and this same child will set up a wail if, on awakening, it does not see its nurse nearby, whom it is accustomed to seeing at its side at all times. A child, you see, that complete and perfect expression of nature, gives its love to those that prove their love for it in actual deed, to those that for its sake deny themselves. . . .⁵¹

It is not the purpose of this article to assess the impact of Belinskii's writings on Russian social values and customs. I will cite only one example of that impact, a memoir of childhood in the late 1840's in which the author recalled that members of the circle of Belinskii (who was already dead) had a "fruitful influence" on his father's thinking.

. . . my father was an excellent teacher. In the evenings, in the course of joking and playing with me, he subtly taught me to read and write. More important, however, was something rarely found in ordinary families, that he and my mother raised me in such a way that I was always completely open with them and, needless to say, I loved them boundlessly. I never hid my misdeeds from them. On the other hand, I never experienced any type of physical punishment; this was replaced by calm explanations. . . . and this was not done in the doctoral tone of an instructor, which is always intolerable to children, but simply and naturally, as you would talk to a friend whom you love. I highly valued this manner of upbringing and all my life have preserved the warmest memories of my father and mother. This manner not only facilitates the development of children's powers of discrimination, but also implants in them a sense of their own personal value. How many good consequences would it have, if implemented in families and educational establishments.⁵²

Had it been implemented, there might not have been a revolution in 1917.

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REFERENCES

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1. In the Orthodox Church parish priests, or "black clergy," marry and raise families, while members of religious orders, or "white clergy," remain celi-

- bate. In Russian masculine proper names are declined differently than feminine; hence the wife of Belynskii is Belynskaia, of Ivanov, Ivanova, etc. Belynskii's son Vissarion changed one letter of his family name so that it became Belinskii. Finally, different sources give different dates for Belinskii's birth, the earliest being 1810; Vissarion himself celebrated the date given in the text.
2. Letter to Botkin, April 16-21, 1840, in Belinskii's *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, edited and with notes by N. F. Bel'chikov (13 vols.; Moscow, 1953-56), XI, 512. This edition of Belinskii's complete collected works hereafter cited as Pss.
 3. See "'That Enemy is the Baby': Childhood in Imperial Russia," in Lloyd deMause, ed., *The History of Childhood* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., in press).
 4. Sergei T. Aksakov, *Chronicles of a Russian Family*, trans. by M. C. Beverly (London and New York, [1924]), p. 205.
 5. Based on material from her niece and nephew in D. P. Ivanov, "Neskol'ko melochnykh dannykh dlia biografii V. G. Belinskogo," and "Soobshcheniia pri chtenii biografii V. G. Belinskogo (A. N. Pypin)," both in *V. G. Belinskii v vospominaniakh sovremennikov*, ed. by S. N. Golubov et al. (Moscow, 1962), pp. 30, 97-98.
 6. The folk saying that "when the earth receives the parents, the children receive their freedom" has its literary counterpart in Ostrovsky's *The Storm*, where Kabanova tells her married son to "have patience and wait until I'm dead and then you will live your own lives."
 7. Based on Ivanov, "Neskol'ko," pp. 27-28, and V. S. Nechaeva, *V. G. Belinskii: Nachalo zhiznennogo puti i literaturnoi deiatel'nosti, 1811-30* (Moscow, 1949), pp. 67-69. The concept of autonomy is based on my understanding of Erik H. Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis* (New York, 1968), pp. 107-08.
 8. Ivanov, "Neskol'ko," p. 30; the relative is identified as "Shch" and quoted in Alexander N. Pypin, *Belinskii: Ego zhizn' i perepiska* (2 vol. in 1; St. Petersburg, 1876), I, 13.
 9. In a literary review some years later Belinskii believed he was fortunate to have been able to read Voltaire before he had learned to write (that is, gone to school); Pss, III, 206.
 10. Ivanov, "Neskol'ko," pp. 29-32.
 11. Pss, XI, 19.
 12. Nikolai I. Novikov, "O vospitanii i nastavlenii detei," *Izbrannye pedagogicheskie sochineniia*, ed. by M. F. Shabaeva (Moscow, 1959), pp. 169-70.
 13. "Vospominaniia Aleksandra Petrovich Beliaeva," *Russkaia starina*, XXIX (July-September, 1880), 6.
 14. *My Past and Thoughts. The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen*, trans. by Constance Garnett, rev. by Humphrey Higgins (New York, 1968), I, 23.
 15. "Vospominaniia N. Levakovskago," *Russkaia starina*, CXXXII (October-December, 1907), 130.
 16. V. Lebedev, "Uchebnyiia vospominaniia," *Russkaia starina*, CXXX (April-June, 1907), 626-27.
 17. "Perepiska Belinskogo s rodnymi," ed. and notes by A. Askariants et al., *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, vol. 57: *V. G. Belinskii*, III (Moscow, 1951), 30, 62, 66.

18. *Ibid.*, 58.
19. *Ibid.*, 60-62.
20. *Ibid.*, 169, 126, 146.
21. *Pss*, XI, 112.
22. *Ibid.*, 97-99.
23. "Perepiska," p. 90
24. P. P. Prozorov, "Belinskii i moskovskii universitet v ego vremia," in Golubov, p. 107. Belinskii also wrote his father that many of the characters in the play would be familiar to him.
25. Quotations are taken from the text of the play submitted to the censors, *Pss*, I, 425-26.
26. N. K. Mikhailovskii, "Belinskii dramaturg," *Russkoe bogatstvo*, 1898, #5(May), 160-62.
27. Both quotes from *Pss*, I, 425.
28. *Ibid.*, 429.
29. *Ibid.*, 435.
30. *Ibid.*, 498-99.
31. Mikhailovskii, p. 160.
32. *Pss*, I, 500.
33. I. I. Lazhechnikov, "Zametki dlia biografii Belinskogo," in V. G. Belinskii v vospominaniakh sovremennikov," ed. by A. A. Kozlovskii and K. I. Tiun'kina (Moscow, 1962), pp. 27-29, 33-34.
34. Just prior to his death G. N. Belynskii was granted nobility status earned through his long years of civil service; although noble status was of benefit to Vissarion in some ways, it did not raise his social standing in the eyes of the traditional nobility.
35. *Pss*, I, 223.
36. Ivanov, "Soobshcheniia," pp. 81-82; see also the letter of his old teacher at the gimnaziia, M. Popov, in Golubov, p. 36.
 On oral character formation and development I have consulted Karl Abraham, "The Influence of Oral Eroticism on Character Formation," *Selected Papers of Karl Abraham*, trans. by Douglas Bryan and Alix Strachey (London, 1965), pp. 393-406; Edward Glover, "Notes on Oral Character Formation," *Selected Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, Vol. I: *On the Early Development of the Mind* (London, 1956), 25-46; Humberto Nagero, "On Arrest, in Development, Fixation, and Regression," *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, XIX (1964), 222-39.
37. *Pss*, I, 431-32.
38. *Ibid.*, XI, 103-04.
39. *Selected Philosophical Works* (Moscow, 1956), p. 9. This is the only major collection of Belinskii's works in English, and I have used it where possible for the sake of those who do not read Russian. Hereafter references to this collection will be designated SPW.
40. *Pss*, XI, 512.
41. See note 7.
42. *Pss*, XI, 242-43.
43. *Ibid.*, 254.
44. *Ibid.*, 547.

45. *Ibid.*, 539.
46. SPW, p. 160.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 539.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 170, 174.
49. *Pss*, I, 291.
50. SPW, p. 411.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 475-76.
52. "R," "Byloe. Iz. vospominanii o piatidesiatykh i shestidesiatykh godakh," *Russkaia starina*, CVII (July-September, 1901), 560-61.

FROM THE SOURCES

Pamphlet on Child Training (1884):

"Whatever you do, I beg you, not to let the boys and girls sleep together, or even to share the same bed-room . . . It can be done, and it must be done. . . . be careful not to give your little girls a bath before their brothers . . . You can train your girls not to do necessary actions before boys. Any deliberate breach of this common decency . . . may well be punished with a sound whipping. A whipping sharpens the memory, you know."

Ellice Hopkins, *On the Early Training of Girls and Boys: An Appeal to Working Women*. (New York, 1883), pp. 6-8.

FROM THE SOURCES

Swaddling at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century:

"The poor child, as soon as it came into the world, had as many rollers and wrappers applied to its body, as if every bone had been fractured in the birth . . . In most parts of Britain the practice of rolling children with so many bandages is now, in some measure, laid aside; but it would still be a difficult task to persuade the generality of mankind that the shape of an infant does not depend on the use of the midwife . . . the very feelings of infants tell us that they ought to be kept easy and free from all pressure. They cannot indeed tell their complaints; but they can show signs of pain; and this they never fail to do, by crying when hurt by their clothes. No sooner are they freed from their bracings, than they seem pleased and happy; yet, strange infatuation! the moment they hold their peace, they are again committed to their chains."

William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*.
(Philadelphia, 1809), pp. 10-12.

Swaddling in Ancient Rome:

"This initiation into the light [birth] is followed by a period of bondage such as befalls not even the animals bred in our midst, fettering all his limbs; and thus when successfully born he lies with hands and feet in shackles, weeping—the animal that is to lord it over all the rest, and he initiates his life with punishment because of one fault only, the offence of being born. Alas the madness of those who think that from these beginnings they were bred to proud estate!"

Pliny, *Natural History*. (Cambridge, 1942), p. 509.

FROM THE FIRST PART OF THE REVELATION OF MOSES THE SON OF JEHOSHAR

WILLIAM
BATSTEIN

Hell is the eternal, unchanging.
The lake of ice.
Count Ugolino.
Satan.
Brutus.
Cassius.
Judas Iscariot.
Arbeit macht nicht frei.
Arbeit macht nicht freu.

*

"You've got to be damaged to have pleasure.
If you're okay, you've got to hurt."
Demon Thomas Carlyle.
Work, for the day cometh in which no man can hurt.

*

Demon Thomas Carlyle = masochistic masturbation.
"I'm okay! I'm damaging myself!"

*

An orgasm is a kind of primal.
When did bad orgasms begin?
When did Mama become Mama?

*

With pieces of paper are the chains made
that keep the earth in thrall.

*

What the child learns at school, the adult practises at work:
THEY ARE DEMONS.
THEY ARE FAR MIGHTIER THAN YOU OR I.
THEY MUST BE PACIFIED
OR THEY WILL DESTROY US.

*

And many of us learn it at home, too.

*

"My mother will KILL me for losing that pencil."

*

THE VOICE OF DEMON MAMA IS HEARD IN THE LAND:
"Why not commit suicide?
Why not write yourself off?
You have depreciated.
You are bankrupt."

*

Of course, why not commit suicide?
That would make her a superstar.
It would send her stock soaring.

*

AND THE VOICE OF DEMON CHILD:
"Happiness? Truth? Joy? Love? Faith?
I could only do that
if it meant I won
the COMPETITION."

*

What they learned from their demon mommies:

You are totally bad.

You are totally weak.

You are totally stupid.

You are totally a failure.

LOOK ON MY WATERWORKS, YE WEAKLINGS, AND DESPAIR.

*

Lucifer. Beelzebub. Mephistopheles. Satan.

Totalists.

*

What they teach each other:

I am totally good.

I am totally strong.

I am totally brilliant.

I am totally successful.

I am totally right.

For me, happiness.

For you, despair.

I HAVE WON THE HAPPINESS COMPETITION.

*

And what they say to each other in an undertone:

I am possessed.

I am out of kontrol.

Stop me.

Help me.

*

Competing for the Phantom's approval.

The ultimate in gladiatorial thrills.

*

After mama-spook,
the others come naturally.

*

Never mind Kissinger.

Just keep an eye on his mother.

The hand that racks the cradle
is the hand that rocks the whirled.

*

The 12 Rages of Man:
The depressed maniac.
The bright young man.
The conqueror.
The impotent cuckold.
The sadist.
The old shmuck chasing virgin pussy.
The mental case.
The loser in the Happiness Sweepstakes.
The senile Good Guy.
The senile son-of-a-bitch.
The deathbed forgiver.
The spook avenger.

*

Show me a forgiver
and I'll show you an avenger
getting ready to take off.

*

THE VOICE OF THE SCHOOLS:

"The way you are is a no-no.
We gone whip you into shape.
We gone knock that tohu-vavohu
clean out of you."

*

How they humiliated us.
How they get our children ready
for a lifetime of humiliation.

*

By their fruits shall you know them.

*

Nazism. Bloodcurdling abstractions.
The triumph of orthodoxy.

*

By killing the Jews, the Nazis killed SHAME.

*

The President is a thief.
 The Vice-President is a crook.
 The Secretary of State is a lunatic.
 And a Rock rules the State of New York.
 Is that thunder in the distance?

*

Non omnis moriar.
 My bad self will live after me in you.
 It is papa and mama to what will live in your head
 until the day you die.

*

First implant guilt.
 Now apply very infrequent doses of shame.
 Result: one ROBOT.

*

You can't get rid of "ashamed"
 without getting rid of guilt first.
 You cannot get rid of guilt alone.
 It is rooted too deep.
 It goes back too far.
 It goes back further than ever Melanie Klein
 was able to go.

*

The museum is the temple of Demon Conformity.
 The university is his abbatoir.

*

A DEMON FABLE

Once upon a time, there was a British colonial administrator.

His name was Reggie.

He had been assigned to the Northeast Frontier, which was a tumultuous area much given to disorder and ingratitude, and quite unable to appreciate the benefits of British civilization.

On a certain day, having washed and shaved and had his morning tea and eggs and toast and sausages and kippers, Reggie mounted the throne to hear the complaints and petitions of the local wogs.

And they brought him in chains a most unsettling fellow, almost en-

tirely naked, with bloody recent bruises and a swollen closed eye. And although he was reputed to speak quite good English, and had a smattering of civilized education, he would speak scarcely a word when Reggie quizzed him about his case.

The interpreter could scarcely make himself heard above the screaming of the wogs, and the day was very hot, and the crime was sedition against Her Brittanic Majesty, and so of course, to serve as an example, he had to be shot.

Still, there was something about that wog that Reggie never forgot when he had retired to Brighton. A nigger, of course, but a nigger with a difference.

*

"Feelings?
I think I read about them for A-levels.
Isn't that what wogs have?"

*

Quick-freeze your child and it will play for life.
Kill its play, and it will be frozen for life.

*

Classicism = classism.
Classicism = snobbery.
From Scaliger to Gibbon and from Gibbon to William Arrowshoot, they all pick it up.

*

Demon Matthew Arnold.
Where did that mediocrity earn the right to CONDESCEND so much?

*

The "fires of hell" are a consolation.
Hell is ice.
Beyond wrath is ICE.

*

Originally, the BEST MAN got the bride for the first night.
BEST MAN = hero.
"Here—YOU break her open. I'm scared SHIT."

*

Who's afraid of Virginia Wolf? Virginia Fox?

Virginia Snake?

"I'm not afraid of Mama. I am omnipotent, and she's nothing but a
BIG SCARY MURDEROUS MOMMY."

*

Omnipotence and magic.

Icy autonomy

They flourish as never before.

*

The devil doesn't like marijuana.

It breaks the ice.

The devil likes Republicans.

*

America in the twentieth century:

Out of the depressive position.

Back to the paranoid-schizoid position.

*

We have nowhere to take our suffering.

So we inflict it on others.

*

Sin. The sense of personal badness. Guilt.

It is getting worse.

And the babies are picking it up again.

Savagery.

A new era of SSavagery.

Idi Amin. Qaddafi. Nixxon. Herdleman.

*

I'm protecting MY children. To hell with YOURS.

*

Kill "them".

Kill "their" brats.

*

Derealization. Depersonalization. Projection.

No guilt. No shame.

"Have you no shame, sir?"

Not a grain of shame

falls lightly on my fame.

*

"There are two roles in this household:
1) 100% virgin pure good innocent, and
2) 100% judas iago badshit devil lump failure."
Then if I can't be number 1, I'll be number 2.
With a vengeance.

*

No more tit for you, baby boy.
Your struggle has BEGUN.
Fight.
Fight to live.

*

The struggle for attention.
The struggle for the big tit.

*

A "leader".
A "teacher".
Someone who wants to be EATEN.

*

"Mr. Pain"?
He must be the talkative one.

*

I'd rather be a roast follower than a raw leader.

*

Never mind the "anal retentives".
Just keep your eye on the ORAL FRUSTRANTS.

*

Industrial pollution.
Khaki uniforms.
Extermination camps.
Atomic bombs.
A gigantic collective fantasy.
The shit is getting closer to the surface.

*

There's an inch of breathing space.
Fill it with a cheap joke.

*

Contempt for children.
 People have children
 if they have them
 so they can have CONTEMPT for them.
 "I may not be very smart.
 But I'm smarter than THAT."

*

"Isn't it cute?"
 Isn't he a cute MONKEY?
 Isn't she a cute little RABBIT?
 But not a human being.
 Not like ME.

*

Ashes to ashes and dust to dust.
 The arrogance of powder.

*

Your breath smells bad.
 Your armpits and filthy crotches
 emit a pithy stench.
 You stink of garlic and onions.
 And we, the stylish ones,
 would like to EAT YOU UP.

*

I am sexually aroused by you.
 We have verbal sex.
 I have a verbal orgasm, and piously ejaculate
 a spermbullet spermjoke.
 Thank heaven, you laugh.
 We came at the same time.

*

I have made you intellectually pregnant.
 Go home and bear my child.

*

I don't mind his frown.
 It's his smile that scares the shit out of me.

*

Purgatory:

A mountain of primals.

The purgation of primal pain.

*

Savages know "the facts of life."

But they have repressed the knowledge, just the way our children do.

Ant the anthropologist dutifully notes down the repressions.

*

When Adam delved and Eve was not

Where did he stick it, and into what?

*

She's there when you go to sleep

and there when you wake up

and there when you take a bath.

TO PREVENT MASTURBATING.

*

"I can't ever empty out my bilgewater.

I can't flush out.

So I must be full of badness

and sinking fast."

*

A world of repressed midgets

because what all parents send out willy-nilly is

NO MASTURBATION HERE.

*

If you can't touch your prick, you become your prick.

If you can't touch your cunt, you become your cunt.

A prick rampant.

A cunt quiescent.

A prick rampant on a field of total destruction.

*

Krakatoa. Mauna Loa. Vesuvius.

Hot spermlava.

RUN!

*

Man with his cannon and bombs
is playing sperm-god.
Proving his increasingly dubious potency.

*

Never mind Belisarius.
Look out for Narses.

*

Oral frustration + masturbation tabu = Nazi.

*

They cruxified him
so he/she couldn't masturbate.
Not with hands or feet.

*

What Melanie Klein called "the death instinct"
is nothing but maternal hostility.

*

Born 1880-1910 in Europe, East or West.
A bad-knews generation.
The last fag-ends of respektability and kontrol
before Wargasm Mondiale Premiere.
Starvers of children or starved children.

*

Blockade. U-boats.
"Cut their lifelines. Sever their navels. Rip away their mothers' breasts.
The enemy must be deprived as I was."

*

Total War.
"Starve them out" (1918).
"Burn them utterly" (1939).
"Gas them" (1918 and 1939).
"Starve them and asphyxiate them and burn them
utterly" (). Fill in blank.
Closer and closer to the full truth of the chokewomb.

*

Armageddon.
Shem, Ham, Japheth and Sin
finally let it ALL HANG OUT.

*

I don't want to hurt ANYONE.
 So I must be a hideous horrible freak.
 Dear God, free me of this reticence.
 Make me a killer like the others.

*

Stoicism.
 Zeno ben Menashe, first jew stoic.
 "Be a good jew" = THE SHOW MUST GO ON.
 What, you killed 6,000,000 of me?
 I'm not gonna show it.
 I just gonna keep going as if it never happened.
 Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.
 Matthew Arnold.
 It hurts like hell, but STIFF UPPER LIP.
 Jew-thinking jew-haters.

*

Claudius is Hamlet's father and Hamlet says
 "NOOOOOOOOOO! That's not what he's like at all!
 YOU MUST HAVE KILLED THE REAL ONE!"

*

The king of brutes is his mother's slave.

*

The process works by ESP.
 Bad childhood = implantation of the receiver.
 Therapy = a partial dismantling.
 Ghosts suggest the process does not always stop with death.

*

Can I have some thick-porridge FEELING, kind sir?
 No, brat. Only thin-gruel symbolism.

*

The triumph of the middle class. The triumph of
 property. The triumph of NOTHING. The victory of
 abstraction. The schizoid unpleasure principle.

*

The middle-class intellectual amasses "ideas"
 while his businessman-brother amasses \$\$\$\$\$\$.

*

The graduate schools.
Where fly-eating is an art.
Where the paranoid-schizoid style received its
ultimate refinements.
"Whatever you do, don't put it all together."

*

Keep pouring out shitfacts to the shitheads.
When you are empty and they are full
you will get your Ph.D.

*

In the graduate schools, one learns vigilance.
"A feeling! Kill it before it reproduces!"

*

Tantalus.
The food isn't beyond reach.
It's just TABU.

*

I will fill myself so full of shitknowledge
that no matter how many they steal and eat
it won't matter.

*

The Knave of Hearts
he stole those tarts.
And now I'm dying of an OVERDOSE.
Too much knowledge.

*

Panic-depressives are adolescents who didn't.

*

Primal = an exorcism.
Primal Therapy = insufficient exorcism.

*

In Dürer, the folds of Christ's loincloth are the folds
of the vagina.

*

Fear of the vagina = fear of the earth.

*

Mary is a displacement for the feminine attributes
of Christ himself.

*

In the tomb, Christ is reborn.
This time around, he is a boy-baby,
a naked newborn babe striding the blast
and remembering quite clearly,
as most of us cannot,
the hellwomb he has left behind.

*

He is no longer the masochist vaginagod.
He is Jehovahpenis, Lord of Hosts,
who will destroy her.
The good babies he harrows from her grasp.
Only the wicked are left behind
to undergo eternally
what others must suffer for nine months.

*

But can we be absolutely certain that Christ is
reborn male?
Perhaps she only goes down into the earth
to renew her power.

*

The Jewish role is feminine.
"And don't let her near the earth, or she'll recharge.
Keep her in the ghettoes, if you can't kill her."

*

When were the Jews locked into their ghettoes?
When did Jewhunting become the goy international sport?
When did Christ crucified become a succulent nude?

*

Scepter + orb = womanman peniscunt.
You want your pre-oedipal mommydaddy?
Look for her in the throne room.

*

A lamb is the CUNTIEST animal that ever walked.
Agnes Dei.

*

Mosques. Greek Orthodox Churches.
And the no-dome North.
Gothic, for God's sake = NO DOME.

*

Hatred of Constantinople.
Hatred of the cuntvaginanuswomb.
Sock it to her, Christian soldiers!

*

Crusade.
Cunraid.

*

Servant = cunt.
Clown = cunt.
Clown + jew = supercunt.
For goypunch, jewdy is a kind of clown.

*

For goypunch, even Einstein is Milton Berle.

*

Jesus is cuntjew AND prickjew for people given to
ambivalust.
For a man, "I'd like to fuck that jesus cunt"
brings the even more forbidden thought:
"I'd like to blow that jesusprick."

*

Leaving monuments behind. The sheer CONTEMPT of it.
We go to Greece and Italy to be BATHED in their contempt.

*

If you expect it, the world will oblige you by doing it.

*

The Jewish Jesus is the guilt-abolishing demon-exorcising Jesus.

*

Show me a bright young man and I'll show you a killer.

*

"Our house."

How we scrimped and saved for it, this longed-for womb that turned out to be just as bad. How we hated the apartment, which was just as bad.

*

"Keep them out of our town."

House = womb.

Town = megawomb.

"I want my sterile mommy to myself."

*

Jacob and Esau. The real wrestle was in the womb, and the Jew lost. And had to work and work for what the goyim have naturally.

*

Esau forgives and forgets. Jacob schemes and remembers.

The Eleventh Commandment:

"Thou shalt not forget a trauma or a pain."

*

Abel is a shepherd, a quasi-nomad.

How Cain hates him.

How we long for the nomads to bring us LIFE.

Mongols. Kirghiz. Cowboys.

*

Ex Asia, vita. Ex Afrika, mors.

*

"BUY A HOUSE. SETTLE DOWN."

Be sick like us.

*

The barbarians came as givers, not takers.

They made a bad deal.

*

The shitties and their glorious murderments.

*

To huddle in/around shitties.
A collective neurosis.
A collective psychosis.
Sick sick sick.

*

The understanding is surfacing.
Everyone is running away.
And making bigger shitties.

*

Satan couldn't stop Jesus.
But he could kill him.
And he could appoint himself
Chief Christian.

*

But the Jews knew better. Something there was about
"Christianity" that didn't smell right to a Jewish nose.

*

The rise of the middle class.
The universalization of property.
The democratization of hierarchy.
MADNESS.

*

Satan was the original high achiever.

*

The brute stupidity of Rome.
"We don't WANT to know."
The pattern of SSnobbery.
"We are BETTER than you."

*

"Our way or no way."
Pogrom.
A giant continuous pogrom.

*

Superpoliteness = superkill.

*

Wells. Beer-Sheva.
That must have been a spook.
You dig down, and you find WATER.

*

Why did the Patriarchs make a bee-line for the mountains?
Beer-Sheva. Hebron. Jerusalem.
Judaea and Samaria.

*

The earth as the original betraying woman. Unpropitiable.

*

We know about volcanoes.
But what about the trauma of the flatlands?
"Inundation! RUN FOR THE HILLS!"

*

She gone get you from BENEATH.
Her big waters. Her great Ps.

*

We worship skyjehovah papagod. We NEVER think about
the chthon. Except, of course, that we build
crypts
basement playrooms
subways
bombshelters
mines.

*

We just keep our minds on the ouranos,
which is bad enough.
But there ain't nuthin' as bad as the chthon.

*

Spelunkers. Cave painters. Cavemen.
Clinging close to Mama.
But who knows what's really going on down there?
In there?

*

Vaginanuswomb.

Down there is where we drop our shit.

Down there is where we drop our corpseshit.

But suppose our shit came back to haunt us?

*

Dr. Nudnick Archaeologist finds a prehistoric grave.

It contains an infant skeleton, and other objects.

"How curious," says Dr. Nudnick, "that they would bury such fancy offerings with a baby."

SCHMUCK! THE BABY *IS* AN OFFERING!

*

In the most high and palmy state of Rome,

A little ere the mightiest Julius fell,

The graves stood tenantless, and the shitted dead

Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets.

EEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEYYYYYYYYOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOWWWW!

*

The jaws of hell. The gates of the underworld.

Just please please stay down there.

*

In America, we don't HAVE children.

We buy them from Blue Cross.

*

Miss Moneypenny

never gets laid.

*

First we buy our wives.

Then we buy our children.

Then we buy our divorces.

*

Without money, slavery is impossible.

Without shitties, money is impossible.

*

Money is an acquired taste.

*

Living on credit = disguised utopianism.

*

"Dirty jew moneybags. Kike usurer. Sheenie miser.
Yid hoarder. Bloodsucking thief."
This is YOUR LIFE, Mr. Gentile Goy.

*

They envy Saint Francis not the saintliness he practised
but the approval he received.

*

When we bow, we aren't lowering our heads.
We're sticking out our asses.
And a curtsy = opening your legs.
"SNIFF SNIFF. You pass."

*

The one thing they can never forgive the saints
is their failure to take baths.
But bathing costs MONEY.
In the ancient world, did slaves go to the baths?

*

Swaddling.
Protect goodshit baby from bad adults.
Protect bad adults from badshitbaby.

*

Aphrodite = ERO\$.
Like bathing, it is a rich man's prerogative.

*

The price of Helen is all of Troy.
Is this the face that cost a thousand ships?

*

The Iliad is about something altogether new.
It is what Agamemnon feels for Chryseis.
It is what Achilles feels for Briseis.
It is what Paris feels for Helen.
It is called LOVE.

*

The historical record tells us that Greek men loved men.
The Iliad tells us they loved women.
What's going on here?

*

"The Authoress of the Odyssey."
But have you considered the possibility that she wrote
the Iliad, too?
Homer is certainly nice to her women.
And paints some devastating portraits of men.

*

Agamemnon.
Nestor.
Menelaus.
Ajax.
CLOWNS.

*

If you're looking for her projection in the poem,
don't be too crude about it.
Have a good look at Thersites
and you will know the treatment they dished out to women.

*

Anthropophagi. Babyphaggers.

*

The infant doesn't "want" the breast to devour him.
It's no "fantasy".
The breast (= mother) WANTS TO DEVOUR HIM.

*

Hell as a devouring mouth. El Greco.

*

White lady: "Negro babies are so cute. They're so cute when they're
YOUNG."
Translation:
"White-baby meat is good. Black baby-meat is best.
(Isn't that what they eat in Africanus?)"

*

The fantasy of the Madonna:

"You're eating me now, you little bastard. But I'm
just fattening you up.

Then,

MUNCH MUNCH CRUNCH YOU LITTLE PASCHAL LAMB."

*

Worshipper: "Ave, Maria! What goodness! She hasn't
EATEN him yet!"

*

Biblical patriarch. A babyphagging androgyne.

*

Abraham all but does the cooking himself.
Maybe HE should live in Sodom, too.

*

Scene: Jacob and Esau.
Locale: Uncle Isaac's Kosher Restaurant.

*

Esau likes to do the cooking himself.
He knows what Mom would like to put in his stew.

*

What did Isaac do to Rebecca to make her hate him so?

*

The shadowy Matriarchs of the Pentateuch.
It's what you don't talk about that scares you shitless.

*

The Patriarchs are feminized vegetables.
They weren't always that way.
Genesis 14 gives us a glimpse of a variant tradition.
So does Genesis 48:22.
The Patriarchs were EDITED into femininity, and the
Matriarchs were EDITED out.

*

"Patriarchal religion."
I can't get Mama out of my mind.

*

Abraham fusses over his angels in the SWEETEST way.

Such a doll.

Esau doesn't put on a show.

He just cooks the goddam venison.

A goy like that ain't never gonna be
the hostess with the mostes'.

*

We're afraid to see that our parents wanted to eat us.

Then we'd see that we want to eat our own children.

*

The roots of babyphagging. The universal oral trauma.

1. "She wants to eat me."

2. "They both want to eat me."

3. "I want to eat me."

4. "I want to eat my shit."

5. "They will not let me eat me. They take me away from me."

6. "They take me away in order to eat me. They are eating me."

*

Is there a stronger and more widespread tabu
than that on eating shit?

*

For the babyphagger, babies are always shit. And the
shittiest part can only be the penis of an infant boy.

*

Fellatio was forbidden when babyphagging was more
easily imaginable.

*

America. The idea of always having so much to eat
that you won't ever have to even a tiny wee bit
imagine eating JUNIOR and SIS.

*

The smell of roast flesh in the smoke over the extermination camps.

Mr. Fastidious SS-man: "Anus mundi."

But they were around to SNIFF it.

Which was the closest they could bring themselves to EATING it.

*

America is a poor land because it is a rich land
with a poor man's mentality.

*

It only laughs when I hurt.

*

Troy as the mother's body.
"Set that town on fire,
Burn it.
Batter down its walls."

*

The Prodigal Son is the one who never escapes.

*

Always sacrifices and a feast at Homeric funerals.
"We've denied ourselves the main dish by burying it.
But we've got to eat SOMETHING."

*

Baby = shit.
Corpse = shit.
Baby = corpse.
Yum yum.

*

Desire to dig into Mama's body + fear of dying = Ph.D.

*

O Julius Caesar thou art mighty yet!
We ate you in fear because we were afraid
that you would eat us in joy.
And now, here you are again.
Eating us.

*

Orality and the Roman plays.
Orality and Rome.
Rome and oral cruelty.
Tacitus. An oral-cruel style.

*

Rome.

Anus mundi.

Cloaca Maxima.

A huge maw, with a bigger cloaca.

*

Communal latrines.

So they could pour their shit out of both ends at once.

*

The stench of corruption of the Roman nekropolis.

Worse than any medieval town.

They lived in it.

They smelled it.

They tolerated it.

They liked it.

*

Inter urinam et faeces vivimur.

*

Meganeekropolis.

One place where no matter how we flush and flush
the shit's still with us.

*

Feudalism: away from the shitties.

Urbanization: back into it.

On and on through history.

The almost-eternal dialectic.

*

The shitty as mother.

Back and forth.

Into the shitbody and away from it.

A gigantic collective act of sexoranal intercourse.

*

New York Shitty.

She heap bad mother.

*

Greek pederasty:

The sphinxter is tough, but at least I don't have
to lift the lid on Pandora's box.

*

How are the mighty fallen.
The warrior's lance is broken.
The flag has fallen.
They throw down their weapons.
Shitpenis has beaten shitbody.

*

Or perhaps shitbody has beaten shitpenis.
The point of war is that one side always **LOSES**.

*

We lose our first war.
After that, identifying with losers comes easy.

*

Troy.
Inviolable shitbody.
Which is why it must fall, and be violated.

*

Capture + sack = shitbody or shitpenis rampant,
according to taste.

*

Kill the fox before he weasels his way into my henhouse.
Before he sucks my chicken eggs dry.

*

I will be a foxcuntpenis.
I will work my way into Mama's hole.
I will suck her dry.

*

O to be a hedgehog and not a fox.
The hedgehog knows how to concentrate.
The fox knows only how to run.
The hedgehog digs his own hole. Slowly. Deliberately.
The fox rushes into somebody else's.
The fox hears.
The hedgehog listens.

*

Nobody hunts hedgehogs
because they have sense enough to stay
out of henhouses.

*

The thought-fox.
Quick as thought.
Quick aggressive ejaculatio praecox thought.
Left-lobe thought.

*

Odysseus.
"Much-travelled" but not really, at the beginning
of the poem, hedgehog smart.
That you get by patience and postponement.

*

Fox: "I cannot be trapped. I am too quick."
Hedgehog: "I cannot be trapped. I am too slow."

*

Hedgehog = good orgasms.

"William Batstein" is the nom de plume of an American writer whose "prophetic and apocalyptic" work, THE FIRST PART OF THE REVELATION OF MOSES THE SON OF JEHOSHAR, has just been published by Argonaut Books, P.O. Box 50, Fort Lee, New Jersey 07024. Copies are available only by mail at a cost of \$15.00 postpaid.

FROM THE SOURCES

Presumption of Murder (1760):

Law of Colonial Connecticut: "A woman delivered of a child, afterwards found dead, if she cannot prove, at least by one witness, that such a child was born dead, the mother shall be accounted guilty of murder."

William Douglass, *A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North-America*. Vol. II. (London, 1760), p. 202.

FROM THE SOURCES

Sixteenth Century Remains of Child Sacrifice:

"Outside [Arles] at a place called the Roquette, rise two great columns, made, so they say, of cement and broken pebbles. At the top is the abominable altar consecrated to Augustus, on which every year on the first of May, *pro salute totius provinciae*, two young boys were sacrificed, carefully fattened at the expense of the town; their blood was showered over the crowds who came to watch. As I went towards the church of Saint-Honorat I was shown a little chapel with an altar that had served for similar sacrifices. On the wall outside two children sculptured in the stone are still to be seen."

Thomas Platter, *Journal of A Younger Brother*. (London, 1963), p. 85.



EXPLOSIVE INTIMACY: PSYCHODYNAMICS OF THE VICTORIAN FAMILY

STEPHEN
KERN

The myths of history, like the defenses of the psychoanalytic patient on the couch, are nowhere better revealed than in "official" versions of family life. Stephen Kern's examination of the underside of the myth of the solid Victorian family presents a picture which differs radically from traditional versions of nineteenth-century family interaction, in the same manner as a psychoanalyst's description of a schizogenic family differs radically from the family's own self-image.

Traditional studies of the Victorian period have repeatedly emphasized the stable, protective, peaceful nature of the family of the late nineteenth century. G. M. Young concluded that the family was one of the few institutions that "was not at some time or other debated or assailed." He viewed the family through the eyes of the Victorians as "a Divine appointment for the comfort and education of mankind." It provided "a stable and fortified centre."² Walter Houghton saw the family as "a rock in the midst of a rushing stream." And he concurred with Ruskin's evaluation of the family as "the place of Peace; the shelter, not only from all injury, but from all terror, doubt, and division."³

Some of the literature on the Victorian family in recent years has begun to explore some of the tensions and contradictions behind the calm exterior. Keith Thomas has traced the history of the double standard in England, and Peter Cominos has surveyed some of the hypocrisies

that underlay Victorian "respectability."⁴ Cominos viewed the family as "an immature association of dominance and submissiveness." The entire system, he argued, was finally challenged towards the end of the century. "The revolt, creating tensions, conflicts, deviant social characters, and incongruencies, plunged the Respectable Social System into a condition of crisis that reached a climax in 1894-5."⁵ Steven Marcus has explored a secret underworld of the "other Victorians" where "a real secret social life was being conducted, the secret life of sexuality."⁶ His interpretation challenges the traditional view of the Victorian family as stable and peaceful, and views it rather as one confused by a number of strange ideas about sexuality and threatened by a host of derivative fears about venereal disease, male impotence, and female sexuality. And recently Lloyd deMause has speculated that the Victorian period was a decisive turning point in parent-child relations when adult sexual exploitation of children, so freely indulged in until the late eighteenth century, came to be fully repudiated, and when parents began to punish the child for its sexual curiosity and sexual activity.⁷

In this essay I shall explore that other side of the Victorian family, and, in contrast with the traditional view, I shall argue that the European family of the late nineteenth century was not the unambiguous shelter from "all terror, doubt and division" that Ruskin eulogized, but was often a source of anxiety and conflict. However, I shall further argue that the explosive atmosphere that appears to have crept into so many Victorian families was a function of the excessive intimacy and interdependence that the family imposed upon its members. The family was indeed "fortified" against the pressures of the outside world, as Young argued, but that fortification, like neurotic defense mechanisms, often stifled more than it protected or comforted.

In the course of the nineteenth century, the emotional bonds within the European family mounted steadily, so that by the end of the century both parents and children began to seek refuge from the forces that held it together with such overbearing intensity. Medical literature on the parent-child relationship argued that the entire emotional history of the parents up to the moment of conception would somehow be transmitted to the child. The physical and mental condition of the parent during conception was of paramount importance, and, following conception, it was believed, the slightest shock or unpleasant thought would affect the future child. Pregnant women were frequently advised to refrain from sex altogether. If they engaged in excessive sex the child might develop some sexual anomaly, if they drank the child might become an alcoholic, and if they experienced any intense emotions the child might be demented. Of course the mother's responsibility for the mind and body of the child was believed to be the greater, but even the father's bad habits before his marriage, his youthful "excesses," and his

slightest deviations from the strictest propriety would be imprinted indelibly on his children. Dominated by these ideas, the emotional tone of the Victorian family became one of explosive intimacy in which each of the members were held fast, bound by strong social, economic, and psychological ties. In this essay I shall focus particularly on the psychological dynamics that were operative in the Victorian family.

GERMS, GENES, AND IDEAS

In the latter half of the century the educated classes began to acquire bits and pieces of the discoveries in medicine and physiology that were being made with such impressive consistency. But the information that filtered into the marriage manuals and handbooks for the young was often better than none at all. Confusion about the nature of cultural, infectious, and hereditary transmission from parent to child frequently added to the intensity of the psychological bonds between members of a family. Accordingly, it was believed that if a child's parent was insane, tubercular, or syphilitic, the child would inevitably inherit those problems. The nature of the three ways a parent can transmit its germs, genes, or ideas to a child was not precisely understood even in the higher circles of the medical world, and a bewildering tangle of ideas plagued the larger population. The confusion tended to produce a conception of the family as a biological unit in which the values, sex cells, and germs of parents worked in and upon the minds and bodies of children, leaving little room for individual development. Children came to feel trapped in their families, fated by the flow of mysterious substances through their bodies to repeat the same vices, catch the same diseases, and inherit the congenital weaknesses of their parents.

Weismann's theory of the immutability of the sex cells only began to appear in popular literature at the end of the century. For the most part, Lamarck's theory of the hereditary transmission of acquired characteristics was accepted. This view of heredity was elaborated by many others who frequently magnified the parents' sense of responsibility for their offspring. The American essayist Georgiana Kirby explained that the physical and mental experiences of the mother during conception and gestation determine the character of the child. The moment of conception is most important. "Never run the risk of conception when you are sick or over-tired or unhappy. . . . For the bodily condition of the child, its vigor and magnetic qualities, are much affected by conditions ruling this great moment."⁸ Unpleasant experiences and thoughts are also communicated to the child during pregnancy.

Eduard von Hartmann (1895) believed that during pregnancy the father's blood, and with it his qualities, are permanently mixed with the

blood of the mother, who then shares that mixed blood with the foetus. If she afterwards conceives with another man, the child will show the influence of her first husband. "The husband of a widow does not therefore find a clean page, but one written over by his predecessor, with whose hereditary tendencies his own must enter into conflict."⁹ In *Sex and Character* (1903) the German essayist Otto Weininger expounded the same theory with a racist twist. "White women who have borne children to black men, and who then bear children with white men, are said to have retained enough of an impression from the first mate to show an effect on the subsequent children."¹⁰ Strindberg dramatized this theory in *The Creditors* (1888) by having a woman's first husband return to haunt, and eventually destroy, her second marriage. Her second husband explains how "when the child was three years old it began to look like him, her former husband."

The German physicians, Wilhelm Fliess and Hermann Swoboda, believed that this transmission followed the rhythm of the cyclic movement of all life. In 1897 Fliess explained that the mother transmits her periodicity to her child. In his vast study *Der Ablauf des Lebens* (1906), he published hundreds of family tables illustrating a periodic unity in family life, in which attacks of enuresis and diarrhea, backache and headache, appear in the mother and her children according to varying combinations of 23- and 28-day cycles. Swoboda expressed the same idea that "the organism is subject to a rhythmic flux" transmitted to the child at birth.¹¹

Samuel Butler's response to his own family experience alternately expressed two elements of a strong ambivalence. In his earlier studies of the psychological and biological mechanisms operative within the family in *Unconscious Memory* (1880), he described "the oneness of personality between parents and offspring"¹² without objecting to the intimate link between parent and child, whereas in *The Way of All Flesh* (1903) he reacted violently against the threatened imposition of that "oneness" between himself and his father. Many shared his later view that the tightly-knit family imposed itself excessively on the individuals in it.

The most widely discussed aspect of heredity was degeneration—the transmission of destructive properties to the offspring. The lack of an accurate account of sexual reproduction led to the theory that acquired germs and vices remained forever locked into the germinal cells of the individual and accumulated from one generation to the next.

A popular source for the many theories of degeneration that circulated at this time was B. A. Morel's *Traité des dégénérescences* (1857). Morel outlined the sequence of four generations in which a family line is finally destroyed.

- First generation: nervous temperament and moral depravity.
 Second generation: tendency to apoplexy, neurosis, and alcoholism.
 Third generation: mental disorders, suicide, and defective intellect.
 Fourth generation: congenital idiocy or feeble-mindedness, physical malformations and sterility.¹³

Numerous variations on this sequence were suggested, and many attempted to observe its progress from generation to generation. Zola organized his novels about the Rougon-Macquart family according to such a sequence of family decline. Germs and vices as well as "internal secretions" were believed to be at work in the family, undermining health and morality in inscrutable ways. The French educator, Gabriel Compayré, argued that morbid phenomena are especially subject to the laws of heredity, and accordingly "the bad is transmitted much more easily than the good." The biological unity of family life reaches over the generations to carry the curse of ancestral sin and "unrestrained acts." "There has been some time—a day, an hour—in which the fate of an entire family has been cast, so that a mutual moral responsibility binds parents to children."¹⁴

The greatest source of anxiety was syphilis. It was mysterious and dangerous and at the same time connected with the most problematical of all human biological functions—sexual intercourse. No disease illuminated so clearly the responsibility of parents to their children. Not until 1905 was the syphilis spirochete observed under a microscope, and not until 1909 was a reliable treatment with salvarsan developed to replace the horrors and uncertainties of the mercury treatment, and even salvarsan had a highly toxic arsenic base. Suppression of open discussion of this "forbidden" subject led to countless family tragedies. Frequently husbands contaminated their wives who developed syphilis chancres soon after marriage and had numerous sexual problems and miscarriages, but who nevertheless believed themselves to be at fault and explained their problems as some inexplicable uniquely "female" reaction to married life. The existence of such a disease, widespread and uncontrollable, that affected the sex organs, minds, and bodies of parents and future generations was good reason for a man to restrict his sexual relations to one woman whom he knew to be a virgin. Victorian sexual morality had its reasons.

Syphilis was a disease ideally suited to bear out the admonitions of the zealous Christians who insisted that it was the divinely conceived wages of sin. It was an ideal Protestant disease, as well as an ideal Victorian disease. One transgression—a single sexual contact—could lead to a lifetime of suffering. There was no way of knowing for certain if one was contaminated or not, parallel to the Christian notion that man can-

not ever be certain if he is destined to be saved or not. One was never certain of the cure, and of course none were deserving of cure. No precautions against it were sufficient, paralleling the Christian notion that no human works could possibly influence salvation. The diseased were truly condemned to "sickness unto death," and even beyond, through the infection of future generations. Like the Christian idea of sin, some are contaminated and others are not. Syphilis was known to attack fortuitously, and often the most blatant libertine contracted no symptoms, while one-time transgressors caught a heavy dose. Hence there was no way of understanding why some were condemned to suffer, while others were not. The ways of the disease, like the ways of God, were seemingly beyond the comprehension of man and subject to the fortunes of fate. The disease also had a mysterious and tormenting timing. After an initial contact a few superficial symptoms appear and then disappear spontaneously. After about eight weeks the secondary symptoms appear and may last for around nine months. Then the disease enters a period of latency from which it erupts three to fifteen years later with full force and attacks the vital centers—particularly the heart and nervous system. It was only in the late nineteenth century that physicians succeeded in ascertaining that these later symptoms are a direct consequence of the syphilis spirochete and not some general punishment for a life of debauchery, as was believed earlier in the century. Hence the progress of knowledge about the mechanisms of infection and transmission of venereal disease contributed at first to the fear of them. This is one instance where the progress of science intensified fears about sexuality and bodily processes, at least until that knowledge had progressed sufficiently to find a complete and lasting cure. The Victorians never found one.

Without mentioning the name of the disease, Ibsen in his play *Ghosts* (1881) explored some of the fears that syphilis produced. At first Oswald Alving believes that his weakness and loss of will were the consequence of his own debauched living, but in due course he learns that he has inherited the product of his father's recklessness. "The sins of the fathers shall be visited on the children," he says to his mother, who herself does not know the true cause of his illness. She believes that in some mysterious way the "ghosts" of the past remain alive in children and lead them to repeat endlessly the same life style as the parent. She pairs the physical with the mental heritage as she explains to her son: "It isn't just what we have inherited from our father and mother that walks in us. It is all kinds of dead ideas and all sorts of old and obsolete beliefs."¹⁵

In 1901 Eugene Brieux published a play about syphilis, *Les Avaries* (*Damaged Goods*), in which the disease is mentioned explicitly. Before the curtain the stage manager appears and warns the audience that the play concerns syphilis. George is told by his doctor that he must post-

pone his marriage for four years and undergo treatment for syphilis. Pride and social pressures make it impossible for him to comply. He marries too soon and produces a syphilitic child. In Act II the doctor fights with George's whole family to get them to dismiss the wet-nurse whose own health is threatened by the diseased child. Brieux points out not only the dangers of syphilis, but the hypocrisy which compels George to marry before he is cured, permits the wet-nurse to endanger her own life and that of other children whom she may nurse, and leaves the innocent mother a hopeless untouchable.

The spread of syphilis was widely believed to be but one of many problems leading to a degeneration of man and society. It was feared that the family was dying out—that, along with the destructive forces of disease and vice, social and economic changes were discouraging the continuation of the large family and of population growth.

Writers of fiction were also deeply concerned with the decline of the family. Hauptmann's *Before Sunrise* (1889) portrayed the advanced condition of degeneration of the Krause family. The children suffer from the parents' indulgence in incest, alcohol, and tobacco. A doctor observes of the family that "there's nothing but drunkenness, gluttony, inbreeding and, in consequence, degeneration along the whole line." The play concludes with the suicide of the most promising child, Helene, who is abandoned by her lover when he discovers that she may inherit her parents' alcoholism.

We have observed for the late nineteenth century a growing interest in the forces that hold the family together. We must assume that this intellectual development reflects historical fact, that these binding forces were deeply felt. At the same time many feared that the institution was falling apart. Partial knowledge of the mechanisms involved in infectious diseases and in hereditary and cultural transmission suggested that the members of a family were inextricably united by invisible chemical substances that flowed from one to another. While the evidence that children inherit their parents' vices and deficiencies abounded, there was far less to indicate that they inherited positive characteristics. Francis Galton concluded from his researches that children inherit a tendency for genius, but far more in keeping with the times was the belief that insanity was inherited. As social scientists observed and explained the process of cultural transmission more exactly, they adduced more evidence that family life determined the temperament and character of children. In response to the many social, economic, and cultural forces that held the Victorian family together as a sanctuary from the rest of the world, many attempted to break away from their families. The literature reflects this dialectical process: a growing sense of the biological and psychological unity of the family and a mounting tension between the members who sought independence from it.

THE MORAL EVALUATION OF THE FAMILY

The literature on the biological basis of the family agreed on one moral issue: the right of the child to physical and mental health. The manuals on heredity as well as the plays about syphilis agreed on this right of the child, but the larger question of the role of the child in the family, the dangers that beset him, and the rights that were his became the subject of extensive moral debate. Literature on child care around the turn of the century viewed with increasing alarm the physical and mental abuse of the child. Most of it focused on overt maltreatment: overwork in the factory and in the school, and neglect, brutality, and abandonment in the home. In addition to these gross material abuses, children were subjected to a more destructive psychological cruelty and emotional exploitation within the home.

The German home especially was often run in a military fashion. In several discussions of family life the term "*Hausordnung*" describes the ideal family arrangement. Sleeping and eating hours should be precisely established and followed. Each member should execute his particular duties with military exactness. Orderliness, punctuality, and obedience should always prevail. W. Spemann's book on etiquette defined *Hausordnung*. It includes the division of work in the family by weeks and months, the precise determination of the number and times of meals, and the exact stipulation of duties for each servant: "a complete ordering of the life of all."¹⁶ The supreme importance of orderliness must be instilled in the child from the outset.

The exploitation of the child by parents was a popular subject for fiction. Tolstoy's *The Kreutzer Sonata* (1889) portrayed family life as a continuous battle between the parents with the helpless child in the middle. During a train ride, Pozdnyshev confesses how he came to kill his wife. She was a liar and fostered his jealousy until he was driven to kill her. Children, he explains, are a torment and a cause for dissension. "They were not only the object of our discord but the weapons of our strife. We used our children, as it were, to fight one another with."¹⁷ The title character of Ibsen's *Little Eyolf* (1894) became a wall between his mother and father. In the course of the drama it is revealed that he was crippled as the result of an accident that occurred when he was left lying on the table while his parents were making love. The father tells the mother, "I forgot the child. In your arms. . . . In that moment you condemned little Eyolf to death."¹⁸ The mother accuses the father in return. Eyolf drowns accidentally, and the play develops with the parents coming to understand and accept their responsibility in the sequence of events that led to his being crippled. The realization of their neglect and abuse of Eyolf becomes the basis of their attempt to save their marriage.

In a popular novel of 1895, Gabriele Reuter described the destructive force of a "good family" on a young girl. Agatha Heidling fears her mother, "before whom she became a little worm."¹⁹ She begins to perceive that between parents and children there exists an unbridgeable gap, but her insight is of no use; she cannot act upon it. She falls in love with a young socialist, but is sickened when she observes him flirt innocently with a waitress. She cannot return to him, becomes terribly depressed, and eventually has a nervous breakdown. In the end she returns home, apparently destined to become an old maid. Parental exploitation in this story was most devastating. Through their efforts to lead their daughter to act according to the expectations of "good families," they made an emotional invalid of her.

The exploitation of a child by parents locked in battle with each other was the theme of Henry James's story of the eight-year-old girl in *What Maisie Knew* (1897). Masie is victimized after the divorce of her parents by having to live with each during alternate six-month periods. Under these conditions "the only link binding her to either parent was this lamentable fact of her being a ready vessel for bitterness. . . . They had wanted her not for any good they could do her, but for the harm they could, with her unconscious aid, do each other." She became "the little feathered shuttlecock they could fiercely keep flying between them."²⁰

A number of writers criticized the quality of the emotional bonds between parents and children in this age of emotional austerity. Already in 1855 a popular handbook of etiquette complained that there is "too little affection in family relations," and that therefore "the springs of happiness are choked up in many homes."²¹ By the turn of the century the emotional content of the parent-child relationship appears to have been observed with increasing concern. Elizabeth Blackwell (1884) emphasized the importance of trust and confidence accompanying parental love. To promote the most desirable developmental situation for the child, the parents must learn to employ "the formative power of loving insight and sympathy."²² Bernard Perez (1896) and F. M. Wendt (1905) pointed out the element of fear in the child's love for his parents. Perez wrote that "the child's love is amplified by the fear which accompanies respect."²³ Wendt recommended the preservation of a "healthy fear" as a barrier against too close a relationship with the child.²⁴

While most writers emphasized the goodness of love for children, some few focused on its dangers. The German physicians, Ludwig Strümpell (1892) and Adalbert Czerny (1908) warned against excessive love which can enfeeble the overprotected child, but Czerny also pointed out that the emotional development of children in foundling homes is retarded from the "lack of purposive stimulation from the environment."²⁵

Paul Möbius developed a theory that parental love is the function of an "*Organ der Kinderliebe*"—certain lobes of the small brain which are larger in women. Möbius denied the instinctual or emotional basis of child love and explained it merely as the function of this special organ whose size alone determines the efficiency of its operation. Such massive denial of the emotional basis of family psychodynamics was, even at this time, unusual.²⁶

Grant Allen affirmed the sexual basis of family love in "The New Hedonism" (1894), and in *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910) Sir James Frazer argued that there is a "natural instinct" for incest, but the idea that family relations have a sexual component was most clearly elaborated in discussions of the specific mother-child and father-child relationships.

Jules Dallemagne (1894) and Havelock Ellis (1903) characterized the mother-child relationship as sexual. Dallemagne reported observing one such relationship between a mother and her son in which a variety of sexual overtures were made.²⁷ Ellis offered an elaborate interpretation of the sexual nature of nursing and lamented the fact that civilization has worked against it:

Some such [sexual] relationship does actually exist in the case of the suckling mother and her infant. The mother is indebted to the child for the pleasurable relief of her distended breasts; and, while in civilization more subtle pleasures and intelligent reflection render this massive physical satisfaction comparatively unessential to the act of suckling, in more primitive conditions and among animals the need of this pleasurable physical satisfaction is a real bond between the mother and her offspring. The analogy is indeed very close: the erectile nipple corresponds to the erectile penis, the eager watery mouth of the infant to the moist throbbing vagina, the vitally albuminous milk to the vitally albuminous semen. The complete mutual satisfaction, physical and psychic, of mother and child, in the transfer from one to the other of precious organized fluid, is the one true psychological analogy to the relationship of a man and a woman at the climax of the sexual act.²⁸

While most writers focused on the positive elements of the mother-child relationship, some investigated the negative elements. Zola's novel, *A Love Affair* (1880) developed the theme of the jealousy of a young adolescent, Jeanne, as she discovers her mother's amorous relationship with her doctor. Her jealousy increases when she finally observes her mother and the doctor embrace. Her mother "averted her eyes before that twelve-year-old child's gaze, prematurely ablaze with adult passion." The child becomes the only obstacle to the couple's love, and at the same time provokes it. With Jeanne in bed, dying of tuberculosis, the doctor attempts to examine her. As he reaches to roll back the sheets

she pulls them tightly over herself. "The twelve-year-old child was mature enough to understand that this man must not touch her, must not touch her mother's body through hers."²⁹ Her jealousy persists until her death and posthumously forces her mother to leave her lover.

The heroine of Hauptmann's *Rose Bernd* (1903) strangles her own fatherless child to spare it the suffering which she anticipates it will endure. This play shattered the picture of the idyllic mother-child relationship idealized in many short stories and family portraits of that time. A macabre mother-child relationship is explored in a short story by Thomas Mann, *Tristan* (1902). The mother enters a tuberculosis sanatorium ten months after giving birth to her son. For some unknown reason the child's increase in vigor debilitates the mother. In the end she dies and the child lives. It was also widely believed that parents can rob children of strength. This idea was popularized by the famous English gynecologist, William Acton, in a pathbreaking treatise on diseases of the sex organs. He argued that great men usually sire weak children, because their vital energies are exhausted by their own lives and somehow drain those unknown substances that go into the production of future generations.³⁰ Even married couples were counseled to guard against contamination and debilitation from each other. One manual for young husbands published in 1897 counseled married people to avoid "the absorption of the exhalations of each other's bodies, the weaker being injured by the fact that the stronger is likely to absorb vital and nervous force."³¹ This kind of thinking is related to the popular notion that excess sexual activity, particularly the loss of semen by a man, drains his energies. The verb often used to describe a man's orgasm, "to spend," reveals to what extent the Victorians revered the virtues of thrift—economic and biological.

DYNAMICS OF THE FATHER-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

Discussions of the negative elements of the mother-child relationships were infrequent, while the negative elements of the father-child relationship were frequently explored, especially in fiction and autobiography. Another difference in the treatment of these two topics was the greater sexual specificity indicated for the father-child relationship. Accounts of the mother-child relationship only rarely distinguished between mother-son and mother-daughter relations, whereas studies of the father and the child varied more often according to the particular sex of the child. Motherhood was regarded as positive, supportive, and bisexual, while the father-child relationship was conceived to be conflict-ridden, with a special destructive sexual element in the father-daughter relation. The father, the more assertive parent, was more likely to en-

gage in conflict with other members of the family, particularly with the son, who generally had more rights than daughters and who sought to challenge the father's supreme authority. The portrayal of the father-son relationship in literature and many of the reminiscences of it in autobiography focused on that conflict.³²

Austin Harrison, son of the English jurist and historian Frederic Harrison, offered a sympathetic reminiscence of his father in which he mentioned some of the manifestations of his father's emotional conservatism which made communication between them strained, if not impossible. The Victorian child, he recalled, hardly knew either parent. Children lived apart and only "appeared" at stated times. "Respect was the injunction of the family; sons kept their distance and looked up."³³ His father's presence was a ceremonial, and he appeared always as if on a pedestal. Strindberg's memory of his father lacked Harrison's balanced judgment. Strindberg wrote that his father was the enemy of everyone in the family, and that all of his children hid from him.

The occurrence of father-son conflict among ancient and primitive cultures was noted by two English anthropologists, W. Robertson Smith and James Frazer. Smith's *The Religion of the Semites* (1889) offered evidence that the wish to kill the father is universal. Though he believed the mother-child relationship to be more often the source of feelings for the deity, he acknowledged that in some religions the father-child relationship is the model. The sacrifice of a deity, common in many of the early religions was a disguised form of matricide or patricide, and after the deed is accomplished, the clan makes efforts to expiate the feeling of guilt from any single member. Frazer also described a rite in which members of a community share in the guilt of a sacrificial murder. Each member of the community takes a hand in the killing of a sacrificial ox; a trial follows and does not blame any one person. Frazer's massive collection of religious practices, *The Golden Bough* (1890), offered numerous examples of father-son feelings having been projected onto the community's deity. Their sacrificial rites were an acting out of the conflict inherent in that relationship.

Samuel Butler returned to the subject of parent-child relations repeatedly during his literary career. In his utopian novel, *Erewhon* (1872), he envisioned a world in which the infant signs a "birth formula" which stipulates that the parents are in no way responsible for bringing him into the world or caring for him afterwards and by which he apologizes to the parents for intentionally and maliciously setting about to "pester and plague" them. In his philosophical essays of 1878 and 1880 Butler appears to have accepted the "oneness of personality between parents and children" that his theory of organic memory suggested. In *Erewhon Revisited* (1901) he described a situation in which father and son love each other. But in his autobiographical novel, *The Way of All Flesh*, published posthumously in 1903, he abandoned the satirical treatment

of the parent-child relation of *Erewhon* and the positive acceptance of the relation argued for in his philosophical tracts, and turned on his father in what appears to have been a literary revenge.

Butler's novel marked the high point of criticism of the Victorian family. Today it appears to be a rather mild attack, and it is difficult to appreciate the pressures that compelled Butler to postpone its publication after its completion in 1885. He portrays his father with some affection, but as a man who simply did not understand, and did not like, children. The elder Pontifex knew only one way of relating to his son: with an unrelenting imposition of authority. "All was done in love, anxiety, timidity, stupidity, and impatience." Butler's critique was most persuasive because it was tempered and compassionate. He attributed his parents' domestic failure to stupidity and love as much as malice and selfishness. And when the break came, Ernest Pontifex made it without hesitation. After serving a short term in prison he emerged and found his parents waiting for him. "There, sure enough, standing at the end of the table . . . were the two people whom he regarded as the most dangerous enemies he had in all the world—his father and mother."³⁴

The father-son relationship of Sigmund Freud and Max Weber provided the spark of conflict that triggered central insights in their thought. Both men were temporarily incapacitated by the death of their fathers, and for both that experience profoundly influenced that portion of their work which attempted to deal with problems created by the excessive imposition of paternal authority, which was particularly intense in Austria and Germany.

In 1896 Freud's father died. Soon afterwards he wrote: "I feel now as if I had been torn up by the roots." In 1908, remembering his mourning, he generalized from this experience that the death of a father was the most important event in any man's life. It certainly was in his, because in the following year, after an agonizing struggle with an anxiety neurosis, he initiated his self-analysis and began to understand the importance of family relations—he began to interpret his own Oedipus complex. In May of 1897 he wrote that one of his own dreams "of course fulfills my wish to pin down a father as the originator of neurosis." And he added, presumably from his self-analysis, that "hostile impulses against parents (a wish that they should die) are also an integral part of neurosis. . . . It seems as though in sons this death-wish is directed against their father and in daughters against their mother." He further speculated that "the horror of incest is based on the fact that, as a result of a common sexual life (even in childhood), the members of a family hold together permanently and become incapable of contact with strangers."³⁵

The portion of Max Weber's work which attempted to characterize and explain different types of authority—charismatic, traditional, and

legal—also derived in part from his own personal struggle with his father. In the summer of 1897, Weber defied his strongly authoritarian father for the first time and ordered him out of the house. Seven weeks later his father died, and shortly thereafter Weber had a nervous breakdown. He spent the next six years in and out of sanatoriums, nursing himself out of a severe melancholic depression and fighting a massive load of guilt. The price to pay for defiance of centuries of unquestioned and unchallenged paternal authority was high, even for a man of such enormous intellectual energy as Max Weber.³⁶

In contrast with the formal studies and autobiographies which tended to subdue some of the more passionate and destructive elements of the father-son relationship, the imaginative literature often elaborated these elements in vivid detail.

The Brothers Karamazov (1880-1881) helped reduce whatever restraints might have held back earlier novelists depicting family conflict. The Oedipal theme in it prefigured Freud's later elaboration of the theory of the brothers of the primal horde who kill their father in order to possess his women. The four sons of Fyodor Karamazov work together, consciously and unconsciously, to destroy their father. Dimitry repeatedly expresses the wish to do so and engages in several battles with his father, in one of which he kicks him in the head while threatening to kill him. The hatred between Dimitry and his father was exacerbated by rivalry over a woman, Grushenka. Ivan supplies the bastard son, Smerdyakov, with the philosophical justification for crime. At Dimitry's trial Ivan explodes and projects the brothers' desire onto all mankind. "Who doesn't wish his father dead?" he screams. "My father has been murdered and they all pretend to be horrified. . . . Showing off before one another! The liars! They all wish their fathers dead."³⁷ Smerdyakov actually kills Fyodor, and the pious brother, Alyosha, does nothing as he sees the crime developing. The parricide portends the downfall of Russian society. The prosecuting attorney suggests to the jury that this is *the* crime which must be punished, however justified it may appear. Respect for the father is respect for authority, and that must remain inviolable if civilization is to continue.

Following *The Brothers Karamazov* there appeared a steady stream of literary works dealing with strained and tragic father-son relations. The son in Leon Bloy's *Le Désespéré* (1886) reflects, following the death of his father: "A father and a son are like two mute souls who look at one another across an abyss on either side of the mother, unable to speak or embrace."³⁸ In *Das Friedensfest* (1890) and *Michael Kramer* (1900), Hauptmann dramatized the conflict of the ineffectual son tormented by an ambitious father. Michael's father, like many of his fictional counterparts, only realized the destructive effect of his authoritarianism after his son's death. Similarly pressured sons are driven to

suicide in Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach's two stories *Der Vorzugsschüler* (1897) and *Aus Späteherbsttagen* (1901).

If literature is an accurate index of historical fact, then the father-son relationship appears to have been acted out more violently at this time than in most other historical periods. The father-daughter relationship was also undergoing a change at this time. The themes of father-daughter incest and conflict were the subject of numerous important literary works. However, throughout this period the daughter remained of secondary importance within the family, and many general studies of the parent-child relation presumed that they need concern only the son.

Father-daughter incest, a recurring theme in literature, is injected into Hauptmann's *Before Sunrise* (1889) as just one more sign of the degeneration of the Krause family. The father's attacks on his daughter are a secondary consideration compared with drinking and smoking, which are given priority as *the* vices of the times. The intimate relationship between the thirteen-year-old heroine and her father in Lou Andreas-Salome's story "*Vaters Kind*" (1901) cools only after her father shoots the injured pet dog given to her by a young admirer. The father's possession of the girl's affection prior to that was extreme: "Ria's soul seemed to him to be a sweet little instrument that he alone knew how to play."³⁹ In George Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman* (1901-03), Jack Tanner protested against paternal over-protectiveness which drives women to marry "because marriage is their only means of escape from these decrepit fiends who hide their selfish ambitions, their jealous hatreds of the young rivals who have supplanted them, under the mask of natural duty and family affection."⁴⁰

Family conflict was most frequent between father and son and between husband and wife, but two works portrayed a bloody father-daughter relationship. In Schnitzler's *Der Ruf des Lebens* (1905), the dying father's hawkish possessiveness is matched in intensity by his daughter Marie's parricidal impulses. To the doctor who urges her to leave her father, she replies: "Not an hour goes by in which my fingers do not itch to strangle him."⁴¹ She finally poisons her father but is too embittered to feel any relief.

The hatred of a ward for her guardian in Zola's *Earth* (1888) was so primitive that the final murderous act, no doubt one of the most brutal scenes in all of literary history, was executed with icy indifference. Old Fouan divides his land between two sons and a daughter. Trusting to the filial sense of his children for his keeping, he is disappointed and abused by each in turn, and in desperation settles with Buteau, who had married Fouan's ward, Lisa. The two quickly tire of caring for the old man and decide to murder him. Lisa thrusts a pillow over him during his sleep and breaks his nose. During the suffocation his face had turned black. To conceal their crime Buteau and Lisa decide to burn him. Lisa

sets fire to the old man's beard. The burning momentarily revives him and, with his face blackened and his beard on fire, he gives them a dying look mixed with hatred and agony.

THE CONTROL OF CHILD SEXUALITY

The corporeal focal point of parent-child conflict in the Victorian period was child sexuality, in particular masturbation. Early masturbatory activity is a function of instinctual impulses, but as parental authority begins to turn upon this early manifestation of child sexuality, it becomes an expression of defiance, an assertion of independence. In a period when sexual morality was particularly severe and when the imposition of parental authority absolute, the playful self-indulgence of masturbating children was especially threatening to parents who were so anxious about suppressing their own sexuality. As soon as the child was able to acquire a moral sense, the parents sought to quash child sexuality with firm moral injunctions, threats of punishment, and, if necessary, physical restraint.

Conflict over the suppression of child sexuality was most acute in the father-son relationship. Perhaps the tyrannical father was partly acting out his anxiety from the loss of his own potency, jealous over the willful assertion of his son's seemingly abundant sexual energy. The combination of fear and jealousy may account for some of the intensity of this struggle in the mid nineteenth century, but these two factors are universal and not unique to this period. Several other factors may help explain why the effort to control child sexuality was so intense at this time.

The severely restrictive sexual morality of the nineteenth century was imposed by the newly triumphant bourgeoisie. Speculation about its repressive sex ethic by Lewis Mumford, Peter Cominos, and Norman O. Brown has concluded that the bourgeoisie was intent upon amassing great wealth, and consequently the virtue of thrift came to be extended to regulate all expenditure of energy.⁴² Waste, whether financial or biological, came to be viewed as evil, and the class sexual morality called for ever more thrift in the sexual sphere. Child sexuality was a persistent reminder of the human tendency to squander, and parents sought to control it both to instill a proper morality in the child and to reaffirm the wisdom of their own self-restraint.

René Spitz has developed another line of reasoning about the probable causes of the sudden imposition of severe parental authority in curbing masturbation around 1850. From a survey of 559 works relating to the causes, effects, and controls of masturbation throughout history, Spitz concluded that in the late eighteenth century a decisive change of

emphasis occurred as physicians began to abandon more moderate treatment involving bland diets and counseling and turned to more sadistic restraining methods. "While in the eighteenth century medical men endeavored to *cure* masturbation, in the nineteenth century they were trying to *suppress* it."⁴³ In the period 1850-1879 the most sadistic measures involving surgical operations (punitive circumcision, male and female infibulation, and clitoridectomy) were recommended more frequently than other procedures. From 1880 to 1904 various restraining apparatuses were the most frequently used control method, while after 1905 the spread of knowledge of psychoanalysis gradually began to reduce the incidence of surgical and physical suppression of child sexuality. Spitz suggests several historical factors which contributed to the particularly severe measures of the mid and late nineteenth century. The rise of Protestantism placed unprecedented responsibility upon the father to impose moral restraints upon himself and his family. The philosophy of the Enlightenment underlined the need for public health to be a major concern of the state. The connection between the familial responsibility of the father to watch over the morality of his family and the civic responsibility of the state to control public health and sexuality was realized in the early nineteenth century as the social problems created by the industrial revolution further illustrated the need for societal support of public health projects. By the early nineteenth century, medical men began to accept the social responsibility of medicine.

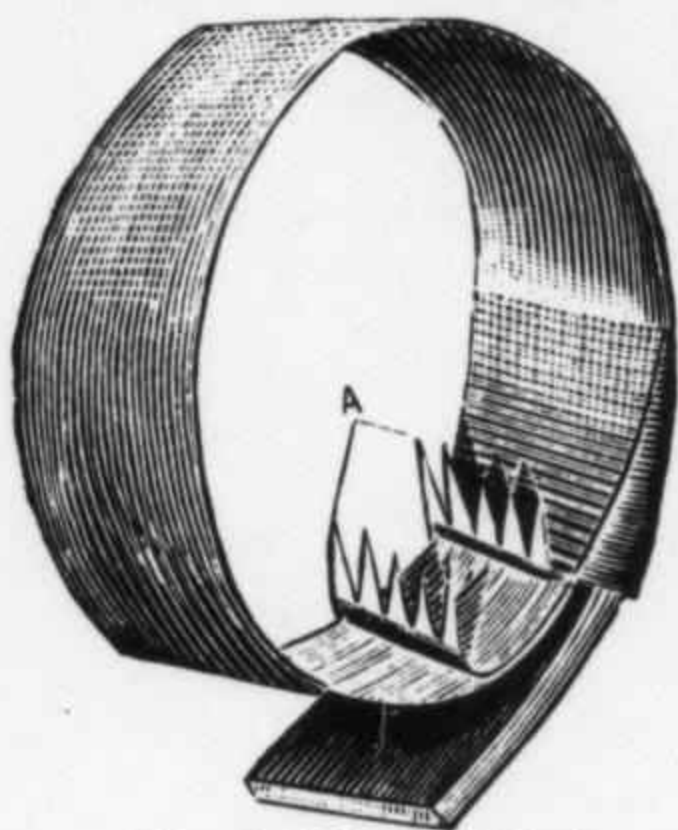
The historical record confirms Spitz's conclusion that "the sadistic trend in anti-masturbationist therapy came at a period in history when people became aware of infantile sexuality."⁴⁴ Parents intruded their anxious moralizing into the most intimate biological and emotional processes of their children in order to curb possible sources of sexual excitation. They were counseled to keep their children to a strict sleeping regimen in order not to allow them to be in bed long either before falling to sleep or after awakening in the morning. Children's diets were carefully controlled to exclude any spicy foods which were believed to arouse erotic impulses. The bowels were carefully watched because constipation and piles were listed among the causes of masturbation. Clothing had to be specially designed. Suspenders should be loose to prevent pants from rubbing against the genitals, and one moralist advised carefully selecting boys' trousers with shallow and widely separated pockets. Horseback riding, prolonged sitting, and bicycle riding were to be curtailed because they too could generate masturbatory impulses from rhythmic friction. Of course the child's reading must be carefully regulated, and even many of the suggestive works of art found in museums were believed to be dangerous. Other moralists mention as possible exciting causes the easy accessibility of closets, perfumes, furs, or rocking chairs. Thus parents could meddle in every aspect of a child's life under

the pretext of rooting out potential causes of masturbatory activity. The American psychologist G. Stanley Hall wrote as if in a final gasp of anxious frustration that the hand itself, that symbol of man's achievement over the animal world, may prove to be the cause of his ruin.⁴⁵ And for the child who persisted in masturbating in defiance of the more subtle preventative efforts of his parents, the Victorians resorted to force. Wandering hands were tied down at night, and a variety of elaborate restrictive devices were tried. Lafonde's elaborate corset restricted access by a metal cup over the genitals. Various kinds of rings were sold to be installed around the penis to prevent erection, and J. L. Milton described a gadget which awakened young men with an electric bell: "a ring placed on the penis is so made, that when expanded by erection it completes an electric circuit and so rings a small alarm bell placed under the sleeper's pillow." (See Figure 1). And for the incorrigible there were a number of surgical techniques: blistering of the penis, infibulation, and for female masturbators, surgical removal of the clitoris.⁴⁷

By 1905, when Freud fully elaborated his family psychology and developed his theory of the Oedipus complex as the focus of the child's psychosexual response to family life, the Victorian family was exploding from unresolved Oedipal tensions. His early patients came to him on their hands and knees, emotionally crippled (sometimes physically) by pathological defense structures generated by severe sexual repression reinforced by familial pressure. His theory was a systematization of the ideas that had been explored by the Victorians who were living with, and trying to understand, the tense atmosphere of the Victorian family. Freud made a few striking additions. He insisted that these intense feelings exist from earliest childhood, sometimes with even greater force than later, and that they are present in all children and submerged under varying degrees of repression. He argued that the constellation of positive and negative feelings harbored by every child toward his parents and siblings forms a nucleus of ambivalence and conflict that determines later adult patterns of psychological and sexual relating. Underlying every adult dream, he boldly speculated, there was some repressed childhood wish, impulse, or memory, and the Oedipus complex itself was the nucleus for all adult neurotic or psychotic symptomatology. Perhaps Freud did exaggerate the sexual and familial determinants of adult mental life, but that exaggeration was a reflection of the extent to which those factors had governed family life of the late Victorian period.

CHILD SUICIDE

There is no more telling critique of the family than the suicide of a child, and in the 1890s child suicide appeared to many observers to be



"Toothed Urethral Ring"



"Four-Pointed Urethral Ring"



"The Electric Alarum"

Figure 1. Reproduced from J. L. Milton, *On the Pathology and Treatment of Gonorrhoea and Spermatorrhoea*, New York, 1887, pp. 397-401.

rising sharply. No single historical fact so urgently compelled parents and educators to re-evaluate their relationship with children. No doubt the largest single explanation for the apparent rise in suicides of all ages was the improvement of statistical techniques during the latter part of the century, but at the time, the rising percentages gave cause for much critical re-examination of school and home life in particular. Against the traditional dismissal of the suicide as a moral degenerate who succumbed to his hereditary endowment, observers began to study the particular psychological and social conditions of the suicide.

A comprehensive study of suicide by the Italian sociologist Enrico Morselli in 1879 concluded that shame and fear of punishment were the most frequently discernible causes of suicide in children under fifteen years of age. Mental illness and then family problems were, respectively, the second and third most frequent causes of child suicide. The German child psychologist and educator, Friedrich Scholz, in 1891 listed four environmental causes: misery of family life, shame, bad conscience, and fear of punishment. In an extraordinary pre-Freudian interpretation of the nature of the unconscious forces that drive a child to suicide, he wrote: "One ought not believe that suicide is really accidental, because it is consistently only the last link of a long chain of events that lead up to it, even if they are for the most part unperceived and unconscious."⁴⁸

The most complete study of child suicide was by Abraham Baer, who criticized earlier studies, such as an article by a German doctor in 1870 which trivialized the motive that drove the child to suicide. Baer insisted that children have more intense feelings than adults. The most frequently recorded motives for child suicide he listed as remorse, shame, and bad conscience. Though he explicitly considered family life as a cause, he only mentions the effect of broken families and those in which the child is forced into excessive material suffering and deprivation. But the rate of child suicide, he warned, was increasing more rapidly than that of adults, especially because of the growing pressures of education and the encouragement of precociousness. He concluded: "Suicide in childhood is a product of our modern culture and social life. Degeneration and mental illness on the one hand, and bad education and precocity on the other explain the relatively frequent occurrence of child suicide and its increase in recent times."⁴⁹ Christian Ufer's review of Baer in *Kinderfehler* (1902) emphasized the role of the home and school in driving children to suicide.

A large number of fictional works on this period treated child suicide deriving from pressures of home and school, but school problems led to suicide only when parental attitudes reinforced them. Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach's *Der Vorzugsschüler* (1897) tells of fourteen-year-old George, frightfully driven by his parents, whose hopes for financial and social advancement rested solely on him. Though well qualified, George

fails an examination, and, remembering his father's angry warning not to come home with a bad report, "goes the way of so many other unfortunate students—into the Danube."⁵⁰ In response to similar home-school pressures, the hero of Hesse's *Beneath the Wheel* drowns himself. The titular hero of Hauptmann's *Michael Kramer* (1900) buckles under his father's imposing ambition and expectations and commits suicide. The young heroine of Hauptmann's *Hanneles Himmelfahrt* (1893) throws herself into an icy pond while fleeing her brutal and drunken father. A most gruesome child suicide occurs in Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure* (1895). Jude's plans to accomplish through his son what he could not achieve himself are repeatedly frustrated by the child's lack of ambition and morbid pessimism. One day Jude's wife thoughtlessly tells her son that it would be easier for the family to get lodgings if there were no children. The boy takes his mother's words to heart and hangs his two younger siblings, then himself. Jude consoles his aggrieved wife: "It was in his nature to do it. The doctor says there are such boys springing up amongst us—boys of a sort unknown in the last generation—the outcome of new views of life. They seem to see all its terrors before they are old enough to have staying power to resist them. He says it is the beginning of the coming universal wish not to live."⁵¹

The most commonly mentioned motive for suicide in childhood was fear of punishment, and shame ran a close second. Both problems derived from family life. As the Victorian family closed in upon the child the pressures upon the child mounted accordingly. The child of the Victorian period was subject to an extraordinary set of pressures particularly through the social ambitions of the family. Children were to inherit, and to enhance, the fortunes of the large middle class estates built up for over a century of aggrandizement that often included financially judicious marriages. The pressures brought to bear on many Victorian children were indeed of explosive intensity.

I would like to conclude with one long quotation that well illustrates the kinds of pressures that held the Victorian family together with a tenacity that eventually led to its undoing. It is from a marriage manual by the American phrenologist O. S. Fowler, *Love and Parentage Applied to the Improvement of Offspring*. The passage concludes a section on the nature of spiritual love in marriage and shows to what extent the Victorian parent was led to believe that the family unit was held fast by the innermost biological and psychological processes of man. The italics are Fowler's.

While sexual love, as such, transmits the bodily organs and animal functions, it remains for this *spiritual* love to call forth into the most delightful and intense action possible, the entire *intellectual and moral* nature of parents, preparatory, and in order, to its conferring on man this boon of *angels*, this "image and likeness" of

God; besides purifying and sanctifying the animal by the ascendancy of the moral, and guiding all by *reason*. And it is this *combined and concentrated*, as well as *high-wrought*, inter-communion of *every physical, every intellectual, every moral element and function of humanity* in generation as it is *by constitution*, which renders the pleasure attendant on this *double* repast so *indescribably* exalted and beatific to those who *spiritually love* each other, or in proportion thereto; besides being *the ONLY* means of augmenting and perfecting the intellectuality and morality of its product—redoubling more and more as its handmaid love becomes more and more perfect, and thereby enhances, and also unites, in this holy alliance, faculty after faculty, till finally, when both love and generation have their perfect, and of course *united*, work, they embrace within the wide range of their sanctified enjoyment, every animal, every intellectual, every moral, organ and function, and element of man's entire constitution!⁵²

The syntax of the passage forms a crescendo of the many themes Fowler had been developing and, laced with italics and prolonged as though the author could not bear to conclude each of its two sentences, strains to convey the enormity and totality of the marital union, culminating in offspring which are a product of *every* physical and mental attribute of the parents. Fowler is relentless in his apotheosis of the sanctity of the family. He implies that life outside of it is immoral, irrational, and base. The marital union is the center point of Victorian life, where all is "combined" and "concentrated" where "every intellectual, every moral element," every "organ and function" is "*united*" totally and for all time in view of the angels, in the "image and likeness" of God. In this world divorce is unthinkable—a rejection of God, an abandonment of the protective hand of religion, a violation of the natural forces of human biology, a corruption of the intellectual and moral qualities of mankind, and a serious threat to the well being of the state. There is a stickiness here that made family life as unbearable as it was vital to its members who had become so dependent on it. By the end of the century the Victorian family became an explosive unit, poised in a tenuous solidity that was already beginning to decompose as the very forces that held it together became too much for its individual members to bear.

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FROM THE SOURCES

River Bathing in Rome (35 B.C.):

"'O Jupiter, who givest and takest away sore affections,' cries the mother of a child that for five long months has been ill abed, 'if the quartan chills leave my child, then on the morning of the day on which you appointest a fast, he shall stand naked in the Tiber.' Should chance or the doctor raise the sick lad up from his peril, his crazy mother will kill him by planting him on the cold bank and bringing back his fever."

Horace, *Satires, Epistles, Ars Poetica* (Cambridge, 1961), p. 177.

FROM THE SOURCES

Memories of a Spanish Mother (1524 A.D.):

"No mother loved her child better than mine did me: nor any child did ever less perceive herself loved of his mother than I. She never lightly laughed upon me, she never cockered me: and yet when I had been three or four days out of her house she wist not where, she was almost sore sick: when I was come home, I could not perceive that ever she longed for me. Therefore was there nobody that I did more flee, or was more loth to come nigh, than my mother, when I was a child; but after I came to a young man's estate, there was nobody whom I delighted more to have in sight."

J. L. Vives, *A very fruitfull and pleasant booke called the Instruction of a Christian Woman* (London, 1540), Book II, Ch. 11.



A GUIDE TO THE INTERDISCIPLINARY LITERATURE OF THE HISTORY OF CHILDHOOD

MANUEL D.
LOPEZ

The history of childhood has few serious scholars now digging through primary source material in order to find out what it felt like to be a child in the past. The Journal receives twenty "psychobiographies" guessing at someone's childhood from adult material for every article it receives citing actual childhood source material. And since it is only through direct access to the sources that a truly interdisciplinary history of childhood will emerge, bibliographic aids are essential, both for the non-historian who wishes to participate in our venture and for the historian who wants to step outside his own specialty. Also, if it is true that few psychoanalysts know of the existence of various "short-title catalogues" of early printed books, likewise few historians have heard of Grinstein's psychoanalytic index. Childhood history badly needs the best efforts of the historian, the psychologist, the sociologist and the psychoanalyst if we are to ever understand childhood in its historical perspective and thereby construct the new psychohistory. Manuel Lopez has given us a beginning below; further bibliographic suggestions are invited from readers for future listings in the Journal.

Interdisciplinary research is, in fact, a courageous undertaking. A researcher finds among his smaller problems: specialized usage of common terms, a confusion of meanings due to an overlapping of concepts, and frustration compounded by lack of familiarity with the literatures and sources of information of those fields beyond his original discipline. Depending upon his orientation, he discovers, according to the field of en-

deavor, a variety of bibliographic tools representing a wide spectrum of sophistication and reflecting, usually, the particular needs and biases of the scholars and practitioners within particular fields.

The guide presented is of a general nature; the effort here is only to provide examples of the basic bibliographic instruments available as well as the diversity of possible approaches. The arrangement of the entries is by form (Abstracts, Indexes, Bibliographies, Encyclopedias, Dictionaries, Handbooks) or by content (Dissertations and Theses, Biographical Sources, Directories, Manuscripts, Subject Collections and Specialized Sources, Book Reviews, Newspapers, Government Publications and Graphics). Within each category the sequence of citation is from the general to the specific, the comprehensive to the particular or from the current to the retrospective.

From a specialist's viewpoint, this guide is inadequate—and his criticism is valid in relation to his specialty; however, this effort is directed toward the non-specialist. Hopefully, this guide will provide the basis for the expansion, modification and emphasis that will meet the needs of the individual investigator. Even if this guide should meet the current needs of some scholars, bibliographic aids are dated almost as soon as they are completed. To maintain such a resource, a card file with appropriate form or subject headings could be developed. As publications of value appear they could be noted with comments concerning their scope, arrangement, omissions, special features such as charts, indexes and bibliographies, and some indication of the particular value of each item.

Manuel D. Lopez is reference librarian with the Lockwood Memorial Library, State University of New York at Buffalo, and has published widely in the area of bibliographic control and access.

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BIBLIOGRAPHIES

- A1 White, Carl Milton
Sources of information in the Social Sciences: a guide to the literature [by] Carl M. White and associates. [Totawa, N.J.] Bedminister Press [1964].

The specific disciplines of history, business administration and economics, anthropology, psychology, political science, sociology and the general literature of the social sciences are within the scope of this bibliographic guide. An introduction to each field and a review and evaluation of basic monographic works in English.

A2 *U.S. Library of Congress*

Library of Congress Catalog; a cumulative list of works represented by Library of Congress printed cards. Books: subjects. Jan/Mar. 1950- , Washington.

Quarterly issues, an annual and quinquennial cumulation. Entries in this excellent subject bibliography are for items with an imprint date of 1945 or later which have been cataloged. Materials included are pamphlets, atlases, serials, periodicals, maps and books in all languages.

A3 *The British national bibliography.* 1950-

A weekly list of new British books received by the Agent for the Copyright Libraries. Arranged by Dewey classification. Each weekly list contains an author and title index. The final weekly list for the month contains separate author and subject indexes. Weekly lists are cumulated for the periods January-April, May-August and an annual cumulation for January-December. Since 1950 there have been cumulative author, subject and title volumes for periods of 3 to 5 years.

Note: Other national bibliographies of interest and value: *Canadiana*, 1950- ; *Bibliografia nazionale italiana*, 1958- ; *Bibliographie de la France; journal général de l'imprimerie et de la librairie*, v; 1- , 1811- ; and *Les Livres de l'année*, 1933-1938, 1946/48- .

A4 *Cumulative book index*, 1928- , New York (etc.) W. H. Wilson Co.

Monthly issues except July, August and December, cumulating at irregular intervals. Useful bibliography with the limitation of including only English language material. Books listed under author, subject and title.

A5 U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Library.

Author/Title catalog of the department library, Boston, G. K. Hall, 1965, v. 1-29.

An alphabetic arrangement, by author and title, of some 850,000 entries for this collection of 500,000 volumes composed of books, papers, pamphlets proceedings, local, state and federal documents. Particularly strong in the areas of the social sciences and education. This catalog is an invaluable resource when trying to identify a government publication by title or author.

A6 ————. *Subject catalog of the department library*

Boston, G. K. Hall, 1965, v. 1-20.

Approximately 350,000 subject cards for government documents, pamphlets, serial publications and books. The current cat-

alog is the product of combining an "Education Catalog" and a "Social Welfare Catalog" each with its own subject approach. The problems generated by merging the two systems have been reduced by an extensive use of cross references and "see references".

A7 Aldous, Joan

International bibliography of research in marriage and the family, 1900-1964 . . . [Minneapolis] Distributed by the University of Minnesota Press for the Minnesota Family Study Center and the Institute of Life Insurance [1967].

References (12,850) are to monographs, journals, books, pamphlets, parts of books, bulletins and fugitive publications; the goal was to "list every research item published since 1900 in which some manifestation of marriage or the family figures". Preface contains an extensive list of exclusions. The variety of access includes a key word index, a subject index, a list of authors, a list of titles and a final section that has full bibliographic citations for each item.

A8 *Bibliographic index; a cumulative bibliography of bibliographies.*

(v.) 11, New York, the H. W. Wilson Co., 1945

A comprehensive semiannual subject index to bibliographies that have appeared in books and pamphlets as well as some 1900 periodicals that are systematically covered. To be cited a bibliography must have at least 40 entries.

A9 *Essay and general literature index; an index to essays and articles in . . . collections of essays and miscellaneous works.* v. 1- , 1900-1933-

A subject, author, and when relevant, title index to essays, chapters and parts of books that are in collections of essays and miscellaneous works. This bibliographic resource performs the same function for books as a periodical index does for the journal literature. A semiannual publication that cumulates annually and quinquennially. The 1971 volume states, "An index of 4,223 essays and articles in 252 volumes of collections of essays and miscellaneous works."

A10 Evans, Charles, 1850-1935

American bibliography, by Charles Evans. A chronological dictionary of all books, pamphlets and periodical publications printed in the United States of America from the genesis of printing in 1639 down to and including the year 1820. With bibliographical and biographical notes . . . Chicago, Priv. print. for the author by the Blakely Press, 1903-1959. Chronological arrangement, numbered continuously. There is a classified subject index, an author index and a list of publishers and printers. Actually only complete through 1800, volume 13 covering the years 1799-1800. Volume 14 is an author-title index to the set.

Note: Similar publications are: Shaw, R. & Shoemaker, R. A., *American Bibliography*; Historical Records Survey, *American Imprints Inventory*.

A11 Bristol, Roger Pattrell

Supplement to Charles Evans' American Bibliography. Charlottesville. Published for the Bibliographical Society of America and the Bibliographical Society of Virginia [by] University Press of Virginia [1970].

Over 11,000 items—books, pamphlets, broadsides, journals, newspapers and ephemera—printed in America between 1639-1800 but not included in Evans. Arranged chronologically, entries include citations to bibliographies and library locations.

Index to Supplement to Charles Evans' American Bibliography. Charlottesville. Published for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia [by the] University Press of Virginia [1971].

Two indexes: 1) Authors and titles; 2) Printers, publishers and booksellers.

A12 *Early American Imprints*

First Series (Evans) 1639-1800. Readex Microprint Corp.

This is a microprint edition of over 42,000 titles, reproduced in full, that are listed in Evans' *American Bibliography*.

A13 *Early American Imprints*

Second Series (Shaw-Shoemaker), 1801-1819. Readex Microprint Corp.

About 50,000 titles (books, pamphlets, broadsides) printed in the U.S. between 1801-1819 are reproduced in full.

These two microfilm collections are available in a number of libraries thus providing the scholar with ready access to rare and unusual primary materials.

A14 Pollard, Alfred William, 1859- comp.

A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640. Compiled by A. W. Pollard & G. R. Redgrave, with the help of G. F. Barwick, George Watson Cole, Ethel Fegan . . . and others. London, The Bibliographical Society, 1926.

A catalogue of books, giving the location of copies (usually 3 in the United Kingdom, 3 in the U.S.); arranged alphabetically by author's name. Entry numbers facilitate the cross reference system.

"English" is defined to include every book, regardless of language printed in England, Wales and Scotland. Works by English authors printed out of England in languages other than English are excluded.

A15 Wing, Donald Goddard, 1904-

Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English books printed

in other countries, 1641-1700. New York, Index Society, 1945-51.

Some 90,000 abridged entries for books, "copies of which are known to exist." The locations, a maximum of 10 (5 in the United Kingdom and 5 in the U.S.) of copies are provided when possible. Works by English authors printed outside England in a language other than English have been excluded. Trials are listed by title; pamphlets of less than fifty pages are so indicated. Each main entry has an entry number composed by a letter and number. The arrangement is alphabetical by author; material by anonymous and pseudonymous authors should be searched by the first word of the title.

Such short-title catalogs as Wing's and the one by Pollard are not unique. Other catalogues have been produced related to other countries and time periods.

A16 *Early English Books*

The availability of the items cited in Pollard and Redgrave *Short-Title Catalogue* has been expanded by a project to microfilm those titles. *Early English Books, 1475-1640*, started in 1938 and is currently in progress. A similar project, *Early English Books, 1641-1700*, exists for the material listed in Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue*.

N.B. Similar publications include the British Museum's Dept. of Printed Books' *Short-title catalogue of books printed in France and of French Books printed in other countries from 1470 to 1600 in the British Museum*; *Short title catalogue of books printed in Italy and of Italian books printed in other countries from 1495-1600 now in the British Museum*; *Short-title catalogue of books printed in the German speaking countries and German books printed in other countries from 1455-1600 now in the British Museum*; *Short-title catalogue of books printed in the Netherlands and Belgium and of Dutch and Flemish books printed in other countries from 1470 to 1600 now in the British Museum*; *Short-title catalogues of Spanish, Spanish-American and Portuguese books printed before 1601 in the British Museum*. Other examples include Herbert Mayow Adams' *Catalogue of books printed on the continent of Europe, 1501-1600 in Cambridge libraries*; *Bibliographie der deutschen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts, 1960-* ; the Hispanic Society of America's *Printed books, 1468-1700, in the Hispanic Society of America*, J. Brucker's *A Bibliographical catalogue of seventeenth-century German books published in Holland*.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY

- B1 *Biography index; a cumulative index to biographical materials in books and magazines.* 1- , Jan. 1946/July 1949-

Cumulating annually, this quarterly is an index to biographical material including collections of letters, diaries, obituaries, memoirs and bibliographies, that has been cited in periodicals, individual and collective biographies and other non-biographical books. Main section: biographies are arranged alphabetically, this section is followed by a list of biographies arranged by profession or occupation. Biographies, other than American, are so indicated. No limit regarding nationality or time period.

Note: Sources of biographical information among others include: *Webster's Biographical Dictionary* (1966); *Dictionary of American Biography* (1928-); *Dictionary of National Biography* (1885-); *Dictionnaire Biographique francais contemporain* (1950-); and the *Österreichisches biographisches Lexikon, 1815-1950*. Graz, H. Böhlau Nachf. . . 1957 (1954-); *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. Rome (1960-).

- B2 Jöcher, Christian Gottlieb, 1694-1758.

Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon. Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1751-51. Repr. 1961

Bibliographical sketches of individuals before 1750, covers all time periods and nationalities. Particularly good for Middle ages. Sources are given with extensive bibliographies.

Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen zum Allgemeinem Gelehrten-Lexicon. . . von Johan Christoph Adelung. Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1960.

Supplement has essentially same scope as well as some material of a later date.

- B3 *Biographie universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne*. Nouv. éd. publiée sous la direction de M. Michaud, rev., corr, et considérablement augm. d'articles omis ou nouveaux; ouvrage rédigé par une société de gens de lettres et de savants. Paris, Mme. C. Desplaces, 1843-65.

Signed articles with bibliographies, considered the most important of the large dictionaries of universal biography.

- B4 Phillips, Lawrence B.

Dictionary of biographical reference; containing over one hundred thousand names together with a classed index of the biographical literature of Europe and America. New edition rev., corr, and augm. with supplement to date, by Frank Weitenkampf. (3rd ed.) London, Law, Philadelphia, Gebbie, 1889.

International in scope, covers all periods, entries providing full names, dates and references to biographical collections. Bibliography of biography arranged: 1) general biographies according to language; 2) national biographies arranged by country and subdivided into provinces and cities; 3) by subject, occupation, activity: i.e., knights, athletes, popes, suicides, etc.

B5 Misch, Georg

A History of autobiography in antiquity (translated in collaboration with the author by E. W. Dickes). Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1951.

"... autobiographies demand for their appreciation ... a comprehensive view of the development of the human mind." Starting with a "... consideration of the growth of man's awareness of personality" volume one examines the conception and origin of autobiography, its form in the ancient Middle East, its development in post-Homeric Greece and in the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman world. Volume two explores autobiographical writings in religious and philosophical movements up to and including the Middle Ages. With reference to specific individuals, autobiography is explored from the viewpoints: politics, the "confessional", and character analysis. Volume 2 has the index for both volumes. Extensive notes provide additional and perceptive reference to primary sources and commentary.

B6

Geschichte der Autobiographie. 3rd ed. Frankfurt, 1949-69.

Eight volume study of autobiography in various relationships to art, literature, religion, culture, etc., from antiquity to the nineteenth century. Each volume has its own name and subject index.

B7 Acta sanctorum

Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur quae ex Latinis et Graecis, aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis collegit, digessit, notis illustravit Ioannes Bollandus ... Editio novissima curante Joanne Carnandet ... Paris, v. Palmé 1863-1940 84 V. in 67.

First publication dated 1643. For an account of this publication that continued for three hundred years see the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. 2:630-39.

B8 *Bibliotheca sanctorum*

[Roma] Istituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontificia Università lateranense [1961?—].

Signed biographical sketches that vary in length from one column to three pages. Bibliography for each entry. Four indexes: 1) by saint, 2) according to saint's day, according to a variety of calendars, 3) according to patronage (feast day, functions association with cities and towns, date of sanctification, etc.), 4) by author of articles.

Analecta bollandiana

Société des Bollandistes, V. 1, -1882—

Texts, commentaries, and critical reviews of new publications about the lives of saints. Actually supplements *Acta sanctorum*.

- B9 Lillard, Richard Gordon

American life in autobiography, a descriptive guide. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1956.

Over four hundred volumes written by Americans and printed since 1900. Classified arrangement by occupation, a general index provides rapid access. Annotations emphasize the style, reader appeal and general contents of the autobiography.

- B10 Hefling, Helen

Hefling & Richards' Index to contemporary biography and criticism. A new ed. rev. and ent. by Helen Hefling . . . and Jessie W. Dyde . . . with an introduction by Miss Mary Emogene Hazeltine. Boston, F. W. Faxon Company, 1934.

Indexes 417 titles concerning individuals born later than 1850. Many individuals have multiple citations.

- B11 O'Neill, Edward Hayes

Biography by Americans, 1658-1936; a subject bibliography by Edward H. O'Neill. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press; London, H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1939.

Some seven thousand biographies arranged alphabetically by the biographees name in part I. Part II cites the collected biographies by the compiler's name. Excluded are autobiographies, diaries and journals, however, this bibliography attempts to "note every known biography" and "covers every possible field of life."

- B12 Kaplan, Louis

A Bibliography of American autobiographies. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1961.

Six thousand three hundred and seventy seven autobiographies including those of Americans who lived abroad as well as foreign authors who lived in the U.S. for an "appreciable period." Excludes works that were published after 1945, fiction, diaries, journals and letters. Arranged alphabetically by the name of the author, each entry contains bibliographic information and the location of a copy in a library. A very detailed index including a chronological listing by period.

- B13 Matthews, William

British autobiographies; an annotated bibliography of British autobiographies published or written before 1951. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1955.

About four thousand autobiographies concerned with a "significant" segment of the life of an author who "seemed to be mostly concerned with himself". Brief characterization of the book-persons, places, and subjects. Arrangement is alphabetical by name of the writer. British is "born in the British Isles" and "naturalized British Subject", although titles concerned with life in the colonies are not excluded. Autobiographies of life lived in U.S., Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and auto-

biographies of Indians are excluded. An index by occupation, profession, places, regions, wars, and general topics gives ready access. N.B. Colonial diaries are included.

- B14 Stauffer, Donald Alfred

English biography before 1700, by ... Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1930.

Essentially a study, historically and critically, of the art of English biography. Index-subject and author of early English biographies (pp. 289-366). "A list of the most important work of reference for the study of early English biography" requires pp. 367-372. A standard index of biographers, biographies and sources complete the volume.

- B15 Royal Commonwealth Society Library.

Biography catalogue of the Library of the Royal Commonwealth Society, By Donald H. Simpson, librarian. London, Royal Commonwealth Society, 1961.

Includes biographies, autobiographies, personal accounts of particular events, and accounts of artists and writers published up to 1960, of individuals born in or connected with the Commonwealth countries or individuals of the U.K. significantly involved in Imperial Affairs. The definition of inclusion is sufficiently broad to cite biographies of travellers and explorers of many nations as well as entries relating to Colonial America.

- B16 Bode, Ingrid

Die Autobiographien zur deutschen Literatur, Kunst und Musik 1900-1965; Bibliographie und Nachweise der persönlichen Begegnungen und Charakteristiken. Stuttgart, Metzler [1966].

Some 500 autobiographies including significant diaries are cited with full bibliographic data. Each entry identifies the author and notes indicate the time span covered, persons, places and events. A separate index to individuals, cited in the autobiographies. A second index by profession provides a subject approach to this excellent bibliography.

N.B. For studies of the history, form and value of autobiography and biography see Anna Robeson Burr's *The Autobiography* (1909); Waldo Hilary Dunn's *English Biography* (1966) and John Mark Longaker's *English Biography in the Eighteenth Century* (1931).

DIARIES AND LETTERS

- C1 Forbes, Harriette (Merrifield) 1856-1951, comp.

New England diaries, 1602-1800, a descriptive catalogue of diaries, orderly books and sea journals. New York, Pursell & Pursell, 1923.

Diaries, orderly books and sea journals kept by either residents of New England or strangers writing of their experiences in New England. Three separate sections according to form. The entries include brief identifying biographical data, notes concerning ownership, location of manuscript and publication information.

C2 Matthews, William

American diaries; an annotated bibliography of American diaries written prior to the year 1861, compiled by William Matthews . . . Berkeley, University of California Press, 1945.

Limited to published diaries written in the English language by Americans and Canadians. Defines "diary" as a day-to-day record of what interested the "diarist" and as written for "personal reasons". Manuscript diaries are excluded. Some biographical information given, and the notes indicate persons, places and chief subjects. Chronologically arranged by year of first entries—as published. Diarists indexed.

C3

British diaries; an annotated bibliography of British diaries written between 1442 and 1942. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1950.

"In general . . . includes diaries written by Englishmen, Scotsmen, Welshmen and Irishmen in the British Isles, in Europe and on the high seas and also the diaries of American and other travelers in the British Isles, so far as they have been published in England and in English." Also includes unpublished diaries. Chronological arrangement; each entry has dates of diary, some biographical data, descriptive notes as to contents—chief subjects, persons, places. Sometimes an evaluative comment is included. A name index compensates for the chronological arrangement.

C4 Ponsonby, Arthur Ponsonby

English diaries; a review of English diaries from the sixteenth to the twentieth century with an introduction on diary writing by Arthur Ponsonby . . . London, Methuen & Co., Ltd. [1923].

Cites one hundred and nineteen diarists from all segments of society; biographical information, extensive quotes from the diaries (published and in manuscript) and provides publication data. Diarists are indexed.

C5

More English diaries; further reviews of diaries from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century with an introduction on diary reading by Arthur Ponsonby. London, Methuen & Co., Ltd. [1927].

Thirty four diaries are reviewed and characterized. As in the previous work the diarists are from all social strata. The location and ownership of the manuscript is indicated and if published all publication data is provided. There is an index of diarists.

C6

Scottish and Irish diaries from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century with an introduction by Arthur Ponsonby. London, Methuen & Co., Ltd. [1927].

Twenty-six diarists received same format and treatment as in previous publications, however the selection is less representative of the general populace than the "*English Diaries*".

C7

Matthews, William, comp.

Canadian diaries and autobiographies. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1950.

One thousand two hundred and seventy six diaries and autobiographies, unpublished and published, relating to both British and French Canada. Preface should be read for factors of exclusion. Arranged alphabetically by writer's name, each entry includes biographical data on the writer, time span, brief content notes and bibliographical data.

C8

Duckett, Eleanor Shipley

Women and their letters in the early Middle Ages (by) Eleanor Duckett. (Northampton, Mass., Smith College, 1965).

Factors reviewed that contributed or inhibited the preservation of letters written by women. Actually, a bibliographical essay identifying the letters of those sisters, wives, daughters, lovers and mothers that survived.

C9

Lacretelle, Jacques de

La galerie des amants. Paris, Librairie académique Perin [1963]

Selection of French love letters spanning the period from Heloise and Abelard to Madame de Staël. Bibliography of collected letters appended.

C10

Valentine, Alan Chester, ed.

Fathers to sons: advice without consent. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, [1963]

Arranged roughly chronologically (1326-1947) each letter has a brief introduction. Bibliographic information regarding the printed source is complemented by a bibliography and name index.

C11

Lee, Vera G., comp.

La vie des lettres, by Vera G. Lee and Joseph D. Gauthier. New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., [1970]

A collection of letters of famous French authors such as Proust, Gide, Stendhal, Saint-Simon, Céline, etc.,—from their works and their lives.

N.B. Published letters can be located through the various library and trade book catalogs as well as bibliographies. The above titles are examples of collections of letters constructed around a central theme, occupation or relationship. Such collections in themselves function as indexes to the literature of letters. Other aids include:

- Adolf Bütow, *Die Entwicklung der mittelalterlichen Briefsteller bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Greifswald, 1908);
Dorothy Brooke, *Private Letters: Pagan and Christian* (London, 1929);
Hermann Oesterley, *Wegweiser durch die Literatur der Urkundensammlungen* (Berlin, 1885-86), 1, 19-45;
E. Bourgeois et L. André, *Le dix-septième siècle, T. II, Memoires et lettres* (Paris, 1913).

CHARACTER BOOKS, COURTESY BOOKS AND ETIQUETTE BOOKS

- D1 Greenough, Chester Noyes, 1874-1938
A bibliography of the Theophrastan character in English, with several portrait characters by . . . prepared for publication by J. Milton French, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1947.
Chronologically arranged, 1495-1941, authors are listed alphabetically within year, this bibliography includes separately published characters and character books of both types—Theophrastan and Clarendon. Included also are sketches that border line “character” and other literary forms. Separate indexes of authors, titles and subjects aid use. The “Appendix of titles considered but rejected” provides valuable information
- D2 Murphy, Gwendolen
A bibliography of English character-books, 1608-1700. Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, Supplement no. 4, 1925.
Excellent and detailed bibliographic description including library locations and lists of characters. A second section is devoted to “Controversial Characters”. An index of Characters and a separate index of Titles aids use.
- D3 Newberry Library, Chicago.
A check list of courtesy books in the Newberry library, compiled by Virgil B. Heltzel. Chicago, the Newberry Library, 1942.
The 1536 books published or written before 1775, available in the Newberry Library and meeting the compiler’s rather extensive definition of courtesy books. Works of a purely philosophical, technical or scientific nature have been excluded, as well as fiction. Of particular value is the citation of materials usually part of a collection or the complete work of an author alphabetically by author with adequate bibliographic information. Brief notes index includes editors, translations and pseudonyms, warrant titles, titles of anonymous works and those of questionable authorship.
- D4 Noyes, Gertrude E.
Bibliography of courtesy and conduct books in seventeenth-century England . . . New Haven, [The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Company] 1937.

Of the 477 titles cited about one fourth are translated in full or in part from the Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, French, German, Greek and Italian. There is one issue of an English fifteenth-century work and 25 are reissues from the sixteenth century. A secondary bibliography of "Discussions of Courtesy Literature" and subject index complete the volume. Each entry has full bibliographical information and appropriate notes concerning translations, contents, etc.

D5 Bobbitt, Mary Reed

A bibliography of etiquette books published in America before 1900. New York, New York Public Library, 1947.

Some 236 titles of books "which give more or less in detail a code based on the conduct of the best people". A distinction is made between courtesy books and those of etiquette. Books on letter-writing, conduct of life, parental advice and the etiquette of a particular activity (weddings, card games, etc.) have been excluded. Title index also cites some essays, lectures, sermons and addresses. Arrangement alphabetically by author with full bibliographical information as well as library locations are provided.

PEDIATRICS, HISTORY OF

E1 National Library of Medicine

Bibliography of the history of medicine, 1964-1969. Bethesda, Maryland, National Library of Medicine.

Includes and supersedes four previous annual bibliographies of the history of medicine and related sciences and professions citing articles, monographs and analytic entries for symposia, congresses and similar publications. All geographic areas and time periods covered. Three sections: 1) "Biographies" including those dealing of famous non-medical persons; 2) "Subject" index headings divided by geographic and/or Chronologic sub-headings; 3) Author listing.

E2 Miller, Genevieve, ed.

Bibliography of the history of medicine of the United States and Canada, 1939-1960. With a historical introd. by W. B. McDaniel, ed. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press [1964]

A cumulation of the annual bibliographies reprinted from the Bulletin of the History of Medicine for the years 1939-1960. A classified arrangement with an author index. One third of the work is devoted to biographies.

E3 *Current work in the history of medicine: an international bibliography.* London, The Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine, v. 1-1954-

A quarterly index to an extensive list of journals; each issue has a subject index and an author index. "No annual or periodic cum-

mulation of these references will be published." An excellent current awareness publication.

- E4 *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. American Association of the history of medicine. Johns Hopkins University. Institute of the history of medicine. Baltimore. 1-, 1933- (1-6 1933-38 as the Institute's bulletin)

Published bimonthly; good current awareness journal.

- E5 Schuman, Henry, comp.

From Hammurabi to Gesell, an exhibition of books on the history of pediatrics, from the Trent Collection [Duke University, Medical Center Library]. Washington, Second International Congress on Medical Librarianship, 1963.

A "reasonable representation" of the history of pediatrics, arranged in seven categories. Titles are arranged chronologically within each section, each title "headed" with an identifying or characterizing phrase. Good bibliographic information and history as well as contents notes. Author index compensates for the classified arrangement.

- E6 Levinson, Abraham, 1888-

Pioneers of pediatrics. New York, Froben Press, 1943.

Excluding contemporary American and European pediatricians, this brief history begins with a general survey, covers the Graeco-Roman period, the Islamic one and proceeds to the 15th century up to the 20th. Many fine illustrations, good quotes. A five page bibliography contributes to the overall value.

- E7 Abt, Arthur F.

Abt-Garrison history of pediatrics. Philadelphia, Saunders, 1965.

Essentially in two sections, the first chapter (172 pages) deals with the history of pediatrics. The second part (Chapters II-XVII) is devoted to "Historic changes and advances in pediatrics during recent times", each chapter focused upon a particular problem, i.e., infectious disease, nutrition, surgery, etc.

- E8 Ruhräh, John, comp. & ed.

Pediatrics of the past; an anthology compiled and edited . . . with a foreword by Fielding H. Garrison. New York, Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1925.

An excellent source book, spanning the subject from Hippocrates to F. L. Meissner providing translations, sometimes of the complete text, illustrations (54) and full page plates (18). The work of each individual is introduced by a biographical/evaluative description. A bibliography (14 pages), a separate index of names and one for subjects aids the reader.

- E9 Peiper, Albrecht

Quellen zur Geschichte der Kinderheilkunde, zusammengestellt, eingeleitet und kommentiert von Albrecht Peiper. Bern, Humber, [1966].

Essentially a biographical dictionary of individuals concerned with children covering a time period of sixteen hundred B.C. to 1856. Each receives about two pages. A bibliography and name index complete the work.

- E10 Still, George Frederic, 1868-

The history of pediatrics; the progress of the study of diseases of children up to the end of the XVIIIth century by George Frederic Still . . . London, H. Melford, Oxford University Press, 1931.

Has a special emphasis upon pediatrics in England, but begins his study with the Graeco-Roman period. Many illustrations. Similar format to Ruhräh. Bibliography particularly interesting as it cites inaugural dissertations presented between 1573-1799. A second list cites other pamphlets and dissertations (1729-1797). An index of names and one of subjects complete this section.

- E11 Peiper, Albrecht

Chronik der kinderheilkunde 4., erweiterte und umgearbeitete auflage mit 132, zum teil farbigen abbildungen. Leipzig, Veb Georg Thieme, 1966.

This comprehensive overview of all facets of childhood includes illustrations, drawings, excellent bibliographies, name and subject indexes and specialized bibliographies.

ABSTRACTS

- F1 *Psychological Abstracts*. v. 1- , Jan. 1927- . Lancaster, Pa. American Psychological Association, (1927-).

Extensive coverage of the international literature of psychology and related areas by providing abstracts, in English, of articles, books and dissertations. The contents of each issue are arranged by broad category. Each issues' author and brief subject index are cumulated in the completed volume.

- F2 *Psychological Abstracts, 1927-1960*

Cumulated subject index. Boston, G. K. Hall & Co., 1960.

The subject indexes of the 34 volumes of *Psychological Abstracts* have been cumulated into one alphabetic listing of refined entries. Thus, under one heading, one can find references to the abstracts of books, dissertations and articles on a given subject.

———, *1st Supplement. 1961-1965*

Boston, G. K. Hall, 1968.

Cumulation of the annual subject indexes of *Psychological Abstracts*, 1961-1965. Format is the same as the basic set.

- F3 *Author index to Psychological Index, 1894 to 1935 and Psychological Abstracts, 1927-1958.* Compiled by the Psychology Library, Columbia University. Boston, G. K. Hall & Co., 1960.

A comprehensive alphabetic author index to the psychological literature, periodical and monograph, published between 1894-

1958, and cited in *Psychological Index* and *Psychological Abstracts*.

_____, 1st Supplement.

Boston, G. K. Hall & Co., 1965.

A cumulative author index of *Psychological Abstracts*, 1959-1963. Unfortunately, it lacks cross references for publications having multiple authors.

- F4 *Child development abstracts and bibliography*. v. 1-

Washington, D.C., National Research Council. 1927-

International coverage of periodicals concerned with all aspects of childhood. Classified arrangement includes categories for biology (including infancy), clinical medicine and public health, psychology (development, comparative, experimental), personality, social psychology and sociology, education, psychiatry and clinical psychology. Titles of foreign language articles are translated, each abstract is written in English. Each issue has an author index but only the completed volume has a cumulated author index and a subject index.

- F5 *Sociological Abstracts*. v. 1- , Jan.-Oct. 1953. New York.

Classified arrangement of abstracts of books, papers and articles in broad categories, i.e., art, religion, social psychology, social problems and social welfare, the family and socialization, etc. Published six times a year, each issue now has an author and subject index. The annual cumulation has a subject index which is issued about two years after the volume is completed. Like other abstracting services, this one also functions as an index to the literature as well as a means for determining the relevance of the materials under consideration. A decennial index, 1953-1962, assists in the review of the literature.

- F6 *Sociology of Education Abstracts*. v. 1- , 1965- . Liverpool.

Since volume 2, the scope of this service has been expanded to include abstracts of chapters and books as well as journal articles. The premise and objective of this publication is: 1) that sociology can make major contributions to educational problems, and 2) to develop bibliographic access to the literature of the social sciences for those interested in the sociology of education. This dual function is reflected in the two indexes in each issue: 1) Education Study Areas Index; 2) Sociological Study Area Index.

- F7 *Research in Education*. v. 1- ; Nov. 1966-

Full bibliographic information and an abstract of usually unpublished material are provided by this monthly publication. "Education" is very broadly defined and a number of the reports, surveys, studies, etc., of interest and value to the sociologist, social historian and interdisciplinary scholar may be identified by use of the subject index available in each issue. *Research in Education* is produced by the Educational Resources Information

Center (ERIC). The documents selected are made available on microfilm or in hard copy. The monthly institutional, author and subject indexes of *Research in Education* cumulate annually; there is also a decennial subject index to ERIC documents: *Complete Guide and Index to ERIC Reports (1960) through December 1969*.

- F8 *Abstracts for Social Workers*. v. 1- , 1965-
Albany. National Association of Social Workers.
A quarterly abstracting some 200 English Language serial publications as well as books. A classified arrangement of material including such categories as: fields of service, social policy, service methods, profession and history. Each issue has an author index and a subject index which are cumulated annually.
- F9 *Historical Abstracts*. 1775-1945. v. 1- ; March, 1955-
(Santa Barbara, Calif., etc.) quarterly (irregular)
Beginning with volume 17, *Historical Abstracts* divided into two sections: Section A—*Modern History Abstracts* covers the period 1775-1914; Section B—*Twentieth Century Abstracts* covers the period 1914 to the present. The arrangement of both publications is classified by general topics then by area or country. There is an annual index and two 5-year indexes of three parts—subject, biographical and author. The annual indexes include in one alphabet author, geographical, biographical and subject entries.
- F10 *America, history and life*. v. 1- ; July 1964-
(Santa Barbara, Calif.)
Includes abstracts from about 200 serial publications related to the culture and history of the U.S. (including Atlantic and Pacific dependencies) as well as Canadian history and current affairs. The publications abstracted include those from state and local historical societies, leading journals in the humanities, social sciences and other fields. The classified arrangement includes categories such as North America, Canada, the United States (subdivisions by area and time period), History, the Humanities and Social Sciences. Each issue contains a combined author, geographical, biographical, and subject index. The annual cumulation is superseded by a quinquennial index.

PERIODICAL INDEXES

Use of periodical indexes and abstracting services is imperative as much of the material—research, professional opinion, and current information—published in journals never becomes available in monographic form.

- G1 *Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service . . .* (New York).
Public Affairs Information Service, 1915- , v. 1-

A subject index to periodicals, documents (federal and state), books and multigraphed publications published in English which are primarily concerned with some aspect of the social sciences. Weekly from September to July, fortnightly in August. Annually cumulated. Its extensive subject indexing and diversity of material indexes make it a particularly valuable research resource.

- G2 *Social sciences and humanities index*. New York, H. W. Wilson Company, 1907- , v. 1-

Provides a sophisticated subject and author index to the scholarly, specialized and professional journals as defined by its title. Subject headings have very adequate subdivisions plus excellent "see references". There are also citations to book reviews.

- G3 *British humanities index*, 1962-

Supersedes the *Subject index to periodicals*. Subject approach: Annual Volume. See G5.

- G4 *Canadian periodical index*. *Index de périodiques canadiens*. v. 1- ; Jan. 1948-

A monthly author and subject index to a broad range of Canadian periodicals. Cumulated annually. Cross references from French subject entries to those in English.

- G5 *The Subject index to periodicals*. Issued by the Literary Association 1915/16, 1917/19-1962.

Covers about 300 periodicals in the social sciences, humanities, business and important journals from other fields. Quarterly issues with an annual cumulation.

- G6 *Cumulated magazine subject index, 1907-1949*; a cumulation of the F. W. Faxon Company's Annual magazine subject index edited by Frederick Winthrop Faxon, Mary E. Bates (and) Anne C. Sutherland. Cumulated by G. K. Hall & Co., Boston, G. K. Hall, 1964.

Designed to complement *Poole's Index*, the *Annual Library Index* and the *Reader's Guide*, it indexed an increasing number (79 to 175) of American, Canadian and English periodicals. Special emphasis given to architecture, travel, geography, education, political science, art, forestry and outdoor life, as well as in depth coverage of the publications of state historical societies.

- G7 *Nineteenth century readers' guide to periodical literature, 1890-1899*, with supplementary indexing, 1900-1922; edited by Helen Grant Cushing and Adah V. Morris, New York, H. W. Wilson Co., 1944.

An author, subject and illustrator index to the material in fifty-one periodicals, primarily general and literary although some other fields are covered. Citations are also made to book reviews and there is a title index to poems (13,000), plays, short stories and novels.

N.B. Includes at least 7 periodicals not indexed by *Poole's*.

- G8 *Poole's index to periodical literature*, by William Frederick Poole . . . with the assistance as associate editor of William I. Fletcher . . . and the cooperation of the American Library Association and the Library Association of the United Kingdom. Rev. ed. v. 1, 1802-1887; Supplements: v. 2, 1802-1887; v. 3, 1887-1892; v. 4, 1892-1896; v. 5, 1897-1902; v. 6, 1902-1906.

A subject index to English language periodicals "and only such of these as are likely to be found in libraries and private collections". A number of scientific and semi-professional publications have been indexed—at least their general interest articles, but purely scientific and professional serials including those of botany, law, medicine, etc. have been excluded. Five year supplements with increased scope complete this work.

- G9 *The Education index*. Jan. 1929- ; New York, H. W. Wilson Co.

A cumulative author-subject index to English language educational publications—it is primarily an index to periodical literature, although its scope also includes yearbooks, proceedings, monographs, bulletins and U.S. government documents. Issued monthly, except for July and August. Comparable publications are the *British Education Index* (v. 1- ; Aug. 1954/Nov. 1958-) and the *Canadian Education Index* (v. 1- , Jan/March, 1965-).

- G10 *Writings on American history*, 1902- (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office).

Some twelve years in arrears, each volume includes the articles and books published during a specific year "that has any considerable value for study and research pertaining to the history of the United States from primitive times to the recent past." Three sections: 1) devoted to items concerned with the historical profession; 2) the United States, 3) writings concerned with U.S. dependencies, regions, states and territories. The following items are excluded: newspapers, juvenile books, book reviews, historical fiction, archeological reports, geneological works without biographical sketches or documents, argumentative articles on statutory law and critical essays on literary topics. Each volume has a name and place index. There is a cumulative index published for the years 1902-1940.

- G11 *Index Medicus*. n.s. v. 1- , 1960-

Monthly bibliographic listing of references to about 2,200 of the world's biomedical journals. A separate *Bibliography of Medical Reviews* (which are surveys of the literature) is included as well as a subject and author index. Separate annual cumulations for authors and subjects. Predecessors are: *Index medicus* (1879-1927); *Quarterly cumulative index to current medical literature* (12 v., 1917-1927); *Quarterly cumulative index medicus* (60 v., 1927-1956); *Current List of medical literature* (1950-1959). See also the *National Library of Medicine Catalog*. Books (v. 1- ;

1955-), New York Academy of Medicine *Subject Catalog of the Library*.

G12 Grinstein, Alexander.

The Index of psychoanalytic writings. New York, International Universities Press, 1956-

Vol. 1-5 (nos. 1-37121)

Updating, correcting and supplementing *Index Psychoanalyticus* this index attempts to cite inclusively the literature by and about psychoanalysts published between 1900 through 1952, books, monographs, articles, in any language, as well as reviews and abstracts from psychoanalytic journals. Alphabetically arranged by author, citations are listed alphabetically by title. Good access is provided by the subject index which is a composite of key words derived from the subject lists of the *Current List of Medical Literature* and *Psychological Abstracts*. The numbers following the subject entries refer to numbered items in the main body of the *Index*.

Vol. 6-9 (nos. 40000-63348)

A comprehensive bibliography of the psychoanalytic literature published between 1953-1959. Some items published in 1960 are also included and relevant titles published before 1953 but omitted in the first five volumes are included. Foreign language titles are also translated into English.

Vol. 10-14 (nos. 65001-)

Comprehensive listing of psychoanalytic literature published between 1960-1969. Based upon the same principles of inclusion as the original set, it does, however, exclude articles in newspapers and popular journals as well as reprints and new editions "unless significantly revised". The arrangement of material is as in the other two series.

N.B. The reader must check both the original set as well as the supplements to obtain all relevant citations.

G13 U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Vocational Rehabilitation Administration.

Psychiatric index for interdisciplinary research: a guide to the literature 1950-1961. Ed. by Richard K. Schermerhorn. Washington, D.C., 1964. 1249 p.

Limited to the publication period 1950-1961, this bibliography is based upon a selection from 133 journals in psychiatry, psychology, anthropology, sociology, social work, rehabilitation, public health, mental health, medicine, nursing and education. Publications in foreign languages are excluded and books have also been omitted. The "Interdisciplinary" scope of the subject matter excludes abnormal reactions due to neurological or organic damage. The greatest utility of the Index will be in the areas for investigation of conditions directly resulting from functional psychotic dis-

orders, neurotic, psychopathic and character disorders, drug addiction and alcoholism and psychosomatic problems. There are 71 categories in which the articles are arranged alphabetically by author.

G14 Royal Historical Society, London.

Writings on British History, 1901-1933; a bibliography of books and articles on the history of Great Britain from about 400 A.D. to 1914, published during the years 1901-1933 inclusive, with an appendix containing a select list of publications in these years on British history since 1914. London, J. Cape, 1968- .

Scope differs somewhat from (G15) as it includes entries for society guides and printed or archival materials, the publications of the Stationery Office and cumulative indexes of society transactions. Citations are also limited to relevant foreign books and journal articles published abroad, books published in England and Wales (except those issued by societies) and articles in journals, not issued by societies, published in England and Wales. Each volume is concerned with a specific topic or historical period: v. 1 Auxiliary sciences and general works; v. 2 The Middle Ages 450-1485; v. 3 Tudor and Stuart Periods, 1485-1714; v. 4 The Eighteenth Century, 1714-1815; v. 5, 1815-1914. Each volume has a name index and the Prefatory Note should be read for references to complementary bibliographies and lists of publications excluded.

G15 Royal Historical Society, London.

Writings on British history, 1934- ; a bibliography of books and articles on the history of Great Britain from about 450 A.D. to 1914, published during the year . . . with an appendix containing a select list of publications . . . on British history since 1914 . . . London, J. Cape, 1937- .

Attempts to deal "exhaustively" with the yearly production of publications concerned with British history; however, certain aspects of the history of science, literature and the arts are excluded. Items from weekly journals and newspapers, as a rule, have not been included. The bibliography has two parts. Part I—General Works: Auxiliary Sciences, Bibliographies and Indexes, British History in General, Local History and Topography, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Genealogy and Family History, Collected Biography. Part II—Period Histories subdivided by geographical area or topic, i.e. economic and social history, political history, etc. Each volume has a name and subject index.

G16 *Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur*, aus allen Gebieten des Wissens, hrgs. von Otto Zeller, Jahrg. 1- , 1963/64- . Felix Dietrich, 1965- , v. 1-

More than 7600 periodicals consulted; functions as a subject index to world periodical literature. Subject headings are in German with cross references from English and French forms of the headings. Continues in a combined form the *Bibliographie der*

deutschen Zeitschriftenliteratur and the *Bibliographie der fremdsprachigen Zeitschriftenliteratur*.

- G17 *Bibliographie der deutschen Zeitschriftenliteratur*, mit Einschluss von Sammelwerken . . . 1896-64, Gautzsch b. Leipzig, 1897-64, v. 1-128. Semiannual. *Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur, Abt. A*.

Consultation of many alphabets necessary as the semiannual volumes do not cumulate. A comprehensive index to German yearbooks, transactions, composite works and important periodicals, the first volume indexed some 275 magazines, while later volumes covered some 4500. The arrangement is by broad subject with an author index to the subject index. Merged into *Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur*.

- G18 *Bibliographie der fremdsprachigen Zeitschriftenliteratur*. Répertoire bibliographique international des revues; International index to periodicals 1911-1924, 1925/26-62/64. *Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur, Abt. B*.

Useful for locating materials in English and American periodicals as well as Italian, French and other European publications. Indexes over 1400 periodicals and general works. Superseded by *Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur*. Because of lack of bibliographic access to French periodicals, this index is particularly important for French material.

ENCYCLOPEDIAS, DICTIONARIES, HANDBOOKS

- H1 *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. D. L. Sill, ed. [New York] Macmillan (1968) 17 v.

The articles, written by scholars from over 30 countries, emphasize the comparative and analytical aspects of the theories, concepts and methodology of the disciplines of Anthropology, Psychology, Geography, Economics, History, Law, Political Science, Psychiatry, Psychology and Statistics. Each article is completed by an extensive and select bibliography. The biographies of some 600 important and key figures in the social sciences are also included. The arrangement of the articles is alphabetic, supplemented by numerous cross references. Volume 17 contains an exhaustive index.

- H2 *The Encyclopedia of Education*. Lee D. Ceighton, editor in Chief. [New York] Macmillan & The Free Press (1971-) 10 v.

An alphabetic/topical arrangement of more than 1000 articles, usually signed, concerned with all aspects of education—as institution, product and process. Most of the articles have bibliographies appended. The tenth volume contains a directory of contributors and a *Guide to Articles* (an arrangement of related articles under appropriate topics) and a very extensive index.

- H3 Ellis, Albert, 1913- ed.
The Encyclopedia of Sexual Behavior, edited by Albert Ellis and Albert Abarbanel. New and revised second edition. New York, Hawthorn Books, 1967.
 The emotional, psychological, legal, sociological, anthropological, geographical and historical aspects of sexuality receive "extensive and intensive" coverage in about one hundred authoritative articles. The significant aspects of the anatomy, biology, and psychology of sex as well as love, marriage and the family are also examined. Major spokesmen, of international representation, from the artistic, literary, professional and scientific disciplines are the contributors. The articles are alphabetically arranged by their subject. A 39 page index and an analytical guide to the contents (separate articles are listed under the key concepts of sexual behavior) provide maximum utility of this valuable reference resource.
- H4 *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, edited by Julius Gould (and) William L. Kolb, New York, Free Press of Glencoe, (1964).
 Social scientists, some 270, define and describe approximately one thousand basic social science concepts from the areas of political science, social anthropology, economics, social psychology and sociology. Both general and accepted scientific usage are presented and illustrated by citations and quotations from the literature. Consequently, the references to the relevant literature add the functions of index and bibliography to this dictionary. Most terms have two subsections: A) definitions of the term; B) historical background and/or a more detailed discussion. Some entries have additional sections which further develop the analytical or historical meaning of the word or concept, or they may be concerned with the specialized meanings of the concept that functions in the different social sciences.
- H5 Hault, Thomas Ford
Dictionary of modern sociology. (Tolowe, N.J.) Adams, (1969) 408 p.
 Definitions intended to reflect "current concept usage" in sociological and related literatures. Many examples of usage. Bibliography, quite extensive, of works and authors cited.
- H6 American Psychiatric Association. Committee on Public Information.
A Psychiatric glossary; the meaning of terms most frequently used in psychiatry. 3rd ed. Washington (American Psychiatric Association) 1969
 Some 800 entries with precise definitions. Some personal names included. Utility enhanced by good cross references.
- H7 Linzey, Gardner, ed.
The Handbook of social psychology. Edited by Gardner Lin-

zey and Elliot Aronson. 2nd ed. Reading, Mass., Addison-Wesley Pub. Co. (1968-).

Five volumes of forty-five chapters written by 68 authors. The arrangement is: 1) historical introduction and systematic positions; 2) research methods; 3) the individual in a social context; 4) group psychology and phenomena of interaction; and 5) applied social psychology. Each article or chapter has an extensive bibliography. Each volume has its own author index and extensive subject index.

- H8 *American handbook of psychiatry*. Silvano Arieti, editor. Editorial board: Kenneth E. Appel (and others) New York, Basic Books, 1959-1966. 3 v.

Divided into 21 parts, 144 articles have been selected and arranged to represent every leading school of thought and major approach. The goal was one of completeness and representation of all points of view with regard to the developments, trends, techniques, problems and prospects of modern psychiatry. Bibliographies, a name index and a detailed subject index are additional features of this handbook.

- H9 American Historical Association

Guide to historical literature. Board of editors: George Fredrick Howe, Chairman (and others) assisted by selection editors, a central editor and others. New York, Macmillan, 1961. 962 pp.

Comprehensive approach to the literature of history; classified arrangement by topic (Introduction and General History; General Reference Resources, World History, History of Religions) and geographical/historical area (Ancient Orient, Ancient Greece, Rome, Middle Period in Eurasia and Northern Africa, etc.). Within sections, the following organization has been approximated: Bibliographies, Encyclopedias, Geographies, Gazetteers and Atlases, Anthropologic, demographic and linguistic works, printed collections of sources, shorter and longer general histories, histories of periods, areas and topics, Biographies; Government publications; publications of academies, universities and learned societies; Periodicals. Most of the entries have brief annotations. A comprehensive subject and name index complete the volume.

- H10 Handlin, Oscar

Harvard guide to American history, (by) Oscar Handlin (and others). Cambridge, Mass., Belknap Press, 1954

A handbook designed for the general reader, student and scholar, that is both a guide through the body of American historical literature published before 1950 and a manual of historical methodology and resources. Chapters 1-6 comprise sixty-six essays concerned with techniques, materials, sources, aids to research, etc. Appended to each essay is a list of relevant works. The following section is devoted to historical periods. For each period there is a summary of topics presented, citations to general and

specific works, both serial and monographic, as well as other sources, maps and bibliographies. Citations are to the best edition of the best works. Often references are made to pages and chapters. Very extensive index included.

DISSERTATIONS, THESES

- 11 *American Doctoral Dissertations*. 1936-64- , Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Microfilms.

A comprehensive listing of dissertations accepted by American and Canadian universities. Arranged by broad subject category, then further subdivided by university and by author. Use is facilitated by a classified table of contents and a cumulated author index. Former title was *Index to American Dissertations* which superseded, in 1955/56, *Doctoral Dissertations accepted by American Universities*.

N.B. This bibliography must be consulted to determine the total academic effort made in a particular discipline as *Dissertation Abstracts International* is only a partial listing.

- 12 *Dissertation Abstracts International*

Abstracts of dissertations available on microfilm or as xero-graphic productions. v. 1- ; Ann Arbor, Michigan, Xerox, University Microfilms, 1938-

Formerly *Dissertation Abstracts*, title change occurred when the scope of this publication was expanded to include dissertations from European universities as well as those of the U.S. and Canada. Abstracts of the dissertations are arranged within broad subject categories. Each monthly issue has a Key Word Index and Author Index with an annual cumulation. Beginning with volume 30, DAI is published in two sections: Humanities (a) and Sciences (b); each one with its own indexes. Abstracts are useful but it should be carefully noted that only about 250 institutions participate in this program.

- 13 *Dissertation Abstracts International: Retrospective Index*. Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Microfilms, 1938-1969.

Divided into broad categories, this retrospective index for the first 29 (1938-60) volumes of *Dissertation Abstracts* and *Dissertation Abstracts International* is arranged in nine volumes: 1) Math and Physics; 2) Chemistry; 3) Earth and Life Sciences; 4) Psychology/Sociology/Political Science; 5) Social Sciences; 6) Engineering; 7) Education; 8) Communication/Information/Business/Literature/Fine Arts; 9) Author Index.

Within the appropriate volume, each title is cited by the principle words in the title of the dissertation. Full bibliographic information is provided—title, complete name of author, institution identified, the volume issue and page where the abstract can be found in *Dissertation Abstracts* or *Dissertation Abstracts Interna-*

tional. "How to Use the Index" should be carefully read to use effectively this valuable resource and for information on obtaining dissertations.

N.B. When the name of the author of a dissertation is known, volume 9, the cumulative author index, is particularly useful for the proper bibliographic identification of a dissertation and its rapid location; no small accomplishment when initiating an inter-library loan request since such transactions require accurate and complete information.

Note: Comparable listings of dissertations include: *Index to Theses Accepted for Higher Degrees in the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1950- ; France. Direction des bibliothèques de France. *Catalogue des thèses*, 1884- ; *Jahresverzeichnis der Deutschen Hochschulschriften*, 1885- and *Canadian Theses*, 1961- .

- 14 *Masters abstracts: abstracts of selected theses on microfilm.*

Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, Inc., 1962- .

A classified subject arrangement of abstracts of theses from all fields. Inclusion requires a recommendation by the department head, a representative of or the dean of the graduate school. Full bibliographic information is provided: author's name, title, institution as well as order number. Four quarterly issues with an annual cumulative author index and a cumulative subject index. All theses are, of course, available for purchase, either on microfilm or in xerox copy.

- 15 *List of doctoral dissertations in history in progress in the United States.* American Historical Association, 1909-

A classified arrangement by broad category, supplemented by a topic index and an author index. A triennial publication that formerly cited dissertations completed. That data is now available in the AHA's *Annual Report*.

N.B. A number of specialized lists of dissertations exist. For example, *Sociology dissertations in American universities*, 1893-1966 (1969); Kuchl, Warren F., *Dissertations in history: an index to dissertations completed in history departments of the United States and Canadian Universities*, 1873-1960 (University of Kentucky, 1965), H. West, Earle H., *A Bibliography of Doctoral Research on the Negro*, 1933-1966 (1969), etc. Iowa. State Teachers College, Cedar Falls. Bureau of Research. *Masters theses in education*. 1951/52-

MANUSCRIPTS, SUBJECT COLLECTIONS AND SPECIALIZED RESOURCES

- J1 *The National Union Catalog of manuscript collections.* 1959-51-

A continuing series listing those manuscript collections permanently housed in American repositories "regularly open to

scholars". Up to and including the seventh volume 23,053 collections are described. "Collection" has been broadly defined regarding types of materials. Arrangement is by entry number. The index of names, places, subjects and historical periods provides access through the entry to the relevant collection(s). The Repository Index lists alphabetically the institutions represented and cites the collections in their possession.

J2 U.S. National Historical Publications Commission.

A Guide to archives and manuscripts in the United States. Philip M. Hamer, ed., New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961.

The manuscript and archival holdings of some 1300 depositories in the U.S., Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone and the District of Columbia are described—a statement of field of interest, extent and types of material. Often reference is made to a descriptive journal article about the collection. The arrangement is geographical; alphabetical by state, then by city within the state and then alphabetically by the name of the depositories in the city. The complete address of the institution is included. Use is aided by an extensive name, subject index.

N.B. The "Note on Bibliographical Guides" is a particular value in identifying predecessors to this publication and bibliographic tools for specialized subjects.

Note: There are numerous published book catalogues of manuscripts published by individual libraries and state historical societies. Helpful references may be located in *Manuscripts in public and private collections in the United States, 1924-* ; *Guide to the Records in the National Archives* (1948) and "Manuscript materials" in Oscar Handlin's, *Harvard Guide to American History*, (1954).

J3 Ricci, Seymour de, 1881-1940

Census of medieval and renaissance manuscripts in the United States and Canada, by Seymour de Ricci, with the assistance of W. J. Wilson. New York, Kraus Reprint Corp., 1961 (1935-40)

Some 6000 manuscripts, written before 1600, in public and private collections, are briefly described with notes on their previous history. Excluded from this "Census" are inscriptions on metal, stone or other hard surfaces, Greek and Latin papyri and all Oriental manuscripts. The arrangement is alphabetical: by state, then by city and finally by library. The third volume contains several indices: General Index of Names, Titles and Headings; Scribes, Illuminators and Cartographers; Inscipits: Gregory Numbers for Greek New Testament Manuscripts; Present Owners; Previous Owners.

———. Supplement. Originated by C. U. Fage, continued and edited by W. H. Bond. New York, Bibliographical Society of America, 1962.

- J4 American Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences
Handbook of information sources in education and the behavioral sciences, by Jesse L. Gates and James W. Altman. (Washington) U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Bureau of Research, 1968.

Emphasis is upon supplemental information resources to libraries, periodicals and books such as: Guides and directories; Multi-disciplinary information centers; Data repositories; Indexing and abstracting services; and Specialized information centers. There is a brief subject index.

- J5 McDonald, Donna, comp. & ed.
Directory of historical societies and agencies in the United States and Canada, 1973-1974. A Joint Publication of the American Association for State and Local History, Nashville, Tenn. and Inforonics, Inc., Maynard, Mass., 1972.

About 5000 organizations are listed. A geographical arrangement by state or province, then by city or town. Each entry includes name, mailing address, telephone number, year founded, name of paid or elected officer, number of members, number of staff and cites periodical publications. Major programs supported by the society are indicated. A title index provides rapid access.

- J6 Ash, Lee, 1917- comp.
Subject collections; a guide to special book collections and subject emphasis as reported by university, college, public and special libraries in the United States and Canada, compiled by Lee Ash and Denis Lorenz. 3rd ed., rev. & enl., New York, R. R. Bowker Company, 1966-

An alphabetic subject arrangement with good cross references, some 35 to 40,000 references are made to special collections. Within subject the arrangement is by state, then by city and alphabetically by the name of the library. Full address is given plus brief description of the extent and nature of the material.

Excluded from this directory are local history collections. The listings are not complete for academic departmental libraries, medical, law or nursing libraries.

- J7 Aslib
Aslib directory, edited by J. Wilson. London, Aslib, 1968-
Published by the Association of Special Libraries and Information Bureau since 1928.

Volume One: Information sources in science, technology, and commerce.

Volume Two includes sources of information on the social sciences, the humanities and medicine as well as history, geography, law, sports, theology and the arts. The arrangement is geographical-alphabetical by postal town. Each entry includes the name, address, a brief description of the purpose of the organization,

scope of information available, approximate size of collection, and publications. The name index includes those of the organization, any named special collection or any other noted material. The subject index is extensive with lavish cross references.

- J8 Lewanski, Richard Casimir, 1918-

Subject collections in European libraries; a directory and bibliographical guide. Compiled by Richard C. Lewanskii. (New York) R. R. Bowker Co., 1965.

The special collections of about 6000 libraries are indexed according to the Dewey Decimal Classification. Within each classification the sequence is: country, city within that country, followed by the name of the library. For each institution the extent of information varies but usually includes the address, the name of the special collection, the individual in charge, the extent of and type of materials and the restrictions involved. The inclusion of a short version of the Dewey Decimal Classification and a subject index facilitates use.

- J9 *Human Relations Area Files*

755 Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut, Box 2054 Yale Station 06520

HRAF is a highly developed information retrieval system providing rapid access to substantive and descriptive rather than theoretical data on primarily non-western cultures, many of them non-literate. As of 1969, files had been established for 286 societies; the goal is 400. At that time the total number of sources in the files was 4,112, with 458,207 text pages generating a total of an estimated 2,737,000 file slips. The sources are books, articles or manuscripts that have been evaluated by specialists. The decision to include the document in the files requires it to be annotated according to the 710 cultural and natural categories. According to the number of categories indicated on a page, that page is reproduced that number of times and each copy is filed behind its proper category guide card, thus all materials on one subject or aspect of a subject are placed in one file. Due to problems of defining categories the efficient and effective utility of HRAF requires the use of the *Outline of Cultural Materials* (OCM) and the *Outline of World Cultures* (OWC).

Physically, the Files are in two formats—a paper edition or on microfilm cards—which has extended their availability. Originally designed to serve anthropology and the related social sciences, students and scholars from all the social sciences, the arts, botany, zoology and law have found the Files useful. The researcher in Childhood history may find the files on the two historical societies useful—Imperial Rome (OWCE 19) and Historical Massachusetts (OWC-NL7).

NEWSPAPERS

- K1 *New York Times Index to microfilm for the years 1851-1873- .*
New York Times Index; a master key to all newspapers. v. 1- ,
Jan./Mar., 1913- , New York, The New York Times.

An excellent index giving exact references to date, page and column. Fine use of cross references to names and related topics. Particularly useful in determining the date of passage of federal and state legislation and biographical material, especially in the newspaper obituary section. Reviews of books are listed under the entry "Book Reviews". Because the microfilm edition is retrospective to 1851, the index may serve as an independent reference to dates and events as well as providing a guide to the historical development of trends, attitudes, and institutions.

- K2 *The Official Index to the Times. Index to the Times.* Jan./June 1906-

Initially annual subject and name index. In 1914 six-month indexes available and beginning in 1965, index covers a period of two months. Book reviews and notices are listed under the subject heading "Book Reviews".

- K3 The Times, London

Palmer's index to the Times Newspaper.

A quarterly subject and name index that does not cumulate, covering the period 1790-1939.

Note: While a number of published indexes (Wall Street Journal index, the Virginia Gazette index, 1736-1780, etc.) exist, often others are available in a variety of forms either in the newspaper offices or in the public library of the place of publication. For topics and events of more than local interest, the index to the New York Times or that of the Times can be used as a guide to locating materials in other newspapers.

- K4 U.S. Library of Congress. Union Catalog Division.

Newspapers on Microfilm. 1st- ed. 1948-

The 6th edition contains approximately 21,700 entries for 17,000 domestic newspapers and 4,600 foreign, representing all fifty states, America, Samoa, Guam, Okinawa, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands and 136 countries.

The list is geographical, by state and city, province and city for Canada and the French West Indies. For other countries it is simply by city.

Entries indicated periodicity, inclusive publication dates, location of negative microfilm and the extent of files available. When possible, an effort has been made to indicate location of positive microfilm files.

- K5 *American newspapers 1821-1936, a union list of files available in the United States and Canada,* edited by Winifred Gregory under

the auspices of the Bibliographical Society . . . New York, W. H. Wilson Co., 1937.

The distinction between newspapers and periodicals during this time period is difficult. Consequently titles that appeared in the *Union List of Serials* and the *List of Serial Publications of Foreign Governments* have been excluded as well as those publications of primary interest to limited groups, i.e., labor unions, fraternal lodges, religious denominations, etc.

The arrangement is alphabetic by state or province (Canada is a separate section) and then city. Under city, the newspapers are arranged alphabetically by the first important word, excluding the name of the town, days of the week, and such designations as daily, weekly, etc.

Information provided includes, when possible, inclusive date of publication and citations for those institutions having a file of the newspaper and the extent of that file.

Note: Other examples of types of locating and identification sources are: *Latin American Newspapers in the United States Libraries*; a union list (1968, 1969); Brown, Warren Henry, 1905- , *Checklist of Negro Newspapers in the United States (1827-1946)* Jefferson City, Mo., School of Journalism, Lincoln University, 1946, Duke University, Durham, N.C. Library, *A Checklist of United States' Newspapers (and weekly before 1900) in the General Library*, compiled by Mary Wescott and Allene Ramage, Durham, N.C., Duke University 1921-37. 6 v.

The author wishes to thank Lloyd deMause, J. B. Ross, John Benton, Elizabeth W. Marvick and Melvin Tucker for their helpful suggestions in the preparation of this article.

FROM THE SOURCES

Claudius Aelianus on Rebellious Sons (170 A.D.):

"I have heard that your son is salacious. Well then, why haven't you taken him by main force and castrated him, just as we ordinarily castrate our goats? In the case of animals, you know, this makes them quiet down and behave in good sober fashion."

Allen Benner, trans. *The Letters of Alciphron, Aelian and Philostratus*. (Cambridge, 1949), p. 365.

BOOK



REVIEWS

RESISTING PSYCHOHISTORY

J. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America. A Portrait of the Society of Friends*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973. 248 pp. Appendices, bibliography, index.

Reviewed by JOSEPH E. ILLICK, *San Francisco State Univ.*

This study of the Quaker family in colonial America from the Friends' arrival in the 1670's to the Revolution a century later is a conventional historical account, appropriately written in plain style. It is "based largely upon meeting records and literary sources (diaries, tracts and letters). . . ." Although Frost cites quantitative work on eighteenth-century American Quakerism (notably, Jack Marietta's statistics on disciplinary action and Robert Wells's demographic analysis of some middle colonies' families), he generally disdains the interdisciplinary approaches which have begun to attract historians.

The impressionistic nature of the evidence used in this study may disturb those who believe that history should be a social science. The techniques used by modern sociologists and anthropologists suggest new problems but cannot add solid information to fragmentary records. Asking the traditional types of questions of the sources remains the most effective method of determining the ideas that govern behavior. . . . With such gaps in knowledge, it would be rash to use the insights of Freud or Erik Erikson. To admit ignorance of some crucial ingredients in the formative years is far better than to discuss child nurture using a twentieth-century theory of human behavior.

This advice sounds strikingly similar to the sort of admonition an anxious eighteenth-century Quaker parent would have given his doubting child—and to the same effect. For after reading *The Quaker Family* and

noting the discrepancy between a carefully collected body of information and the haphazard presentation of same, the reader will see the crying need for a methodology to inform and organize the study.

Frost's account is not without organization; rather, the structure does not prove useful, it is unilluminating. "This book combines church history with social history and is based on the premise that to understand the meeting, one needs to know the family. Conversely, to comprehend the family one must study the meeting." Perhaps the best that can be said of this bare-bones principle for organization is that it has the virtue of simplicity. The opening three chapters define the faith and practice of the Society of Friends as found in theological works, personal journals and Meeting records. The following six chapters focus on child-rearing, education, apprenticeship and marriage. (Frost asserts that being a Quaker means "sharing certain values about the family," since "all Quakers held essentially the same beliefs." But we are seldom told which beliefs and practices were uniquely Quaker and which attitudes were pervasive in Anglo-American culture.) The final chapter, "The Quaker Style of Life," is intended—but fails—to link the preceding two sections on the Meeting and the family.

The book is not without merit, although its virtue rests partly on questions raised but not answered. Frost's opening sally on "the dry bones of Quaker theology," largely an exercise in intellectual history which the author plods through dutifully, is capped with the observation that Quakers were uninterested in speculation. (Has this fact no psychic import?) Rather, their "quest for holiness" was carried on in day-to-day encounters, as depicted in the personal narratives of the most godly and the records of the Meeting for worship. Unfortunately, "no systematic study of Quaker family life can be made from Quaker spiritual journals because the writers' children were usually mentioned only when they died. Although intensely introspective, these books contain almost no details of actual living." (Can no conclusions be drawn from the Quakers' fascination with behavior as opposed to speculative thought, yet their failure to mention activities except in a spiritual context?)

Regarding the Meeting for worship, the evidence is even more tantalizing. There was "such a decline in the eighteenth century in the amount of preaching in meetings that the worship was often held in complete silence." (Did the concern with right behavior inhibit the inner light?) The deafening silence of Friends—as is well-known, it extended even to their conduct of business—might be related to death, which Frost describes graphically.

A devout Quaker lived every day as if it were his last . . . how pleasant death could be to a saintly friend . . . Friends who survived the death of others stressed in Job-like fashion the necessity of submitting to the will of God . . . Complete resignation was expected not only from the survivors but also from the dying person who was not to desire life or death but to welcome whatever the Lord brought.

(Is there a significant relationship between the suppression of spontaneity—exemplified in silence—and the acceptance of, or the preoccupation with, death? G. R. Taylor, in *The Angel-Makers*, deals with themes of silence and death in eighteenth-century England and puts forward a psychological explanation.)

Of course, the apparent inhibition of Quakers might be traced to the means by which the Society survived while its seventeenth-century sectarian counterparts perished. Friends were able "to combine the liberty of personal authoritative revelation with a strong system of discipline and church control," a *modus vivendi* which Frost characterizes not as tyranny but church order for the sake of cohesion. Disciplinary problems were handled by the monthly Meeting, which sent out "weighty" members to investigate domestic situations.

The family, including servants and apprentices, would sit with the visitors in silence. After a time a visitor would say a few words of counsel or exhortation. These might concern someone's gay clothing, the frivolity of children, or frequent absences from meeting. . . . At the conclusion the family might serve refreshments, and a more informal atmosphere would then prevail.

(By what means were children controlled in such circumstances?)

Ordinary Quakers, as well as weighty Friends, were expected to admonish their misbehaving brethren. The Society's weapon against errant members was disownment, although public repentance was encouraged with readmission as the reward. From a sociological viewpoint discipline was a function of the large influx of non-Quakers into Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century. Stricter attention began to be paid to deviation from established rules and, after the reformation in the Society in the middle of the century, repentance and readmission was less easily achieved. (Why was there a need for reform and exclusion, for purity?)

Having dealt with the Meeting, or "church history," Frost turns to the family, or "social history." The newborn infant, he points out, was responsible not only to his parents but also to the Meeting, where he was enrolled a few days after birth—despite the early Quakers' opposition to birthright membership and because of Friends' fuzziness regarding the doctrine of infant depravity and the child's relationship to the church. (Or was such vagueness the product of parental desire for control of children, in this case through church membership? Historians such as Keith Thomas and Richard T. Vann have observed that the first Quakers, who broke from their families to embrace the new faith and who spoke of liberty of conscience, in turn demanded obedience from their own children.)

Frost implies that the origins of attitudes regarding child-rearing (notably, parental awareness of infant mortality), the actual process of sustaining children (such as nursing and weaning practices) and the concern for correct behavior were uniquely Quaker. (E.g., "The innumerable warnings about the decline of piety in youth and the necessity to educate the rising generation in the faith can be understood best as man-

ifestations of the fear mechanism based on the suspicion that the Society of Friends might die.") In fact, such thoughts and actions pervaded Anglo-American culture. The same observation must be made concerning parental restraint (William Penn's admonition, "Never strike in passion," was clearly not a stricture to refrain from beating children), child narratives concerning the happy prospects of death (see William Sloane's *Children's Books in England & America in the Seventeenth Century*) and the importance of scriptural authority (it was not unusual that "Quaker parents found biblical precedents to support their ideas on authority, discipline, and restraint.>").

In fairness to Frost, it must be pointed out that he is quite aware of certain currents in Anglo-American culture, and especially the one most pertinent to his study—the emergence of a cult of childhood sometime after the middle of the eighteenth century. "Since the sentimentalization of childhood appears to have been a widespread phenomenon in England and America, to search for its causes only among Friends would be futile. A possible explanation for the new importance of children lies in that complex shift of attitudes from neo-classicism to romanticism." But surely a study of the family need not depend on so academic a description of causation. (Refer again to G. R. Taylor's *The Angel-Makers*, where the eighteenth-century battle "between the Classical conception of art and the newer, Romantic conception" is dealt with thus: "could these two conceptions reflect patrist and matrist elements in the personality?") Frost, giving evidence for parental fascination with offspring, cites a letter of 1792 in which a mother writes of her son: "He's took to Creeping and beats all at it I ever saw. . . ." A century earlier such behavior, far from pleasing parents, might well have repulsed them due to the association of crawling with animals and bestiality. In other words, a basic change in thinking about sexuality must have taken place by the late eighteenth century, a change that would have to be related to alterations in child-rearing practices, and, in turn, influenced ideas about childhood.

Frost does not raise such possibilities, much less pursue them, in part because he began his study with an expressed contempt for a psychological approach, in part because he is less interested in the domestic years of childhood than the time spent in school—perhaps because there is more evidence about Quaker education. Despite the irrelevance of formal schooling to a conscience informed by spiritual revelation, the early Quakers' record for providing education was better than that of Englishmen generally, and there was little illiteracy among Friends. In Pennsylvania, education fell under the aegis of the provincial government until the early eighteenth century, when the influx of non-Quakers made it appear safer to move schooling to the supervision of the Meeting—a fact which does not square with a later observation that: "After the first decade of the eighteenth century, Quakers seemed gradually to lose interest in schools." It does seem clear, however, that by the middle of the century Quakers were quite concerned about education, an attitude Frost relates to tightening of discipline in the Society and the new concern for children. One is left wondering, though, how

sentimentalization of the child can be reconciled with an eight-hour-a-day, six-day-a-week, around-the-calendar schoolroom experience, with notes to the teacher from such weighty Quakers as Thomas Chalkley saying, "spare not the rod."

Nor is it obvious from Frost's text why Friends balked at higher education and referred to the devil as "the Old Reasoner," although the answer may be implicit in the Quakers' heightened sensitivity to the problems of youth (approximately age 14 to marriage), which was referred to as the "prime" and the "most critical time" of life. By the testimony of both Quakers and non-Quakers, this was the age when Friends were most likely to shed the restraints of discipline and give themselves up to debauchery. (Is it too "modern" to suggest the possibility of an identity crisis?) Parents of growing children were alarmed, and, no doubt, conceived the worldly learning of the university as fostering the breaking-away process. Apprenticeship, however, did not portend the same danger, since young people were assigned to work under the supervision of Friends. But apprenticeship accentuated class distinctions within the Society; the fee for being attached to a leading merchant was far beyond the means of an average Quaker.

Economic status was also a prime consideration in courting, although the matter of gravest concern in the later eighteenth century was youth's tendency to find greener pastures outside the Society. "The increase in Quaker marriage to outsiders may be one index to the rise of romantic love in America." No doubt this statement is correct, but it fails to explain the alteration of mating practices in terms of the Quaker family. Could it at least be assumed that the choice of a spouse is related to feelings about parents? Could it also be assumed that one correlation between the Meeting and the family was discipline and inhibition? Frost points out that: "While Quakers frequently mentioned the spiritual aspects of marriage, they made few comments concerning the physical side." The presence of children assures us that there was a physical side, but the pervasiveness of restraint leads us to wonder how much loving there was in the home. "Whether or not Quaker marriages were happy is an intriguing question, which the historian unfortunately cannot answer." But the evidence of youths flouting parental desire, leaving the family/Meeting to find love outside, does suggest some tension in the domestic scene.

Frost's study of the Quaker family is useful for the information it brings together, though considering the questions he fails to raise in his book, he may well have judged evidence unimportant which the psychohistorian would deem significant. It surely must be said that clinging to traditional modes of historical inquiry is not to be praised when other possibilities exist which could provide greater illumination. Probably there is no such thing as the so-called "definitive treatment" of a historical event; I would not suggest that psychohistory is the only way. Rather, I hope that new approaches to the past will continue to cast more light on the darkness of the ages, and that historians in their concern for the past will not find it virtuous to resist novelty in the present.

AUTHOR'S REPLY TO EARLIER REVIEW

In the last issue of the Journal, George M. Kren reviewed Henry V. Dicks' Licensed Mass Murder: A Socio-Psychological Study of Some S.S. Killers (New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1972); Dr. Dicks replies to the review below.

I was, of course, gratified at the praise Mr. Kren gives my work. I agree with all he writes down to the word "subordinate" p. 348. Thereafter I gain the impression that he has not read my book as closely as its condensed form (imposed by my publishers) requires. My own writings on the links between German authoritarianism and the Nazi movement go back to World War II as my references show. Mr. Kren, for example, incorrectly states that I attribute the rise of National Socialism to the Protestant aristocratic Prussian influence. In fact I wrote that the union of Germany as the result of Prussian leadership provided the disunited, "romantic" Germans with a new élite model, reinforcing the already strong Patriarchal culture patterns, and this military-man-of-iron posture was the ruling culture myth at World War I. It was the rest of Germany's idealisation of Prussian military order and ruthlessness which I see as a source of totalitarian ideology. Mr. Kren must have overlooked p. 38 and my brief demographic note on p. 66.

I therefore take more serious issue with your reviewer when he continues to enlarge on his erroneous reading of the above point by the bald statement that National Socialism came to power "not as a military-authoritarian movement but as a revolutionary force". Much of my book is taken up in showing that the force of *this* revolution came from the fury and paranoid rejection on the part of highly authoritarian ex-soldiers, against the unpalatable freedoms (equated with degeneracy, Jewish conspiracy etc.) of the Weimar democracy, and against the threat of a real (proletarian) revolution. The element of "youthful" revolt and millennialist revival drive, directed against the father that failed, was even before Hitler canalised into the ambivalent para-military patriotic Free Corps acting as "soldiers" and sworn henchmen to avenge the Fatherland (see my pages 38ff). Certainly the young militants of the S.A. (as they became) were enthusiastic—to march, drill, show their potency and devotion. They never had power. By 1934 the "cadaver-obedience" of the S.S. regime had made short shrift of the rebel-romantics of the S.A.; the ideal Nazi was the completely disciplined warrior, led by a uniformed hierarchy which was a caricature of Prussianism. Hitler, Kaltenbrunner, Eichmann, Globocnik, etc. may have been Austrian and Himmler Bavarian—but this is how they shaped "their" revolution of bureaucratised tyranny and planned murderousness. I wonder if Mr. Kren has read Bracher, Bullock, Höhne, Fest, let alone Fromm?

But in the last analysis my book was not meant to be an authoritative history of the Nazi revolution, but a study of what kind of men responded to the call of "Mein Kampf's" author by allowing themselves to become his willing tools, and how, given common characteristics

with the general run of Nazis, they nonetheless differed from the latter by background, training and other factors. It is all very well for Mr. Kren to write "the personality structure of those who ran Auschwitz is as irrelevant . . . as (that) of the U.S. pilots who bombed Haiphong" when earlier he has said that "great leaders do not determine history by themselves. . . ." If he praises my not seeing history through the eyes of the great man, then he should concede that we must find out by what social and psychological purposes and mechanisms a "great man" attracts and holds the co-operation of the underlings, who alone can translate his destructive blue-print into action. Mr. Kren does not seem to have assimilated what I tried to say in Chapter X especially. If our salvation may hinge on both discovering the sources of paranoid beliefs of power-holders, and resistance to "officially" sanctioned violence on the part of individuals, then I maintain that what I have attempted by way of this exercise in object-relations theory applied to the German paradigm—but obviously of wider historical import—is on the road to an answer.

While, therefore, I am grateful for Mr. Kren's compliments, I hope he will forgive me for raising some points on which I fear I may have failed to gain his understanding of my central message.



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