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THE EVOLUTION OF CHILDHOOD:
A SYMPOSIUM

THE CINEMA AS GROUP PROCESS

ENGLISH PURITAN INFANCY

MESMER AND CHILDREN

ON DEATH AND
THE CONTINUITY OF LIFE

REVIEWS OF PSYCHOHISTORY

HISTORY OF CHILDHOOD QUARTERLY:
The Journal of Psychohistory

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SYMPOSIUM
ARTICLE

THE EVOLUTION OF CHILDHOOD

LLOYD
DEMAUSE

The following article is the introductory chapter to the new book The History of Childhood, *edited by Lloyd deMause (New York: The Psychohistory Press, 1974). Information on the purchase of the book from which this selection is taken follows the article.*

The history of childhood is a nightmare from which we have only recently begun to awaken. The further back in history one goes, the lower the level of child care, and the more likely children are to be killed, abandoned, beaten, terrorized, and sexually abused. It is our task here to see how much of this childhood history can be recaptured from the evidence that remains to us.

That this pattern has not previously been noticed by historians is because serious history has long been considered a record of public not private events. Historians have concentrated so much on the noisy sandbox of history, with its fantastic castles and magnificent battles, that they have generally ignored what is going on in the homes around the playground. And where historians usually look to the sandbox battles of yesterday for the causes of those today, we instead ask how each generation of parents and children creates those issues which are later acted out in the arena of public life.

At first glance, this lack of interest in the lives of children seems odd. Historians have been traditionally committed to explaining continuity

and change over time, and ever since Plato it has been known that childhood is a key to this understanding. The importance of parent-child relations for social change was hardly discovered by Freud; St. Augustine's cry, "Give me other mothers and I will give you another world," has been echoed by major thinkers for fifteen centuries without affecting historical writing. Since Freud, of course, our view of childhood has acquired a new dimension, and in the past half century the study of childhood has become routine for the psychologist, the sociologist, and the anthropologist. It is only beginning for the historian. Such determined avoidance requires an explanation.

Historians usually blame the paucity of the sources for the lack of serious study of childhood in the past. Peter Laslett wonders why the "crowds and crowds of little children are strangely missing from the written record. . . . There is something mysterious about the silence of all these multitudes of babes in arms, toddlers and adolescents in the statements men made at the time about their own experience. . . . We cannot say whether fathers helped in the tending of infants. . . . Nothing can as yet be said on what is called by the psychologists toilet training. . . . It is in fact an effort of mind to remember all the time that children were always present in such numbers in the traditional world, nearly half the whole community living in a condition of semi-obliteration."[1] As the family sociologist James Bossard puts it: "Unfortunately, the history of childhood has never been written, and there is some doubt whether it ever can be written [because] of the dearth of historical data bearing on childhood."[2]

This conviction is so strong among historians that it is not surprising that this book began not in the field of history at all but in applied psychoanalysis. Five years ago, I was engaged in writing a book on a psychoanalytic theory of historical change, and, in reviewing the results of half a century of applied psychoanalysis, it seemed to me that it had failed to become a science mainly because it had not become evolutionary. Since the repetition compulsion, by definition, cannot explain historical change, every attempt by Freud, Roheim, Kardiner, and others to develop a theory of change ultimately ended in a sterile chicken-or-egg dispute about whether child-rearing depends on cultural traits or the other way around. That child-rearing practices are the basis for adult personality was proven again and again. Where they originated stumped every psychoanalyst who raised the question.[3]

In a paper given in 1968 before the Association for Applied Psychoanalysis, I outlined an evolutionary theory of historical change in parent-child relations, and proposed that since historians had not as yet begun the job of writing childhood history, the Association should sponsor a team of historians who would dig back into the sources to un-

cover the major stages of child-rearing in the West since antiquity. This book is the outcome of that project.

The "psychogenic theory of history" outlined in my project proposal began with a comprehensive theory of historical change. It posited that the central force for change in history is neither technology nor economics, but the "psychogenic" changes in personality occurring because of successive generations of parent-child interactions. This theory involved several hypotheses, each subject to proof or disproof by empirical historical evidence:

1. That the evolution of parent-child relations constitutes an independent source of historical change. The origin of this evolution lies in the ability of successive generations of parents to regress to the psychic age of their children and work through the anxieties of that age in a better manner the second time they encounter them than they did during their own childhood. The process is similar to that of psychoanalysis, which also involves regression and a second chance to face childhood anxieties.
2. That this "generational pressure" for psychic change is not only spontaneous, originating in the adult's need to regress and in the child's striving for relationship, but also occurs independent of social and technological change. It therefore can be found even in periods of social and technological stagnation.
3. That the history of childhood is a series of closer approaches between adult and child, with each closing of psychic distance producing fresh anxiety. The reduction of this adult anxiety is the main source of the child-rearing practices of each age.
4. That the obverse of the hypothesis that history involves a general improvement in child care is that the further back one goes in history, the less effective parents are in meeting the developing needs of the child. This would indicate, for instance, that if today in America there are less than a million abused children,[4] there would be a point back in history where most children were what we would now consider abused.
5. That because psychic structure must always be passed from generation to generation through the narrow funnel of childhood, a society's child-rearing practices are not just one item in a list of cultural traits. They are the very condition for the transmission and development of all other cultural elements, and place definite limits on what can be achieved in all other spheres of history. Specific childhood experiences must occur to sustain specific cultural traits, and once these experiences no longer occur the trait disappears.

Now it is obvious that any evolutionary psychological theory as ambitious as this one is cannot really be tested in a single book, and our goal in this book has been the more modest one of reconstructing from what evidence remains what it felt like to be a child and a parent in the past. Whatever evidence there is for actual evolutionary patterns for childhood in the past will only emerge as we set forth the fragmentary and often confusing story we have uncovered of the lives of children during the past two thousand years in the West.

PREVIOUS WORKS ON CHILDREN IN HISTORY

Although I think this book is the first to examine seriously the history of childhood in the West, historians have undeniably been writing about children in past ages for some time.[5] Even so, I think that the study of the history of childhood is just beginning, since most of these works so badly distort the facts of childhood in the periods they cover. Official biographers are the worst offenders; childhood is generally idealized, and very few biographers give any useful information about the subject's earliest years. The historical sociologists manage to turn out theories explaining changes in childhood without ever bothering to examine a single family, past or present.[6] The literary historians, mistaking books for life, construct a fictional picture of childhood, as though one could know what really happened in the nineteenth-century American home by reading *Tom Sawyer.*[7]

But it is the social historian, whose job it is to dig out the reality of social conditions in the past, who defends himself most vigorously against the facts he turns up.[8] When one social historian finds widespread infanticide, he declares it "admirable and humane."[9] When another describes mothers who regularly beat their infants with sticks while still in the cradle, she comments, without a shred of evidence, that "if her discipline was stern, it was even and just and leavened with kindness."[10] When a third finds mothers who dunk their infants into ice water each morning to "strengthen" them, and the children die from the practice, she says that "they were not intentionally cruel," but simply "had read Rousseau and Locke."[11] No practice in the past seems anything but benign to the social historian. When Laslett finds parents regularly sending their children, at age seven, to other homes as servants, while taking in other children to serve them, he says it was actually kindness, for it "shows that parents may have been unwilling to submit children of their own to the discipline of work at home."[12] After admitting that severe whipping of young children with various instruments "at school and at home seems to have been as common in the seventeenth century as it was later," William Sloan feels compelled

to add that "children, then as later, sometimes deserved whipping."[13] When Philippe Ariès comes up with so much evidence of open sexual molesting of children that he admits that "playing with children's privy parts formed part of a widespread tradition,"[14] he goes on to describe a "traditional" scene where a stranger throws himself on a little boy while riding in a train, "his hand brutally rummaging inside the child's fly," while the father smiles, and concludes: "All that was involved was a game whose scabrous nature we should beware of exaggerating."[15] Masses of evidence are hidden, distorted, softened, or ignored. The child's early years are played down, formal educational content is endlessly examined, and emotional content is avoided by stressing child legislation and avoiding the home. And if the nature of the author's book is such that the ubiquity of unpleasant facts cannot be ignored, the theory is invented that "good parents leave no traces in the records." When, for instance, Alan Valentine examines 600 years of letters from fathers to sons, and of 126 fathers is unable to find one who isn't insensitive, moralistic, and thoroughly self-centered, he concludes: "Doubtless an infinite number of fathers have written to their sons letters that would warm and lift our hearts, if we only could find them. The happiest fathers leave no history, and it is the men who are not at their best with their children who are likely to write the heart-rending letters that survive."[16] Likewise, Anna Burr, covering 250 autobiographies, notes there are no happy memories of childhood, but carefully avoids drawing any conclusions.[17]

Of all the books on childhood in the past, Philippe Ariès's book *Centuries of Childhood* is probably the best known; one historian notes the frequency with which it is "cited as Holy Writ."[18] Ariès's central thesis is the opposite of mine: he argues that while the traditional child was happy because he was free to mix with many classes and ages, a special condition known as childhood was "invented" in the early modern period, resulting in a tyrannical concept of the family which destroyed friendship and sociability and deprived children of freedom, inflicting upon them for the first time the birch and the prison cell.

To prove this thesis, Ariès uses two main arguments. He first says that a separate concept of childhood was unknown in the early Middle Ages. "Medieval art until about the twelfth century did not know childhood or did not attempt to portray it" because artists were "unable to depict a child except as a man on a smaller scale."[19] Not only does this leave the art of antiquity in limbo, but it ignores voluminous evidence that medieval artists could, indeed, paint realistic children.[20] His etymological argument for a separate concept of childhood being unknown is also untenable.[21] In any case, the notion of the "invention of childhood" is so fuzzy that it is surprising that so many historians have recently picked it up.[22] His second argument, that the modern family re-

stricts the child's freedom and increases the severity of punishment, runs counter to all the evidence.

Far more reliable than Ariès is a quartet of books, only one of them written by a professional historian: George Payne's *The Child in Human Progress*, G. Rattray Taylor's *The Angel Makers*, David Hunt's *Parents and Children in History*, and J. Louise Despert's *The Emotionally Disturbed Child—Then and Now*. Payne, writing in 1916, was the first to examine the wide extent of infanticide and brutality toward children in the past, particularly in antiquity. Taylor's book, rich in documentation, is a sophisticated psychoanalytic reading of childhood and personality in late eighteenth-century England. Hunt, like Ariès, centers mostly on the unique seventeenth-century document, Héroard's diary of the childhood of Louis XIII, but does so with great psychological sensitivity and awareness of the psychohistorical implications of his findings. And Despert's psychiatric comparison of child mistreatment in the past and present surveys the range of emotional attitudes toward children since antiquity, expressing her growing horror as she uncovers a story of unremitting "heartlessness and cruelty."[23]

Yet despite these four books, the central questions of comparative childhood history remain to be asked, much less answered. In the next two sections of this chapter, I will cover some of the psychological principles that apply to adult-child relations in the past. The examples I use, while not untypical of child life in the past, are not drawn equally from all time periods, but are chosen as the clearest illustrations of the psychological principles being described. It is only in the three succeeding sections, where I provide an overview of the history of infanticide, abandonment, nursing, swaddling, beating, and sexual abuse, that I begin to examine how widespread the practice was in each period.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES OF CHILDHOOD HISTORY: PROJECTIVE AND REVERSAL REACTIONS

In studying childhood over many generations, it is most important to concentrate on those moments which most affect the psyche of the next generation: primarily, this means what happens when an adult is face to face with a child who needs something. The adult has, I believe, three major reactions available: (1) He can use the child as a vehicle for projection of the contents of his own unconscious (projective reaction); (2) he can use the child as a substitute for an adult figure important in his own childhood (reversal reaction); or (3) he can empathize with the child's needs and act to satisfy them (empathic reaction).

The projective reaction is, of course, familiar to psychoanalysts under terms which range from "projection" to "projective identification,"

a more concrete, intrusive form of voiding feelings into others. The psychoanalyst, for instance, is thoroughly familiar with being used as a "toilet-lap"[24] for the massive projections of the patient. It is this condition of being used as a vehicle for projections which is usual for children in the past.

Likewise, the reversal reaction is familiar to students of battering parents.[25] Children exist only to satisfy parental needs, and it is always the failure of the child-as-parent to give love which triggers the actual battering. As one battering mother put it: "I have never felt loved all my life. When the baby was born, I thought he would love me. When he cried, it meant he didn't love me. So I hit him."

The third term, empathic reaction, is used here in a more limited sense than the dictionary definition. It is the adult's ability to regress to the level of a child's need and correctly identify it without an admixture of the adult's own projections. The adult must then be able to maintain enough distance from the need to be able to satisfy it. It is an ability identical to the use of the psychoanalyst's unconscious called "free-floating attention," or, as Theodor Reik terms it, "listening with the third ear."[26]

Projective and reversal reactions often occurred simultaneously in parents in the past, producing an effect which I call the "double image," where the child was seen as both full of the adult's projected desires, hostilities, and sexual thoughts, and at the same moment as a mother or father figure. That is, it is *both* bad *and* loving. Furthermore, the further back in history one goes, the more "concretization" or reification one finds of these projective and reversal reactions, producing progressively more bizarre attitudes toward children, similar to those of contemporary parents of battered and schizophrenic children.

The first illustration of these closely interlocking concepts which we will examine is in an adult-child scene from the past. The year is 1739; the boy, Nicolas, is four years old. The incident is one he remembers and has had confirmed by his mother. His grandfather, who has been rather attentive to him the past few days, decides he has to "test" him, and says, "Nicolas, my son, you have many faults, and these grieve your mother. She is my daughter and has always obliged me; obey me too, and correct these, or I will whip you like a dog which is being trained." Nicolas, angry at the betrayal "from one who has been so kind to me," throws his toys into the fire. The grandfather seems pleased.

> "Nicholas . . . I said that to test you. Did you really think that a grandpapa, who had been so kind to you yesterday and the day before, could treat you like a dog today? I thought you were intelligent . . ." "I am not a beast like a dog." "No, but you are not as clever as I thought, or you would have understood that I was only teasing. It was just a joke . . . Come to me." I threw myself

> into his arms. "That is not all," he continued, "I want to see you friends with your mother; you have grieved, deeply grieved her . . . Nicolas, your father loves you; do you love him?" "Yes, grandpapa!" "Suppose he were in danger and to save him it was necessary to put your hand in the fire, would you do it? Would you put it . . . there, if it was necessary?" "Yes grandpapa." "And for me?" "For you? . . . yes, yes." "And for your mother?" "For mamma? Both of them, both of them!" "We shall see if you are telling the truth, for your mother is in great need of your little help! If you love her, you must prove it." I made no answer; but, putting together all that had been said, I went to the fireplace and, whlle they were making signs to each other, put my right hand into the fire. The pain drew a deep sigh from me."[27]

What makes this sort of scene so typical of adult-child interaction in the past is the existence of so many contradictory attitudes on the adult's part without the least resolution. The child is loved and hated, rewarded and punished, bad and loving, all at once. That this puts the child in a "double bind" of conflicting signals (which Bateson[28] and others believe underlie schizophrenia), goes without saying. But the conflicting signals themselves come from adults who are striving to demonstrate that the child is both very bad (projective reaction) and very loving (reversal reaction). It is the child's function to reduce the adult's pressing anxieties; the child acts as the adult's defense.

It is also the projective and reversal reactions which make guilt impossible in the severe beatings which we so often encounter in the past. This is because it is not the actual child who is being beaten. It is either the adult's own projections ("Look at her give you the eye! That's how she picks up men–she's a regular sexpot!" a mother says of her battered daughter of two), or it is a product of reversal ("He thinks he's the boss–all the time trying to run things–but I showed him who is in charge around here!" a father says of his nine-month-old boy whose skull he has split).[29] One can often catch the merging of beaten and beater and therefore lack of guilt in the historical sources. An American father (1830) tells of horsewhipping his four-year-old boy for not being able to read something. The child is tied up naked in the cellar:

> With him in this condition, and myself, the wife of my bosom, and the lady of my family, all of us in distress, and with hearts sinking within us, I commenced using the rod . . . During this most unpleasant, self denying and disagreeable work, I made frequent stops, commanding and trying to persuade, silencing excuses, answering objections . . . I felt all the force of divine authority and express command that I ever felt in any case in all my life . . . But under the all controlling influence of such a degree of angry passion and obstinacy, as my son had manifested, no wonder he

> thought he "should beat me out," feeble and tremulous as I was; and knowing as he did that it made me almost sick to whip him. At that time he could neither pity me nor himself.[30]

It is this picture of the merging of father and son, with the father complaining that he himself is the one beaten and in need of pity, which we will encounter when we ask how beating could have been so widespread in the past. When a Renaissance pedagogue says you should tell the child when beating him, "you do the correction against your mind, compelled thereunto by conscience, and require them to put you no more unto such labour and pain. For if you do (say you) you must suffer part of the pain with me and therefore you shall now have experience and proof what pain it is unto both of us" we will not so easily miss the merging and mislabel it hypocrisy.[31]

Indeed, the parent sees the child as so full of portions of himself that even real accidents to the child are seen as injuries to the parent. Cotton Mather's daughter Nanny fell into the fire and burned herself badly, and he cried out, "Alas, for my sins the just God throws my child into the fire!"[32] He searched everything he himself had recently done wrong, but since he believed he was the one being punished, no guilt toward his child could be felt (say, for leaving her alone), and no corrective action could be taken. Soon two other daughters were badly burned. His reaction was to preach a sermon on "What use ought parents to make of disasters befallen their children."

This matter of "accidents" to children is not to be taken lightly, for in it lies hidden the clue to why adults in the past were such poor parents. Leaving aside actual death wishes, which will be discussed later, accidents occurred in great numbers in the past because little children were so often left alone. Mather's daughter Nibby would have been burned to death but for "a person accidentally then passing by the window,"[33] because there was no one there to hear her cries. A colonial Boston experience is also typical:

> "After they had supped, the mother put two children to bed in the room where they themselves did lie, and they went out to visit a neighbor. When they returned . . . the mother [went] to the bed, and not finding her youngest child (a daughter about five years of age), and after much search she found it drowned in a well in her cellar . . ."[34]

The father blames the accident on his having worked on a holy day. The point is not only that it was common to leave little children alone right up to the twentieth century. More important is that parents cannot be concerned with preventing accidents if guilt is absent because it is the adult's own projections that they feel have been punished. Massive projectors don't invent safety stoves, nor often can they even see to it

that their children are given the simplest of care. Their projection, unfortunately, insures repetition.

The use of the child as a "toilet" for adult projections is behind the whole notion of original sin, and for eighteen hundred years adults were in general agreement that, as Richard Allestree (1676) puts it, "the newborn babe is full of the stains and pollution of sin, which it inherits from our first parents through our loins . . ."[35] Baptism used to include actual exorcism of the Devil, and the belief that the child who cried at his christening was letting out the Devil long survived the formal omission of exorcism in the Reformation.[36] Even where formal religion did not stress the devil, it was there; here is a picture of a Polish Jew teaching in the nineteenth century:

> He derived an intense joy from the agonies of the little victim trembling and shivering on the bench. And he used to administer the whippings coldly, slowly, deliberately . . . he asked the boy to let down his clothes, lie across the bench . . . and pitched in with the leathern thongs . . . "In every person there is a Good Spirit and an Evil Spirit. The Good Spirit has its own dwelling-place–which is the head. So has the Evil Spirit–and that is the place where you get the whipping."[37]

The child in the past was so charged with projections that he was often in danger of being considered a changeling if he cried too much or was otherwise too demanding. There is a large literature on changelings,[38] but it is not generally realized that it was not only deformed children who were killed as changelings, but also those who, as St. Augustine puts it, "suffer from a demon . . . they are under the power of the Devil . . . some infants die in this vexation . . ."[39] Some church fathers declared that if a baby merely cried it was committing a sin.[40] Sprenger and Krämer, in their bible of witchhunting, *Malleus Maleficarum* (1487), contend that you can recognize changelings because they "always howl most piteously and even if four or five mothers are set on to suckle them, they never grow." Luther agrees: "That is true: they often take the children of women in childbed and lay themselves down in their place and are more obnoxious than ten children with their crapping, eating, and screaming."[41] Guibert of Nogent, writing in the twelfth century, considers his mother saintly because she put up with the crying of an infant she had adopted:

> . . . the baby so harassed my mother and all her servants by the madness of its wailing and crying at night–although by day it was very good, by turns playing and sleeping–that anyone in the same little room could get scarcely any sleep. I have heard the nurses whom she hired say that night after night they could not stop shaking the child's rattle, so naughty was he, not through his own fault, but made so by the Devil within, and that a woman's craft

> failed entirely to drive him out. The good woman was tormented by extreme pain; amid those shrill cries no contrivance relieved her aching brow. . . . Yet she never shut the child out of her house. . . .[42]

The belief that infants were felt to be on the verge of turning into totally evil beings is one of the reasons why they were tied up, or swaddled, so long and so tightly. One feels the undertone in Bartholomaeus Anglicus (c. 1230): "And for tenderness the limbs of the child may easily and soon bow and bend and take diverse shapes. And therefore children's members and limbs are bound with lystes [bandages], and other covenable bonds, that they be not crooked nor evil shapen . . ."[43] It is the infant full of the parent's dangerous, evil projections that is swaddled. The reasons given for swaddling in the past are the same as those of present-day swaddlers in Eastern Europe: the baby has to be tied up or it will tear its ears off, scratch its eyes out, break its legs, or touch its genitals.[44] As we shall see shortly in the section on swaddling and restraints, this often includes binding up children in all kinds of corsets, stays, backboards, and puppet-strings, and even extends to tying them up in chairs to prevent them from crawling on the floor "like an animal."

Now if adults project all their own unacceptable feelings into the child, it is obvious that severe measures must be taken to keep this dangerous "toilet-child" under control once swaddling bands are outgrown. I shall later examine various methods of control used by parents down through the centuries, but here I want to illustrate only one control device—frightening the child with ghosts—in order to discuss its projective character.

The number of ghost-like figures used to frighten children throughout history is legion, and their regular use by adults was common until quite recently. The ancients had their Lamia and Striga, who, like their Hebrew prototype Lilith, ate children raw, and who, along with Mormo, Canida, Poine, Sybaris, Acco, Empusa, Gorgon, and Ephialtes, were "invented for a child's benefit to make it less rash and ungovernable," according to Dio Chrysostom.[45] Most ancients agreed that it was good to have the images of these witches constantly before children, to let them feel the terror of waiting up at night for ghosts to steal them away, eat them, tear them to pieces, and suck their blood or their bone marrow. By medieval times, of course, witches and devils took front stage, with an occasional Jew thrown in as a cutter of babies' throats, along with hoards of other monsters and bogies "such as those [with] which nurses love to terrify them."[46] After the Reformation, God himself, who "holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider, or some loathsome insect, over the fire,"[47] was the major bogeyman used to terrify children, and tracts were written in baby talk describing the tortures God had in store for children in Hell: "The little child is in this

red-hot oven. Hear how it screams to come out . . . It stamps its little feet on the floor . . ."[48]

When religion was no longer the focus of the terrorizing campaign, figures closer to home were used: the werewolf will gulp you down, Blue Beard will chop you up, Boney (Bonaparte) will eat your flesh, the black man or the chimney sweep will steal you away at night.[49] These practices came under attack only in the nineteenth century. One English parent said in 1810 that "the custom once prevalent of terrifying young minds with stories of ghosts, is now universally reprobated, in consequence of the increasing stock of national good sense. But many yet living can place fears of supernatural agency, and of darkness, among the real miseries of childhood. . . ."[50] Yet even today, in many villages of Europe, children continue to be threatened by parents with the *loup-garou* (werewolf), the *barbu* (bearded man), or the *ramoneur* (chimney sweep), or told they will be put in the basement to let the rats gnaw on them.[51]

This need to personify punitive figures was so powerful that, following the principle of "concretization," adults actually dressed up Katchina-like dummies to use in frightening children. One English writer, in 1748, while explaining how terror originated with nurses who frightened infants with stories of "raw-head and bloody-bones," said:

> The nurse takes a fancy to quiet the peevish child, and with this intent, dresses up an uncouth figure, makes it come in, and roar and scream at the child in ugly disagreeable notes, which grate upon the tender organs of the ear, and at the same time, by its gesture and near approach, makes as if it would swallow the infant up.[52]

These fearful figures were also the favorites of nurses who wanted to keep children in bed while they went off at night. Susan Sibbald remembered ghosts as a real part of her eighteenth-century childhood:

> Ghosts making their appearance were a very common occurence . . . I remember perfectly when both the nursery maids at Fowey wished to leave the nursery one evening . . . we were silenced by hearing the most dismal groanings and scratchings outside the partition next the stairs. The door was thrown open, and oh! horrors, there came in a figure, tall and dressed in white, with fire coming out of its eyes, nose and mouth it seemed. We were almost thrown into convulsions, and were not well for days, but dared not tell.[53]

The terrorized children were not always as old as Susan and Betsey. One American mother in 1882 told of a friend's two-year-old girl whose nurse, wanting to enjoy herself for the evening with the other servants while the parents were out, assured herself she wouldn't be disturbed by telling the little girl that a

> horrible Black Man . . . was hidden in the room to catch her the moment she left her bed or made the slightest noise . . . to make double sure that she should not be interrupted during the evening's enjoyment. She made a huge figure of a black man with frightful staring eyes and an enormous mouth, and placed it at the foot of the bed where the little innocent child was fast asleep. As soon as the evening was over in the servant's hall, the nurse went back to her charge. Opening the door quietly, she beheld the little girl sitting up in her bed, staring in an agony of terror at the fearful monster before her, and both hands convulsively grasping her fair hair. *She was stone dead!*[54]

There is some evidence that this use of masked figures to frighten children goes back to antiquity.[55] The subject of children being frightened by masks is a favorite of artists from the Roman frescos to the prints of Jacques Stella (1657), but since these early traumatic events were subject to the deepest repression, I have not yet been able to establish their precise ancient forms. It was said by Dio Chrysostom that "terrifying images deter children when they want food or play or anything else unseasonable" and theories were discussed on their most effective use: "I believe each youngster fears some bogey peculiar to himself and is wont to be terrified by this—of course, lads who are naturally timid cry out no matter what you produce to scare them . . ."[56]

Now when infants are terrorized with masked figures when they merely cry, want food, or want to play, the amount of projection, and the adult's need to control it, has reached massive proportions only found in overtly psychotic adults today. The exact frequency of use of such concrete figures in the past cannot as yet be determined, although they were often spoken of as common. Many forms, however, can be shown to be customary. For instance, in Germany until recently there would appear in shops before Christmas time stacks of stick brooms, tied in the middle, and making a stiff brush at both ends. These were used to beat children; during the first week in December, adults would dress up in terrifying costumes and pretend to be a messenger of Christ, called the *Pelz-nickel,* who would punish children and tell them if they would get Christmas presents or not.[57]

It is only when one sees the struggle which parents go through to give up this practice of concretizing frightening images that the strength of their need to do so is revealed. One of the earliest defenders of childhood in nineteenth-century Germany was Jean Paul Richter. In his popular book *Levanna,* he condemned parents who kept children in order "by images of terror," claiming medical evidence that they "frequently fall victims to insanity." Yet his own compulsion to repeat the traumas of his own childhood was so great that he was forced to invent lesser versions for his own son:

> As a person can be terrified only once by the same thing, I think it possible to spare children the reality by sportive representations of alarming circumstances. For instance: I go with my little nine-year-old Paul to walk in the thick wood. Suddenly three blackened and armed ruffians rush out and fall upon us, because I had hired them for the adventure with a small thieves' premium the day before. We two are only provided with sticks, but the band of robbers are armed with swords and a pistol without bullets . . . I turn away the pistol, so that it may miss me, and strike the dagger out of one of the thieves' hand with my stick . . . But (I add in this second edition) all such games are of doubtful advantage . . . although similar cloak and dagger pieces . . . might be tried advantageously in the night, in order to bring the fancies, inspired by a belief in ghosts, to common everyday light.[58]

Another whole area of concretization of this need to terrorize children involves the use of corpses. Many are familiar with the scenes in Mrs. Sherwood's novel, *History of the Fairchild Family*,[59] in which the children are taken on visits to the gibbet to inspect rotting corpses hanging there, while being told moral stories. What is not often realized is that these scenes are taken from real life and formed an important part of childhood in the past. Classes used to be taken out of school to hangings, and parents would often take their children to hangings and then whip them when they returned home to make them remember what they had seen.[60] Even a humanist educator such as Mafio Vegio, who wrote books to protest the beating of children, had to admit that "to let them witness a public execution is sometimes not at all a bad thing."[61]

The effect on the children of this continuous corpse-viewing was of course massive. One little girl, after her mother showed her the fresh corpse of her nine-year-old friend as an example, went around saying "They will put daughter in the deep hole, and what will mother do?"[62] Another boy woke at night screaming after seeing hangings, and "practiced hanging his own cat."[63] Eleven-year-old Harriet Spencer recorded in her diary seeing dead bodies everywhere on gibbets and broken on the wheel. Her father took her to see hundreds of corpses which had been dug up to make room for more.

> . . . Papa says it is foolish and superstitious to be afraid of seeing dead bodies, so I followed him down a dark narrow steep staircase that wound round and round a long way, till they opened a door into a great cavern. It was lit by a lamp hanging down in the middle, and the friar carried a torch in his hand. At first I could not see, and when I could I hardly dared look, for on every side there were horrid black ghastly figures, some grinning, some pointing at us, or seeming in pain, in all sorts of postures, and so

> horrid I could hardly help screaming, and I thought they all moved. When Papa saw how uncomfortable I was, he was not angry but very kind, and said I must conquer it and go and touch one of them, which was very shocking. Their skin was all dark brown and quite dried up on the bones, and quite hard and felt like marble.[64]

This picture of the kindly father helping his daughter overcome her fear of corpses is an example of what I term "projective care," to distinguish it from true empathic care which is the result of the empathic reaction. Projective care always requires the first step of projection of the adult's own unconscious into the child, and can be distinguished from empathic care by being either inappropriate or insufficient to the child's actual needs. The mother who responds to her child's every discomfort by nursing it, the mother who gives great attention to her infant's clothes as she sends it away to the wet-nurse, and the mother who takes a full hour to tie up a child properly in swaddling clothes are all examples of projective care.

Projective care is, however, sufficient to raise children to adulthood. Indeed, it is what is often called "good care" by anthropologists studying primitive childhood, and it is not until a psychoanalytically-trained anthropologist re-studies the same tribe that one can see that projection and not true empathy is being measured. For example, studies of the Apache[65] always give them the highest ratings on the "oral satisfaction" scale so important for the development of feelings of security. The Apache, like many primitive tribes, feeds on demand for two years, and this is what the rating was based upon. But only when psychoanalytic anthropologist L. Bryce Boyer visited them was the true projective basis of this care revealed:

> The care afforded infants by Apache mothers nowadays is startlingly inconsistent. They are usually very tender and considerate in the physical relationships with their babies. There is much bodily contact. Nursing times are generally determined by the baby's cry, and every distress is greeted first by the nipple of a breast or a bottle. At the same time, mothers have a very limited sense of responsibility so far as child care is concerned, and the impression gained is that the mother's tenderness for her baby is based upon her bestowing upon the infant care she herself desires as an adult. A great many mothers abandon or give away children –babies they had been nursing lovingly only a week before. Apaches very accurately name this practice "throwing the baby away." Not only do they feel scant conscious guilt for this behavior, but at times they are overtly delighted to have been able to rid themselves of the burden. In some instances, mothers who have given children away, "forget" they ever had them. The usual

> Apache mother believes physical care is all an infant requires. She has little or no compunction about leaving her baby with just anyone at all while she impulsively leaves to gossip, shop, gamble or drink and "fool around." Ideally, the mother entrusts her baby to a sister or older female relative. In aboriginal times, such an arrangement was almost always possible.[66]

Even such a simple act as empathizing with children who were beaten was difficult for adults in the past. Those few educators who, prior to modern times, advised that children should not be beaten generally argued that it would have bad consequences rather than that it would hurt the child. Yet without this element of empathy, the advice had no effect whatsoever, and children continued to be beaten as before. Mothers who sent their infants to wet-nurses for three years were genuinely distressed that their children then didn't want to return to them, yet they had no capacity to locate the reason. A hundred generations of mothers tied up their infants in swaddling bands and impassively watched them scream in protest because they lacked the psychic mechanism necessary to empathize with them. Only when the slow historical process of parent-child evolution finally established this faculty through successive generations of parent-child interaction did it become obvious that swaddling was totally unnecessary. Here is Richard Steele in *The Tatler* in 1706 describing how he thought an infant felt after being born:

> I lay very quiet; but the witch, for no manner of reason or provocation in the world, takes me and binds my head as hard as she possibly could; then ties up both my legs and makes me swallow down an horrid mixture. I thought it an harsh entrance into life, to begin with taking physic. When I was thus dressed, I was carried to a bedside where a fine young lady (my mother, I wot) had like to have me hugged to death . . . and threw me into a girl's arms that was taken in to tend me. The girl was very proud of the womanly employment of a nurse, and took upon her to strip and dress me anew, because I made a noise, to see what ailed me; she did so and stuck a pin in every joint about. I still cried, upon which, she lays me on my face in her lap; and, to quiet me, fell to nailing in all the pins, by clapping me on the back and screaming a lullaby. . . .[67]

I have not found a description with this degree of empathy in any century prior to the eighteenth. It was not long thereafter that two thousand years of swaddling came to an end.

One imagines that there would be all kinds of places to look to find this missing empathic faculty in the past. The first place to look, of course, is the Bible; certainly here one should find empathy toward children's needs, for isn't Jesus always pictured holding little children? Yet when one actually reads each of the over two thousand references

to children listed in the *Complete Concordance to the Bible*, these gentle images are missing. You find lots on child sacrifice, on stoning children, on beating them, on their strict obedience, on their love for their parents, and on their role as carriers of the family name, but not a single one that reveals any empathy with their needs. Even the well-known saying, "Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me" turns out to be the customary Near Eastern practice of exorcising by laying on of hands, which many holy men did to remove the evil inherent in children: "Then there were brought unto him little children, that he should put his hands on them, and pray . . . he laid his hands on them, and departed thence." (Mat. 19.13.)

All of this is not to say that parents didn't love their children in the past, for they did. Even contemporary child-beaters are not sadists; they love their children, at times, and in their own way, and are sometimes capable of expressing tender feelings, particularly when the children are non-demanding. The same was true for the parent in the past; expressions of tenderness toward children occur most often when the child is non-demanding, especially when the child is either asleep or dead. Homer's "as a mother drives away a fly from her child when it lies in sweet sleep" can be paired with Martial's epitaph:

> Let not the sod too stiffly stretch its girth
> Above those tender limbs, erstwhile so free;
> Press lightly on her form, dear mother Earth,
> Her little footsteps lightly fell on thee.[68]

It is only at the moment of death that the parent, unable to empathize before, cries out to himself, with Morelli (1400): "You loved him but never used your love to make him happy; you treated him more like a stranger than a son; you never gave him an hour of rest . . . You never kissed him when he wanted it; you wore him out at school and with many harsh blows."[69]

It is, of course, not love which the parent of the past lacked, but rather the emotional maturity needed to see the child as a person separate from himself. It is difficult to estimate what proportion of today's parents achieve with any consistency the empathic level. Once I took an informal poll of a dozen psychotherapists and asked them how many of their patients at the beginning of analysis were able to sustain images of their children as individuals separate from their own projected needs; they all said that very few had that ability. As one, Amos Gunsberg, put it: "This doesn't occur until some way along in their analysis, always at a specific moment—when they arrive at an image of themselves as separate from their own all-enveloping mother."

Running parallel to the projective reaction is the reversal reaction, with the parent and child reversing roles, often producing quite bizarre

results. Reversal begins long before the child is born—it is the source of the very powerful desire for children one sees in the past, which is always expressed in terms of what children can give the parent, and never what the parent can give them. Medea's complaint before committing infanticide is that by killing her children she won't have anyone to look after *her:*

> What was the purpose, children, for which I reared you?
> For all my travail, and wearing myself away?
> They were sterile, those pains I had in the bearing of you.
> Oh surely once the hopes I had, poor me,
> Were high ones; you would look after me in old age,
> And when I died would deck me well with your own hands;
> A thing which all would have done. Oh but it is gone,
> That lovely thought.[70]

Once born, the child becomes the mother's and father's own parent, in either positive or negative aspect, totally out of keeping with the child's actual age. The child, regardless of sex, is often dressed in the style of clothes similar to that worn by the *parent's mother*, that is, not only in a long dress, but in one out of date by at least a generation.[71] The mother is literally reborn in the child; children are not just dressed as "minature adults" but quite clearly as miniature *women*, often complete with décolleté.

The idea that the grandparent is actually reborn in the baby is a common one in antiquity,[72] and the closeness between the word "baby" and the various words for grandmother (baba, Babe) hints at similar beliefs.[73] But evidence exists for more concrete reversals in the past, ones that are virtually hallucinatory. For instance, the breasts of little infants were often kissed or sucked on by adults. Little Louis XIII often had both his penis and nipples kissed by people around him. Even though Héroard, his diarist, always made him the active one (at thirteen months "he makes M. de Souvré, M. de Termes, M. de Liancourt, and M. Zamet kiss his cock")[74], it later becomes evident that he was being passively manipulated: "He never wants to let the Marquise touch his nipples, his nurse had said to him: 'Sir, do not let anyone touch your nipples or your cock; they'll cut them off.' "[75] Yet the adults still couldn't keep their hands and lips off his penis and nipples. Both were the mother's breast returned.

Another instance of the "infant as mother" was the common belief that infants had milk in their breasts which had to be expelled. The fourteenth-century Italian *balia* (wet-nurse) was instructed to "be sure and press his breasts often—to get out any milk there because it bothers him."[76] There actually is a slight rationalization for this belief, since a newborn will on rare occasions show a drop of milky fluid on its breasts as a result of a carryover of female hormone from the mother. Yet there

was a difference between this and "the unnatural but common practice of forcibly squeezing the delicate breasts of a newborn infant, by rough hand of the nurse, which is the most general cause of inflammation in these parts," as the American pediatrician Alexander Hamilton still had to write in 1793.[77]

Kissing, sucking, and squeezing the breast are but a few of the uses to which the "child as breast" is put; one finds a variety of practices such as the one this pediatrician warned of at the beginning of the nineteenth century:

> But a practice of the most injurious and disgusting nature, is that of many nursery maids, aunts and grandmothers, who suffer the child to suck their lips. I had an opportunity of observing the decay of a blooming infant, in consequence of having sucked the lips of its sickly grandmother for upwards of half a year.[78]

I have even found several references to parents "licking children." This, for instance, may be what George du Maurier was speaking of when he said of his newborn: "The Nurse brings her to me every morning in bed, that I may lick it with 'the basting tongue'—I enjoy the operation so much that I shall perservere till it reaches the age of discretion."[79]

One receives the impression that the perfect child would be one who literally breast-feeds the parent, and the ancients would agree. Whenever children were discussed, the story of Valerius Maximus was certain to come up, describing a "perfect" child. As Pliny tells it:

> Of filial affection there have, it is true, been unlimited instances all over the world, but one at Rome with which the whole of the rest could not compare. A plebeian woman of low position who had just given birth to a child, had permission to visit her mother who had been shut up in prison as a punishment, and was always searched in advance by the doorkeeper to prevent her carrying in any food. She was detected giving her mother sustenance from her own breasts. In consequence of this marvel the daughter's pious affection was rewarded by the mother's release and both were awarded maintenance for life; and the place where it occurred was consecrated to the Goddess concerned, a temple dedicated to Filial Affection . . .[80]

The story was repeated throughout the ages as an object lesson. Peter Charron (1593) called it "turning the stream back again up to the fountainhead,"[81] and the theme was the topic of paintings by Rubens, Vermeer, and others.

Often the need to act out the image of "the child as mother" becomes overpowering; here, in a typical incident, is a "joke" played on a six-year-old girl in 1656 by Cardinal Mazarin and other adults:

> One day as he made sport with her about some gallant that she said she had; at last he began to chide her, for being with child . . . They straightened her clothes from time to time, and made her believe that she was growing big. This continued as long as it was thought necessary to persuade her to the likelihood of her being with child . . . The time of her lying-in came, she found betwixt her sheets in the morning a child newborn. You cannot imagine the astonishment and grief she was in at this sight. "Such a thing," said she, "never happened to any but to the Virgin Mary and myself, for I never felt any kind of pain." The queen came to console her, and offered to be Godmother; many came to gossip with her, as newly brought to bed.[82]

Children have always taken care of adults in very concrete ways. Ever since Roman times, boys and girls waited on their parents at table, and in the Middle Ages all children except royalty acted as servants, either at home or for others, often running home from school at noon to wait on their parents.[83] I will not discuss here the whole topic of children's work, but it should be remembered that children did much of the work of the world long before child labor became such an issue in the nineteenth century, generally from the age of four or five.

The reversal reaction is shown most clearly, however, in the emotional interaction between child and adult. Present day social workers who visit "battering" mothers are often astonished at how responsive little children are to the needs of their parents:

> I remember watching an eighteen month old soothe her mother, who was in a high state of anxiety and tears. First she put down the bottle she was sucking. Then she moved about in such a way that she could approach, then touch, and eventually calm her mother down (something I had not been able to begin to do). When she sensed her mother was comfortable again, she walked across the floor, lay down, picked up her bottle, and started sucking it again.[84]

This role was frequently assumed by children in the past. One child was "never known to cry or be restless . . . frequently, when a babe in her mother's arms, at these seasons, would reach up her little hand and wipe the tears from her mother's cheek . . ."[85] Doctors used to try to entice mothers into nursing their infants themselves instead of sending them out to wet-nurse by promising that "in recompence whereof, he endeavors to show her a thousand delights . . . he kisses her, strokes her hair, nose and ears, he flatters her . . ."[86] Along the same theme, I have catalogued over five hundred paintings of mothers and children from every country, and found that the paintings showed the child looking at, smiling at and caressing the mother at a date prior to the ones show-

ing the mother looking at, smiling at and caressing the child, rare actions for a mother in any painting.

The child's facility in mothering adults was often its salvation. Mme. de Sévigné, in 1670, decided not to take her eighteen-month-old granddaughter along with her on a trip which could have proven fatal to the child.

> Mme. du Puy-du-Fou does not want me to take my grandchild. She says it would be exposing her to danger, and at last I surrender; I should not like to imperil the little lady—I am very fond of her. . . . she does a hundred and one little things—she talks, fondles people, hits them, crosses herself, asks forgiveness, curtsies, kisses your hand, shrugs her shoulders, dances, coaxes, chucks you under the chin: in short, she is altogether lovely, I amuse myself with her for hours at a time. I do not want her to die.[87]

The need of the parent for mothering placed an enormous burden on the growing child. It was sometimes even the cause of its death. One of the more frequent reasons given for infant death was "overlaying," or suffocation in bed, and although this was often just an excuse for infanticide, pediatricians admitted that when it was genuine it was due to the mother's refusal to put the child in a separate bed when she went to sleep; "not wanting to let go of the child, [she] holds him even tighter as she sleeps. Her breast closes off the nose of the child."[88] It was this reversal image of the child-as-security-blanket that was the reality behind the common medieval warning that parents must be careful not to coddle their children "like the ivy that certainly kills the tree encircled by it, or the ape that hugs her whelps to death with mere fondness."[89]

PSYCHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLE: THE DOUBLE IMAGE

The continuous shift between projection and reversal, between the child as devil and as adult, produces a "double image" that is responsible for much of the bizarre quality of childhood in the past. We have already seen how this shift from the adult image to the projected image is a precondition for battering. But we can see a richer picture of the double image by examining in some detail an actual childhood in the past. The most complete record of childhood prior to modern times is the diary of Héroard, doctor of Louis XIII, with almost daily entries about what he saw the child and those around him do and say. The diary often allows us to glimpse the shifting double image as it occurs in Héroard's own mind, as his picture of the baby shifts between projective and reversal images.

The diary opens with the dauphin's birth in 1601. Immediately, his adult qualities appear. He came out of the womb holding his umbilical cord "with such force that she had trouble getting it back from him." He was described as "strongly muscled," and his cry was so loud that "he didn't sound at all like a child." His penis was carefully examined, and he was declared "well provided for."[90] Since he was a dauphin, one skips over these first projections of adult qualities as simple pride in a new king, but soon the images begin piling up, and the double image of his being both an adult and a voracious child grows.

> The day after his birth . . . his cries in general sound not at all like an infant's cries and they never did, and when he sucks at the breast it was with such mouthfuls, and he opens his jaws so wide, that he takes at one time as much as others do in three. Consequently, his nurse was almost always dry . . . He was never satisfied.[91]

The image of the week-old dauphin as alternately an infant Hercules, who strangled the snakes, and a Gargantua, who needed 17,913 cows to nurse him, is totally at odds with the actual sickly, weak, swaddled infant who emerges from Héroard's record. Despite the dozens of people who were assigned to care for him, no one was able to provide for his simplest needs for food and rest. There were constant unnecessary changes in wet-nurses and continuous outings and long trips.[92] By the time the dauphin was two months old he was close to death. Héroard's anxiety increased, and as a defense against the anxiety his reversal reaction became more pronounced:

> Being asked by the wet-nurse, "Who is that man?" responds in his jargon and with pleasure, "Erouad!" [Héroard] One can see that his body is no longer developing or being nourished. The muscles in his chest are totally consumed, and the large fold that he had had before on his neck was now nothing but skin."[93]

When the dauphin was almost ten months old, leading-strings were tied to his robe. Leading-strings were supposed to be used to teach the infant to walk, but they were more often used to manipulate and control the child like a puppet. This, combined with Héroard's projective reactions, makes it difficult to understand what was actually happening, and what is being manipulated by those around little Louis. For instance, when he was eleven months old he was said to enjoy fencing with Héroard, and liked it so much that "he pursues me laughing through the whole chamber." But a month later Héroard reported that he "begins to move along with sturdiness, held under the arms."[94] It is obvious he was being carried or swung along on leading-strings earlier when he was said to "pursue" Héroard. Indeed, since he could not speak sentences until much later, Héroard was actually hallucinating

when he reports that someone came to see the fourteen-month-old dauphin, who "turns around and looks at all those who are lined up at the balustrade, goes to choose him and holds out his hand to him, which the prince then kisses. M. d'Haucourt enters and says he has come to kiss the robe of the dauphin; he turns around and says to him it isn't necessary to do that."[95]

During this same time he was pictured as being extremely active sexually. The projective basis of ascribing adult sexual behavior to the child is apparent in Héroard's descriptions: "the dauphin [at twelve months] calls the page back and with a 'Ho!' lifts up his shirt to show him his cock . . . he makes everyone kiss his cock . . . in the company of the little girl, he pulls up his shirt, shows her his cock with such ardor that he is completely beside himself."[96] And it is only when one remembers that the following is really a fifteen-month-old baby who is probably being manipulated by leading strings, that this scene can be untangled from Héroard's massive projections:

> The dauphin goes after Mlle. Mercier, who screams because M. de Montglat hit her on her buttocks with his hand; the dauphin screamed too. She fled to the bedside; M. de Montglat followed her, and wanted to smack her rear, she cries out very loudly; the dauphin hears it, takes to screaming loudly too; enjoys this and shakes his feet and his whole body with joy . . . they make his women come; he makes them dance, plays with the little Marguerite, kisses her, embraces her; throws her down, casts himself on her with quivering body and grinding teeth . . . nine o'clock . . . He strives to hit her on the buttocks with a birch rod. Mlle. Bélier asks him: "Monsieur, what did M. de Montglat do to Mercier?" He began suddenly to clap his hands together with a sweet smile, and warm himself in such a way that he was transported with joy, having been a good half-to-quarter hour laughing and clapping his hands, and throwing himself headlong on her, like a person who had understood the joke.[97]

Only rarely did Héroard reveal that the dauphin was actually passive in these sexual manipulations: "The marquise often puts her hand under his jacket; he has himself put into his bed by the nurse where she plays with him, often putting her hand under his coat."[98] More often, he was simply depicted as being stripped, taken to bed with the King, the Queen, or both, or with various servants, and involved in sexual manipulations from the time he was an infant until he was at least seven years old.

Another example of the double image was in circumcision. As is well known, Jews, Egyptians, Arabs, and others circumcised the foreskin of boys. The reasons given for this are manifold, but all of them can be covered by the double image of projection and reversal. To begin with,

such mutilations of children by adults always involve projection and punishment to control projected passions. As Philo put it in the first century, circumcision was for "the excision of passions, which bind the mind. For since among all passions that of intercourse between man and woman is greatest, the lawgivers have commended that that instrument, which serves this intercourse, be mutilated, pointing out, that these powerful passions must be bridled, and thinking not only this, but all passions would be controlled through this one."[99] Moses Maimonides agrees:

> I believe one of the reasons for circumcision was the diminution of sexual intercourse and the weakening of the sexual organs; its purpose was to restrict the activities of this organ and to leave it at rest as much as possible. The true purpose of circumcision was to give the sexual organ that kind of physical pain as not to impair its natural function or the potency of the individual, but to lessen the power of passion and of too great desire.[100]

The reversal element in circumcision can be seen in the glans-as-nipple theme embedded in the details of one version of the ritual. The infant's penis is rubbed to make it erect, and the foreskin is split, either by the mohel's fingernail or with a knife, and then torn all around the glans. Then the mohel sucks the blood off the glans.[101] This is done for the same reason that everyone kissed little Louis's penis–because the penis, and more particularly the glans, is the mother's nipple returned, and the blood is her milk.[102] The idea of the child's blood as having magic-milk qualities is an old one, and underlies many sacrificial acts, but rather than examine this complex problem here I would like to concentrate on the main idea of circumcision as the coming-out of the glans-as-nipple. It is not generally known that the exposure of the glans was a problem for more than just the circumcising nations. To the Greeks and Romans, the glans was considered sacred; the sight of it "struck terror and wonder in the heart of man,"[103] and so they either tied up the prepuce with a string, which was called *kynodesme*, or else pinned it closed with a *fibula*, a clasp, which was called infibulation.[104] Evidence of infibulation, both for "modesty" and "to restrain lust," can also be found in the Renaissance and modern times.[105]

When the foreskin wasn't sufficiently long to cover the glans, an operation was sometimes performed whereby the skin was cut around the base of the penis and the skin drawn forward.[106] In ancient art, the glans was usually shown covered, either with the penis coming to a point, or else clearly showing the tied foreskin, even when erect. I have only found two cases where the glans showed: either when it was meant to inspire awe, as in the representations of the phallus which were used to hang in doorways, or when the penis was shown being used in fellatio.[107]

Thus, to Jew and Roman alike, the image of reversal was imbedded in their attitude toward the glans-as-nipple.

INFANTICIDE AND DEATH WISHES TOWARD CHILDREN

In a pair of books rich in clinical documentation, the psychoanalyst Joseph Rheingold examined the death wishes of mothers[108] toward their children, and found that they are not only far more widespread than is commonly realized, but also that they stem from a powerful attempt to "undo" motherhood in order to escape the punishment they imagine their own mothers will wreak upon them. Rheingold shows us mothers giving birth and begging their own mothers not to kill them, and traces the origin of both infanticidal wishes and post-partum depression states as not due to hostility toward the child itself, but rather to the need to sacrifice the child to propitiate their own mothers. Hospital staffs are well aware of these widespread infanticidal wishes, and often allow no contact between the mother and child for some time. Rheingold's findings, seconded by Block, Zilboorg, and others,[109] are complex and have far-reaching implications; here we can only point out that filicidal impulses of contemporary mothers are enormously widespread, with fantasies of stabbing, mutilation, abuse, decapitation, and strangulation common in mothers in psychoanalysis. I believe that the further back in history one goes, the more filicidal impulses are acted out by parents.

The history of infanticide in the West has yet to be written, and I shall not attempt it here. But enough is already known to establish that, contrary to the usual assumption that it is an Eastern rather than a Western problem, infanticide of both legitimate and illegitimate children was a regular practice of antiquity, that the killing of legitimate children was only slowly reduced during the Middle Ages, and that illegitimate children continued regularly to be killed right up into the nineteenth century.[110]

Infanticide during antiquity has usually been played down despite literally hundreds of clear references by ancient writers that it was an accepted, everyday occurrence. Children were thrown into rivers, flung into dung-heaps and cess trenches, "potted" in jars to starve to death, and exposed on every hill and roadside, "a prey for birds, food for wild beasts to rend" (Euripides, *Ion*, 504). To begin with, any child that was not perfect in shape and size, or cried too little or too much, or was otherwise than is described in the gynecological writings on "How to Recognize the Newborn That is Worth Rearing,"[111] was generally killed. Beyond this, the first-born was usually allowed to live,[112] especially if it was a boy. Girls were, of course, valued little, and the instructions of Hilarion to his wife Alis (1 B.C.) are typical of the open way these

things were discussed: "If, as may well happen, you give birth to a child, if it is a boy let it live; if it is a girl, expose it."[113] The result was a large imbalance of males over females which was typical of the West until well into the Middle Ages, when the killing of legitimate children was probably much reduced. (The killing of illegitimate children does not affect the sex ratio, since both sexes are generally killed.) Available statistics for antiquity show large surpluses of boys over girls; for instance, out of 79 families who gained Milesian citizenship about 228-220 B.C., there were 118 sons and 28 daughters; 32 families had one child, 31 had two. As Jack Lindsay puts it:

> Two sons are not uncommon, three occur now and then, but more than one daughter was practically never reared. Poseidippos stated, "even a rich man always exposes a daughter" . . . Of 600 families from second-century inscriptions at Delphi, one per cent raised two daughters.[114]

The killing of legitimate children even by wealthy parents was so common that Polybius blamed it for the depopulation of Greece:

> In our own time the whole of Greece has been subject to a low birth-rate and a general decrease of the population, owing to which cities have become deserted and the land has ceased to yield fruit, although there have neither been continuous wars nor epidemics . . . as men had fallen into such a state of pretentiousness, avarice and indolence that they did not wish to marry, or if they married to rear the children born to them, or at most as a rule but one or two of them . . .[115]

Until the fourth century A.D., neither law nor public opinion found infanticide wrong in either Greece or Rome. The great philosophers agreed. Those few passages which classicists consider as a condemnation of infanticide seem to me to indicate just the opposite, such as Aristotle's "As to exposing or rearing the children born, let there be a law that no deformed child shall be reared; but on the ground of number of children, if the regular customs hinder any of those born being exposed, there must be a limit filed to the procreation of offspring." Similarly, Musonius Rufus, sometimes called "The Roman Socrates," is often quoted as opposing infanticide, but his piece "Should Every Child That Is Born Be Raised?" quite clearly only says that since brothers are very useful they should not be killed.[116] But more ancient writers openly approved of infanticide, saying, like Aristippus, that a man could do what he wants with his children, for "do we not cast away from us our spittle, lice and such like, as things unprofitable, which nevertheless are engendered and bred even out of our own selves."[117] Or like Seneca, they pretend only sickly infants are involved:

> Mad dogs we knock on the head; the fierce and savage ox we slay; sickly sheep we put to the knife to keep them from infecting the flock; unnatural progeny we destroy; we drown even children who at birth are weakly and abnormal. Yet it is not anger, but reason that separates the harmful from the sound.[118]

The theme of exposure loomed large in myth, tragedy, and the New Comedy, which is often built around the subject of how funny infanticide is. In Menander's *Girl from Samos*, much fun is made of a man trying to chop up and roast a baby. In his comedy *The Arbitrants*, a shepherd picks up an exposed infant, considers raising it, then changes his mind, saying, "What have I to do with the rearing of children and the trouble." He gives it to another man, but has a fight over who got the baby's necklace.[119]

It must be noted, however, that infanticide was probably common since prehistoric times. Henri Vallois, who tabulated all the prehistoric fossils dug up from the Pithecanthropines to the Mesolithic peoples, found a sex ratio of 148 to 100 in favor of men.[120] The Greeks and Romans were actually an island of enlightenment in a sea of nations still in an earlier stage of sacrificing children to gods, a practice which the Romans tried in vain to stop. The best documented is Carthaginian child sacrifice, which Plutarch describes:

> . . . with full knowledge and understanding they themselves offered up their own children, and those who had no children would buy little ones from poor people and cut their throats as if they were so many lambs or young birds; meanwhile the mother stood by without a tear or moan; but should she utter a single moan or let fall a single tear, she had to forfeit the money, and her child was sacrificed nevertheless; and the whole area before the statue was filled with a loud noise of flutes and drums so that the cries of wailing should not reach the ears of the people.[121]

Child sacrifice is, of course, the most concrete acting out of Rheingold's thesis of filicide as sacrifice to the mother of the parents. It was practiced by the Irish Celts, the Gauls, the Scandinavians, the Egyptians, the Phoenicians, the Moabites, the Ammonites, and, in certain periods, the Israelites.[122] Thousands of bones of sacrificed children have been dug up by archeologists, often with inscriptions identifying the victims as first-born sons of noble families, reaching in time all the way back to the Jericho of 7,000 B.C.[123] Sealing children in walls, foundations of buildings, and bridges to strengthen the structure was also common from the building of the wall of Jericho to as late as 1843 in Germany.[124] To this day, when children play "London Bridge is Falling Down," they are acting out a sacrifice to a river goddess when they catch the child at the end of the game.[125]

Even in Rome, sacrifice of children led an underground existence. Dio said Julianus "killed many boys as a magic rite;" Suetonius said because of a portent the Senate "decreed that no male born that year

should be reared;" and Pliny the Elder spoke of men who "seek to secure the leg-marrow and the brain of infants."[126] More frequent was the practice of killing your enemy's children, often in great numbers,[127] so that noble children not only witnessed infanticide in the streets but were themselves under continual threat of death depending on the political fortunes of their fathers.

Philo was the first person I have found who spoke out clearly against the horrors of infanticide:

> Some of them do the deed with their own hands; with monstrous cruelty and barbarity they stifle and throttle the first breath which the infants draw or throw them into a river or into the depths of the sea, after attaching some heavy substance to make them sink more quickly under its weight. Others take them to be exposed in some desert place, hoping, they themselves say, that they may be saved, but leaving them in actual truth to suffer the most distressing fate. For all the beasts that feed in human flesh visit the spot and feast unhindered on the infants, a fine banquet provided by their sole guardians, those who above all others should keep them safe, their fathers and mothers. Carnivorous birds, too, come flying down and gobble up the fragments . . .[128]

Although in the two centuries after Augustus, some attempts were made to pay parents to keep children alive in order to replenish the dwindling Roman population,[129] it was not until the fourth century that real change was apparent. The law began to consider killing an infant murder only in 374 A.D.[130] Yet even the opposition to infanticide by the Church Fathers often seemed to be based more on their concern for the parent's soul than with the child's life. This attitude can be seen in Saint Justin Martyr's statement that the reason a Christian shouldn't expose his children is to avoid later meeting them in a brothel: "Lest we molest anyone or commit sin ourselves, we have been taught that it is wicked to expose even newly-born children, first because we see that almost all those who are exposed (not only girls, but boys) are raised in prostitution."[131] When the Christians themselves were accused of killing babies in secret rites, however, they were quick enough to reply: "How many, do you suppose, of those here present who stand panting for the blood of Christians–how many, even, of you magistrates who are so righteous against us–want me to touch their consciences for putting their own offspring to death?"[132]

After the Council of Vaison (442 A.D.), the finding of abandoned children was supposed to be announced in church, and by 787 A.D., Dateo of Milan founded the first asylum solely for abandoned infants.[133] Other countries followed much the same pattern of evolution.[134] Despite much literary evidence, however, the continued existence of wide-

spread infanticide in the Middle Ages is usually denied by medievalists, since it is not evident in church records and other quantitative sources. But if sex ratios of 156 to 100 (c. 801 A.D.) and 172 to 100 (1391 A.D.) are any indication of the extent of the killing of legitimate girls,[135] and if illegitimates were usually killed regardless of sex, the real rate of infanticide could have been substantial in the Middle Ages. Certainly, when Innocent III began the hospital of the Santo Spirito in Rome at the end of the twelfth century he was fully aware of the number of women throwing their babies into the Tiber. As late as 1527, one priest admitted that "the latrines resound with the cries of children who have been plunged into them."[136] Detailed studies are just beginning, but it is possible that infanticide may have been only sporadically punished prior to the sixteenth century.[137] Certainly when Vincent of Beauvais wrote in the thirteenth century that a father was always worrying about his daughter "suffocating her offspring," when doctors complained of all the children "found in the frost or in the streets, cast away by a wicked mother," and when we find that in Anglo-Saxon England the legal presumption was that infants who died had been murdered if not proved otherwise, we should take these clues as a signal for the most vigorous sort of research into medieval infanticide.[138] And just because formal records show few illegitimate births, we certainly shouldn't be satisfied with assuming that "in traditional society people remained continent until marriage," since many girls managed to hide their pregnancies from their own mothers who slept beside them,[139] and they certainly can be suspected of hiding them from the church.

What is certain is that when our material becomes far fuller, by the eighteenth century,[140] there is no question that there was high incidence of infanticide in every country in Europe. As more foundling homes were opened in each country, babies poured in from all over, and the homes quickly ran out of room. Even though Thomas Coram opened his Foundling Hospital in 1741 because he couldn't bear to see the dying babies lying in the gutters and rotting on the dung-heaps of London, by the 1890s dead babies were still a common sight in London streets.[141] Late in the nineteenth century Louis Adamic described being brought up in an Eastern European village of "killing nurses," where mothers sent their infants to be done away with "by exposing them to cold air after a hot bath; feeding them something that caused convulsions in their stomachs and intestines; mixing gypsum in their milk, which literally plastered up their insides; suddenly stuffing them with food after not giving them anything to eat for two days . . ." Adamic was to have been killed as well, but for some reason his nurse spared him. His account of how he watched her do away with the other babies she received provides a picture of the emotional reality behind all those centuries of infanticide we have been reviewing.

> In her own strange, helpless way, she loved them all . . . but when the luckless infants' parents or the latter's relatives could not or did not pay the customary small sum for their keep . . . she disposed of them. . . . One day she returned from the city with an elongated little bundle . . . a horrible suspicion seized me. The baby in the cradle was going to die! . . . when the baby cried, I heard her get up, and she nursed it in the dark, mumbling, "Poor, poor little one!" I have tried many times since to imagine how she must have felt holding to her breast a child she knew was fated to die by her hand . . . "You poor, poor little one!" She purposely spoke clearly so I would be sure to hear. ". . . fruit of sin through no fault of your own, but sinless in yourself . . . soon you will go, soon, soon, my poor one . . . and, going now, you will not go to hell as you would if you lived and grew up and became a sinner." . . . The next morning the child was dead . . .[142]

Once the infant in the past was born, he was regularly surrounded by the aura of death and counter-measures against death. Since ancient times, exorcisms, purifications, and magic amulets have been thought necessary to rout the host of death-dealing powers felt to lurk about the child, and cold water, fire, blood, wine, salt, and urine were used on the baby and its surroundings.[143] Isolated Greek villages even today retain this atmosphere of warding off death:

> The new-born child sleeps tightly swaddled in a wooden rocking cradle which is enveloped from end to end in a blanket, so that he lies in a kind of dark airless tent. Mothers are fearful of the effects of cold air and evil spirits . . . the hut or house after dark is like a city under siege, with windows boarded, the door barred, and salt and incense at strategic points such as the threshold to repel any invasion of the Devil.[144]

Old women, symbols, according to Rheingold, of the grandmother whose death wishes were warded off, were thought to have an "evil eye," under whose gaze the child would die. Amulets, generally in the form of a penis or of phallus-shaped coral, are given the infant to ward off these death wishes.[145] As the child grew up, death wishes toward it kept breaking through. Epictetus said, "What harm is there if you whisper to yourself, at the very moment you are kissing your child, and say 'Tomorrow you will die?' "[146] An Italian during the Renaissance would say, when a child does something clever, "that child is not meant to live."[147] Fathers of every age tell their sons, with Luther, "I would rather have a dead son than a disobedient one."[148] Fenelon says to ask a child questions such as, "Would you let your head be cut off in order to get into heaven?"[149] Walter Scott said his mother confessed she was "under a strong temptation of the Devil, to cut my throat with her scissors, and bury me in the moss."[150] Leopardi said of his mother,

"When she saw the death of one of her infants approaching, she experienced a deep happiness, which she attempted to conceal only from those who were likely to blame her."[151] The sources are full of similar examples.

Urges to mutilate, burn, freeze, drown, shake, and throw the infant violently about were continuously acted out in the past. The Huns used to cut the cheeks of newborn males. Robert Pemell tells how in Italy and other countries during the Renaissance parents would "burn in the neck with a hot iron, or else drop a burning wax candle" on newborn babies to prevent "falling sickness."[152] In early modern times, the string underneath the newborn's tongue was usually cut, often with the midwife's fingernail, a sort of miniature circumcision.[153] The mutilation of children throughout the ages has excited pity and laughter in adults, and was the basis for the widespread practice in every age of mutilating children for begging,[154] going back to Seneca's "Controversy," which concludes that mutilating exposed children was not wrong:

> Look on the blind wandering about the streets leaning on their sticks, and those with crushed feet, and still again look on those with broken limbs. This one is without arms, that one has had his shoulders pulled down out of shape in order that his grotesqueries may excite laughter . . . Let us go to the origin of all those ills—a laboratory for the manufacture of human wrecks—a cavern filled with the limbs torn from living children . . . What wrong has been done to the Republic? On the contrary, have not these children been done a service inasmuch as their parents had cast them out?[155]

Throwing the swaddled child about was sometimes practiced. A brother of Henri IV, while being passed for amusement from one window to another, was dropped and killed.[156] The same thing happened to the little Comte de Marle: "One of the gentlemen-in-waiting and the nurse who was taking care of him amused themselves by tossing him back and forth across the sill of an open window . . . Sometimes they would pretend not to catch him . . . the little Comte de Marle fell and hit a stone step below."[157] Doctors complained of parents who break the bones of their children in the "customary" tossing of infants.[158] Nurses often said that the stays children were encased in were necessary because otherwise they could not "be tossed about without them. And I remember an eminent surgeon say a child was brought to him with several of its ribs crushed inward by the hand of the person who had been tossing it about without its stays."[159] Doctors also denounced the customary violent rocking of infants, "which puts the babe into a dazed condition, in order that he may not trouble those that have the care of him."[160] This was the reason that cradles began to be attacked in the eighteenth century; Buchan said he was against cradles because of the common "ill-tempered nurse, who, instead of soothing the accidental

uneasiness or indisposition to sleep of her baby, when laid down to rest, is often worked up to the highest pitch of rage; and, in the excess of her folly and brutality, endeavors, by loud, harsh threats, and the impetuous rattle of the cradle, to drown the infant's cries, and to force him into slumber."[161]

Infants were also sometimes nearly frozen through a variety of customs, ranging from baptism by lengthy dipping in ice-water and rolling in the snow, to the practice of the plunge-bath, which involved regular plunging of the infant over and over again in ice cold water over its head "with its mouth open and gasping for breath."[162] Elizabeth Grant remembers in the early nineteenth century that a "large, long tub stood in the kitchen court, the ice on the top of which often had to be broken before our horrid plunge into it . . . How I screamed, begged, prayed, entreated to be saved . . . Nearly senseless I have been taken to the housekeeper's room . . ."[163] Going back to the ancient custom of the Germans, Scythians, Celts, and Spartans (though not Athenians, who used other hardening methods),[164] dipping in cold rivers used to be common, and cold water dipping has since Roman times been considered therapeutic for children.[165] Even the putting of children to bed wrapped in cold wet towels was sometimes used both to harden and as therapy.[166] It is not surprising that the great eighteenth-century pediatrician William Buchan said "almost one half of the human species perish in infancy by improper management or neglect."[167]

ABANDONMENT, NURSING AND SWADDLING

Although there were many exceptions to the general pattern, up to about the eighteenth century, the average child of wealthy parents spent his earliest years in the home of a wet-nurse, returned home to the care of other servants, and was sent out to service, apprenticeship, or school by age seven, so that the amount of time parents of means actually spent raising their children was minimal. The effects of these and other institutionalized abandonments by parents on the child have rarely been discussed.

The most extreme and oldest form of abandonment is the outright sale of children. Child sale was legal in Babylonian times, and may have been quite common among many nations in antiquity.[168] Although Solon tried to restrict the right of child sale by parents in Athens, it is unclear how effective the law was.[169] Herodas showed a beating scene where a boy was told "you're a bad boy, Kottalos, so bad that none could find a good word for you even were he selling you."[170] The church tried for centuries to stamp out child sale. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury in the seventh century, ruled a man might not sell his son into slavery after the age of 7. If Giraldus Cambrensis is to

be believed, in the twelfth century the English had been selling their children to the Irish for slaves, and the Norman invasion was a punishment from God for this slave traffic.[171] In many areas, child sale continued sporadically into modern times, not being outlawed in Russia, for instance, until the nineteenth century.[172]

Another abandonment practice was the use of children as political hostages and security for debts, which also went back to Babylonian times.[173] Sidney Painter describes its medieval version, in which it was "quite customary to give young children as hostages to guarantee an agreement, and equally so to make them suffer for their parents' bad faith. When Eustace de Breteuil, the husband of a natural daughter of Henry I, put out the eyes of the son of one of his vassals, the king allowed the enraged father to mutilate in the same way Eustace's daughter whom Henry held as hostage."[174] Similarly, John Marshall gave up his son William to King Stephen, saying he "cared little if William were hanged, for he had the anvils and hammers with which to forge still better sons," and Francis I, when taken prisoner by Charles V, exchanged his young sons for his own freedom, then promptly broke the bargain so that they were thrown in jail.[175] Indeed, it was often hard to distinguish the practice of sending one's children to serve as pages or servants in another noble household from the use of children as hostages.

Similar abandonment motives were behind the custom of fosterage, which was common among all classes of Welsh, Anglo-Saxons, and Scandinavians, wherein an infant was sent to another family to be reared to age 17, and then returned to the parents. This continued in Ireland until the seventeenth century, and the English often sent their children to be fostered by the Irish in medieval times.[176] Actually, this was just an extreme version of the medieval practice of sending noble children at the age of seven or earlier into the homes of others or to monasteries as servants, pages, ladies-in-waiting, oblates, or clerks, practices still common in early modern times.[177] As with the equivalent lower class practice of apprenticeship,[178] the whole subject of the child as laborer in the homes of others is so vast and so poorly studied that it unfortunately cannot be much examined here, despite its obvious importance in the lives of children in the past.

Besides institutionalized abandonment practices, the informal abandoning of young children to other people by their parents occurred quite often right up to the nineteenth century. The parents gave every kind of rationalization for giving their children away: "to learn to speak" (Disraeli), "to cure timidness" (Clara Barton), for "health" (Edmund Burke, Mrs. Sherwood's daughter), or as payment for medical services rendered (patients of Jerome Cardan and William Douglas). Sometimes they admitted it was simply because they were not wanted (Richard Baxter, Johannes Butzbach, Richard Savage, Swift, Yeats,

Augustus Hare, and so on). Mrs. Hare's mother expresses the general casualness of these abandonments: "Yes, certainly, the baby shall be sent as soon as it is weaned; and, if anyone else would like one, would you kindly recollect that we have others."[179] Boys were of course preferred; one eighteenth-century woman wrote her brother asking for his next child: "If it is a boy, I claim it; if a girl, I will be content to stay for the next."[180]

However, it was the sending of children to wet-nurse which was the form of institutionalized abandonment most prevalent in the past. The wet-nurse is a familiar figure in the Bible, the Code of Hammurabi, the Egyptian papyri, and Greek and Roman literature, and they have been well organized ever since Roman wet-nurses gathered in the Colonna Lactaria to sell their services.[181] Doctors and moralists since Galen and Plutarch have denounced mothers for sending their children out to be wet-nursed rather than nursing them themselves. Their advice had little effect, however, for until the eighteenth century most parents who could afford it, and many who couldn't, sent their children to wet-nurse immediately after birth. Even poor mothers who could not afford sending their children out to nurse often refused to breast-feed them, and gave them pap instead. Contrary to the assumptions of most historians, the custom of not breast-feeding infants at all reaches back in many areas of Europe at least as far as the fifteenth century. One mother, who had moved from an area in northern Germany where nursing infants was more common, was considered "swinish and filthy" by Bavarian women for nursing her child, and her husband threatened he would not eat if she did not give up this "disgusting habit."[182]

As for the rich, who actually abandoned their children for a period of years, even those experts who thought the practice bad usually did not use empathic terms in their treatises, but rather thought wet-nursing bad because "the dignity of a newborn human being [is] corrupted by the foreign and degenerate nourishment of another's milk."[183] That is, the blood of the lower-class wet-nurse entered the body of the upper-class baby, milk being thought to be blood frothed white.[184] Occasionally the moralists, all men of course, betrayed their own repressed resentment against their mothers for having sent them out to wet-nurse. Aulus Gellius complained: "When a child is given to another and removed from its mother's sight, the strength of maternal ardour is gradually and little by little extinguished . . . and it is almost as completely forgotten as if it had been lost by death."[185] But usually repression won and the parent was praised. More important, repetition was assured. Though it was well known that infants died at a far higher rate while at wet-nurse than at home, parents continued to mourn their children's death, and then helplessly handed over their next infant as though the wet-nurse were a latter-day avenging goddess who required yet another

sacrifice.[186] Sir Simonds D'Ewes had already lost several sons at wet-nurse, yet he sent his next baby for two years to "a poor woman who had been much misused and almost starved by a wicked husband, being herself also naturally of a proud, fretting and wayward disposition; which together in the issue conduced to the final ruin and destruction of our most sweet and tender infant . . ."[187]

Except in those cases where the wet-nurse was brought in to live, children who were given to the wet-nurse were generally left there from 2 to 5 years. The conditions were similar in every country. Jacques Guillimeau described how the child at nurse might be "stifled, overlaid, be let fall, and so come to an untimely death; or else may be devoured, spoiled, or disfigured by some wild beast, wolf or dog, and then the nurse fearing to be punished for her negligence, may take another child into the place of it."[188] Robert Pemell reported the rector in his parish told him it was, when he first came to it, "filled with suckling infants from London and yet, in the space of one year, he buried them all except two."[189] Yet the practice continued inexorably until the eighteenth century in England and America, the nineteenth century in France, and into the twentieth century in Germany.[190] England was, in fact, so far in advance of the continent in nursing matters that quite wealthy mothers were often nursing their children as early as the seventeenth century.[191] Nor was it simply a matter of the amorality of the rich; Robert Pemell complained in 1653 of the practice of "both high and low ladies of farming out their babies to irresponsible women in the country," and as late as 1780 the police chief of Paris estimated that of the 21,000 children born each year in his city, 17,000 were sent into the country to be wet-nursed, 2,000 or 3,000 were placed in nursery homes, 700 were wet-nursed at home and only 700 were nursed by their mothers.[192]

The actual length of nursing varied widely in every age and region. Table 1 lists the references I have been able to locate so far.

If this chart is any indication of general trends, it is possible that by early modern times, perhaps as a result of a reduction of projective care, very long nursing was becoming less common. It is also true that statements about weaning became more accurate as children were less often relegated to the wet-nurse; Roesslin, for example, says: "Avicen advices to give the child suck two years/how be it among us most commonly they suck but one year . . ."[194] Surely Alice Ryerson's statement that the "age of weaning was drastically reduced in actual practice in the period just preceding 1750" is too sweeping.[195] Although wet-nurses were expected to refrain from intercourse while nursing, they rarely did so, and weaning usually preceded the birth of the next child. Therefore, nursing for as much as two years might always have been exceptional in the West.

TABLE 1
AGE IN MONTHS AT FULL WEANING

Source[193]	*Months at Weaning*	*Approx. Date*	*Nationality*
Wet-nurse Contract	24	367 B.C.	Greek
Soranus	12-24	100 A.D.	Roman
Macrobius	35	400	Roman
Barberino	24	1314	Italian
Metlinger	10-24	1497	German
Jane Grey	18	1538	English
John Greene	9	1540	English
E. Roesslin	12	1540	German
Sabine Johnson	34	1540	English
John Dee	8-14	1550	English
H. Mercurialis	15-30	1552	Italian
John Jones	7-36	1579	English
Louis XIII	25	1603	French
John Evelyn	14	1620	English
Ralph Joesslin	12-19	1643-79	English
John Pechey	10-12	1697	English
James Nelson	3-4	1753	English
Nicholas Culpepper	12-48	1762	English
William Cadogan	4	1770	English
H. W. Tytler	6	1797	English
S. T. Coleridge	15	1807	English
Eliza Warren	12	1810	English
Caleb Tickner	10-12	1839	English
Mary Mallard	15	1859	American
German Statistical Study	1-6	1878-82	German

Feeding vessels of all kinds have been known since 2,000 B.C.; cows' and goats' milk were used when available, and often the infant would be put right to the teat of the animal to suck.[196] Pap, generally made of bread or meal mixed with water or milk, supplemented or replaced nursing from the earliest weeks, and sometimes was crammed down the child's throat until it vomited.[197] Any other food was first chewed by the wet-nurse, then given to the infant.[198] Opium and liquor were regularly given to infants throughout the ages to stop them from crying. The Ebers Papyrus says of the effectiveness for children of a mixture of poppy-seeds and fly-dung: "It acts at once!" Dr. Hume complained in 1799 of thousands of infants killed every year by nurses "forever pouring Godfrey's Cordial down their little throats, which is a strong opiate and in the end as fatal as arsenic. This they pretend they do to quiet the child—thus indeed many are forever quieted . . ." And daily doses of liquor were often "poured down the throat of a little being who is in-

capable of declining the portion, but who exhibit an abhhorence by struggling efforts and wry faces . . ."[199]

There are many indications in the sources that children as a general practice were given insufficient food. Children of the poor, of course, have often been hungry, but even children of the rich, especially girls, were supposed to be given very meager allowances of food, and little or no meat. Plutarch's description of the "starvation diet" of Spartan youth is well known, but from the number of references to scanty food, nursing babies only two or three times a day, fasts for children, and deprivation of food as discipline, one suspects that, like parents of contemporary child abusers, parents in the past found it hard to see to it that their children were adequately fed.[200] Autobiographies from Augustine to Baxter have confessed to the sin of gluttony for stealing fruit as a child; no one has ever thought to ask if they did so because they were hungry.[201]

Tying the child up in various restraint devices was a near-universal practice. Swaddling was the central fact of the infant's earliest years. As we have noted, restraints were thought necessary because the child was so full of dangerous adult projections that if it were left free it would scratch its eyes out, tear its ears off, break its legs, distort its bones, be terrified by the sight of its own limbs, and even crawl about on all fours like an animal.[202] Traditional swaddling is much the same in every country and age; it "consists in entirely depriving the child of the use of its limbs, by enveloping them in an endless length bandage, so as to not unaptly resemble billets of wood; and by which, the skin is sometimes excoriated; the flesh compressed, almost to gangrene; the circulation nearly arrested; and the child without the slightest power of motion. Its little waist is surrounded by stays . . . Its head is compressed into the form the fancy of the midwife might suggest; and its shape maintained by properly adjusted pressure . . ."[203]

Swaddling was often so complicated it took up to two hours to dress an infant.[204] Its convenience to adults was enormous—they rarely had to pay any attention to infants once they were tied up. As a recent medical study of swaddling has shown, swaddled infants are extremely passive, their hearts slow down, they cry less, they sleep far more, and in general they are so withdrawn and inert that the doctors who did the study wondered if swaddling shouldn't be tried again.[205] The historical sources confirm this picture; doctors since antiquity agreed that "wakefulness does not happen to children naturally nor from habit, i.e., customarily, for they always sleep," and children were described as being laid for hours behind the hot oven, hung on pegs on the wall, placed in tubs, and in general, "left, like a parcel, in every convenient corner."[206] Almost all nations swaddled. Even in ancient Egypt, where it is claimed children were not swaddled because paintings showed them naked, swad-

dling may have been practiced, for Hippocrates said the Egyptians swaddle, and occasional figurines showed swaddling clothes.[207] Those few areas where swaddling was not used, such as in ancient Sparta and in the Scottish highlands, were also areas of the most severe hardening practices, as though the only possible choice were between tight swaddling or being carried about naked and made to run in the snow without clothes.[208] Swaddling was so taken for granted that the evidence for length of swaddling is quite spotty prior to early modern times. Soranus says the Romans unswaddled at from 40 to 60 days; hopefully, this is more accurate than Plato's "two years."[209] Tight swaddling, often including strapping to carrying-boards, continued throughout the Middle Ages, but I have not yet been able to find out for how many months.[210] The few source references in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, plus a study of the art of the period, suggest a pattern of total swaddling in those centuries for between one to four months; then the arms were left free and the body and legs remained swaddled for between six to nine months.[211] The English led the way in ending swaddling, as they did in ending outside wet-nursing. Swaddling in England and America was on its way out by the end of the eighteenth century, and in France and Germany by the nineteenth century.[212]

Once the infant was released from its swaddling bands, physical restraints of all kinds continued, varying by country and period. Children were sometimes tied to chairs to prevent their crawling. Right into the nineteenth century leading strings were tied to the child's clothes to control it and swing it about. Corsets and stays made of bone, wood, or iron were often used for both sexes. Children were sometimes strapped into backboards and their feet put in stocks while they studied, and iron collars and other devices were used to "improve posture," like the one Francis Kemble described: "a hideous engine of torture of the backboard species, made of steel covered with red morocco, which consisted of a flat piece placed on my back, and strapped down to my waist with a belt and secured at the top by two epaulets strapped over my shoulders. From the middle of this there rose a steel rod or spine, with a steel collar which encircled my throat and fastened behind."[213] These devices seemed to be more commonly used in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries than in medieval times, but this could be due to the paucity of earlier sources. Two practices, however, were probably common to every country since antiquity. The first is the general scantiness of dress for "hardening" purposes; the second is the use of stool-like devices which were supposed to assist walking, but in fact were used to prevent crawling, which was considered animal-like. Felix Würtz (1563) describes the use of one version:

> . . . there are stools for children to stand in, in which they can turn around any way, when mothers or nurses see them in it, then they care no more for the child, let it alone, go about their own business, supposing the child to be well provided, but they little think on the pain and misery the poor child is in . . . the poor child . . . must stand maybe many hours, whereas half an hour standing is too long . . . I wish that all such standing stools were burned . . .[214]

TOILET TRAINING, DISCIPLINE, AND SEX

Although chairs with chamber pots underneath have existed since antiquity, there is no evidence for toilet training in the earliest months of the infant's life prior to the eighteenth century. Although parents often complained, like Luther, of their children's "befouling the corners," and although doctors prescribed remedies, including whipping, for "pissing in the bed" (children generally slept with adults), the struggle between parent and child for control in infancy of urine and feces is an eighteenth-century invention, the product of a late psychogenic stage.[215]

Children, of course, have always been identified with their excrements; newborn infants were called *ecrême,* and the Latin *merda,* excrement, was the source of the French *merdeux,* little child.[216] But it was the enema and the purge, not the potty, which were the central devices for relating to the inside of the child's body prior to the eighteenth century. Children were given suppositories, enemas, and oral purges in sickness and in health. One seventeenth-century authority said infants should be purged before each nursing so the milk wouldn't get mixed up with the feces.[217] Héroard's diary of Louis XIII is filled with minute descriptions of what goes into and comes out of Louis's body, and he was given literally thousands of purges, suppositories, and enemas during his childhood. The urine and feces of infants were often examined in order to determine the inner state of the child. David Hunt's description of this process clearly reveals the projective origin for what I have termed the "toilet-child":

> The bowels of children were thought to harbor matter which spoke to the adult world insolently, threateningly, with malice and insubordination. The fact that the child's excrement looked and smelled unpleasant meant that the child himself was somewhere deep down inside badly disposed. No matter how placid and cooperative he might appear, the excrement which was regu-

> larly washed out of him was regarded as the insulting message of an inner demon, indicating the "bad humors" which lurked within.[218]

It was not until the eighteenth century that the main focus moved from the enema to the potty. Not only was toilet training begun at an earlier age, partly as a result of diminished use of swaddling bands, but the whole process of having the child control its body products was invested with an emotional importance previously unknown. Wrestling with an infant's will in his first few months was a measure of the strength of involvement by parents with their children, and represented a psychological advance over the reign of the enema.[219] By the nineteenth century, parents generally began toilet training in earnest in the earliest months of life, and their demands for cleanliness became so severe by the end of the century that the ideal child was described as one "who cannot bear to have any dirt on his body or dress or in his surrounding for even the briefest time."[220] Even today, most English and German parents begin toilet training prior to six months; the average in America is more like nine months, and the range is greater.[221]

The evidence which I have collected on methods of disciplining children leads me to believe that a very large percentage of the children born prior to the eighteenth century were what would today be termed "battered children." Of over two hundred statements of advice on child-rearing prior to the eighteenth century which I have examined, most approved of beating children severely, and all allowed beating in varying circumstances except three, Plutarch, Palmieri, and Sadoleto, and these were addressed to fathers and teachers, and did not mention mothers.[222] Of the seventy children prior to the eighteenth century whose lives I have found, all were beaten except one: Montaigne's daughter. Unfortunately, Montaigne's essays on children are so full of inconsistencies that one is uncertain whether to believe even this one statement. He is most famous for his claim that his father was so kind to him that he hired a musician to play an instrument every morning to awaken him so that his delicate brain wouldn't be startled. If true, this unusual home life could only have lasted two or three years, however, for he was actually sent at birth to a wet-nurse in another village, and kept there for several years, and was sent to school in another town from age 6 to 13 because his father found him "sluggish, slow and unretentive." When he made the statement that his daughter was "over six years old now, and has never been guided or punished for her childish faults . . . by anything but words . . .," she was, in fact, 11 years old. He elsewhere admitted of his children, "I have not willingly suffered them to be brought up near me."[223] So perhaps we ought to reserve judgment on this, our one unbeaten child. (Peiper's extensive survey of the literature on beating reaches similar conclusions to mine.)[224]

Beating instruments included whips of all kinds, including the cat-o'-nine-tails, shovels, canes, iron and wooden rods, bundles of sticks, the *discipline* (a whip made of small chains), and special school instruments like the flapper, which had a pear-shaped end and a round hole to raise blisters. Their comparative frequency of use may be indicated by the categories of the German schoolmaster who reckoned he had given 911,527 strokes with the stick, 124,000 lashes with the whip, 136,715 slaps with the hand, and 1,115,800 boxes on the ear.[225] The beatings described in the sources were generally severe, involved bruising and bloodying of the body, began early, and were a regular part of the child's life.

Century after century of battered children grew up and in turn battered their own children. Public protest was rare. Even humanists and teachers who had a reputation for great gentleness, like Petrarch, Ascham, Comenius, and Pestalozzi, approved of beating children.[226] Milton's wife complained she hated to hear the cries of his nephews when he was beating them, and Beethoven whipped his pupils with a knitting needle and sometimes bit them.[227] Even royalty was not exempt from battering, as the childhood of Louis XIII confirms. A whip was at his father's side at table, and as early as 17 months of age, the dauphin knew enough not to cry when threatened with the whip. At 25 months regular whippings began, often on his bare skin. He had frequent nightmares about his whippings, which were administered in the morning when he awakened. When he was king he still awoke at night in terror, in expectation of his morning whipping. The day of his coronation, when he was eight, he was whipped, and said, "I would rather do without so much obeisance and honor if they wouldn't have me whipped."[228]

Since infants who were not swaddled were in particular subjected to hardening practices, perhaps one function of swaddling was to reduce the parent's propensity for child abuse. I have not yet found an adult who beat a swaddled infant. However, the beating of the smallest of infants out of swaddling clothes occurred quite often, a sure sign of the "battering" syndrome. Susannah Wesley said of her babies: "When turned a year old (and some before), they were taught to fear the rod, and to cry softly." Giovanni Dominici said to give babies "frequent, yet not severe whippings. . . ." Rousseau said that babies in their earliest days were often beaten to keep them quiet. One mother wrote of her first battle with her 4-month-old infant: "I whipped him til he was actually black and blue, and until I *could not* whip him any more, and he never gave up one single inch." The examples could easily be extended.[229]

One curious method of punishment, which was inflicted on the early medieval ecclesiastic Alcuin when he was an infant, was to cut or prick the soles of the feet with an instrument which resembled a cobbler's

knife. This reminds one of the Bishop of Ely's habit of pricking his young servants with a goad which he always held in one hand. When Jane Grey complained of her parents giving her "nips and bobs," and Thomas Tusser complained of "touzed ears, like baited bears,/ what bobbed lips, what jerks, what nips" it may have been the goad which was used. Should further research show that the goad was also used on children in antiquity, it would put a different light on Oedipus's killing of Laius on that lonely road, for he was literally "goaded" into it—Laius having struck him "full on the head with his two-pointed goad."[230]

Although the earliest sources are quite sketchy on the precise severity of discipline, there seems to be evidence of visible improvement in every period in the West. Antiquity is full of devices and practices unknown to later times, including shackles for the feet, handcuffs, gags, three months in "the block," and the bloody Spartan flagellation contests, which often involved whipping youths to death.[231] One Anglo-Saxon custom suggests the level of thought about children in earliest times. Thrupp says: "It was customary when it was wis' [illegible] to retain legal testimony of any ceremony, to have it witnessed by children, who then and there were flogged with unusual severity; which it was supposed would give additional weight to any evidence of the proceedings . . ."[232]

References to detailed modes of discipline are even harder to find in the Middle Ages. One thirteenth-century law brought child-beating into the public domain: "If one beats a child until it bleeds, then it will remember, but if one beats it to death, the law applies."[233] Most medieval descriptions of beating were quite severe, although St. Anselm, as in so many things, was far in advance of his time by telling an abbot to beat children gently, for "Are they not human? Are they not flesh and blood like you?"[234] But it is only in the Renaissance that advice to temper childhood beatings began in earnest, although even then it was generally accompanied by approval for beatings judiciously applied. As Bartholomew Batty said, parents must "keep the golden mean," which is to say they should not "strike and buffet their children about the face and head, and to lace upon them like malt sacks with cudgels, staves, fork or fire shovel," for then they might die of the blows. The correct way was to "hit him upon the sides . . . with the rod, he shall not die thereof."[235]

Some attempts were made in the seventeenth century to limit the beating of children, but it was the eighteenth century which saw the biggest decrease. The earliest lives I have found of children who may not have been beaten at all date from 1690 to 1750.[236] It was not until the nineteenth century that the old-fashioned whipping began to go out of style in most of Europe and America, continuing longest in Germany, where 80% of German parents still admit to beating their children, a full 35% with canes.[237]

As beatings began to decrease, substitutes had to be found. For instance, shutting children up in the dark became quite popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Children were put in "dark closets, where they were sometimes forgotten for hours." One mother shut her 3-year-old boy up in a drawer. Another house was "a sort of little Bastille, in every closet of which was to be found a culprit–some were sobbing and repeating verbs, others eating their bread and water . . ." Children were sometimes left locked in rooms for days. One 5-year-old French boy, in looking at a new apartment with his mother, told her, "Oh no, mama, . . . it's impossible; there's no dark closet! Where could you put me when I'm naughty."[238]

The history of sex in childhood presents even more difficulty than usual in getting at the facts, for added to the reticence and repression of our sources is the unavailability of most of the books, manuscripts, and artifacts which form the basis for our research. Victorian attitudes towards sex still reign supreme among most librarians, and the bulk of works which relate to sex in history remain under lock and key in library storerooms and museum basements all over Europe, unavailable even to the historian. Even so, there is evidence enough in the sources so far available to us to indicate that the sexual abuse of children was far more common in the past than today, and that the severe punishment of children for their sexual desires in the last two hundred years was the product of a late psychogenic stage, in which the adult used the child to restrain, rather than act out, his own sexual fantasies. In sexual abuse, as in physical abuse, the child was only an incidental victim, a measure of the part it played in the defense system of the adult.

The child in antiquity lived his earliest years in an atmosphere of sexual abuse. Growing up in Greece and Rome often included being used sexually by older men. The exact form and frequency of the abuse varied by area and date. In Crete and Boeotia, pederastic marriages and honeymoons were common. Abuse was less frequent among aristocratic boys in Rome, but sexual use of children was everywhere evident in some form.[239] Boy brothels flourished in every city, and one could even contract for the use of a rent-a-boy service in Athens. Even where homosexuality with free boys was discouraged by law, men kept slave boys to abuse, so that even free-born children saw their fathers sleeping with boys. Children were sometimes sold into concubinage; Musonius Rufus wondered whether such a boy would be justified in resisting being abused: "I knew a father so depraved that, having a son conspicuous for youthful beauty, he sold him into a life of shame. If, now, that lad who was sold and sent into such a life by his father had refused and would not go, should we say that he was disobedient . . ."[240] Aristotle's main objection to Plato's idea that children should be held in common was that when men had sex with boys they wouldn't know if they were

their own sons, which Aristotle says would be "most unseemly."[241] Plutarch said the reason why freeborn Roman boys wore a gold ball around their necks when they were very young was so men could tell which boys it was not proper to use sexually when they found a group in the nude.[242]

Plutarch's statement was only one among many which indicate that the sexual abuse of boys was not limited to those over 11 or 12 years of age, as most scholars assume. Sexual abuse by pedagogues and teachers of smaller children may have been common throughout antiquity. Although all sorts of laws were passed to try to limit sexual attacks on school children by adults, the long heavy sticks carried by pedagogues and teachers were often used to threaten them. Quintillian, after many years of teaching in Rome, warned parents against the frequency of sexual abuse by teachers, and made this the basis of his disapproval of beating in schools:

> When children are beaten, pain or fear frequently have results of which it is not pleasant to speak and which are likely to be a source of shame, a shame which unnerves and depresses the mind and leads the child to shun and loathe the light. Further, if inadequate care is taken in the choices of respectable governors and instructors, I blush to mention the shameful abuse which scoundrels sometimes make of their right to administer corporal punishment or the opportunity not infrequently offered to others by the fear thus caused in the victims. I will not linger on this subject; it is more than enough if I have made my meaning clear.[243]

Aeschines quotes some of the Athenian laws which attempted to limit sexual attacks on schoolchildren:

> . . . consider the case of the teachers . . . it is plain that the lawgiver distrusts them . . . He forbids the teacher to open the schoolroom, or the gymnastics trainer the wrestling school, before sunrise, and he commands them to close the doors before sunset; for he is exceeding suspicious of their being alone with a boy, or in the dark with him.[244]

Aeschines, when prosecuting Timarchus for having hired himself out as a boy prostitute, put several men on the stand who admitted having paid to sodomize Timarchus. Aeschines admitted that many, including himself, were used sexually when they were children, but not for pay, which would have made it illegal.[245]

The evidence from literature and art confirms this picture of the sexual abuse of smaller children. Petronius loves depicting adults feeling the "immature little tool" of boys, and his description of the rape of a seven-year-old girl, with women clapping in a long line around the bed, suggests that women were not exempt from playing a role in the proc-

ess.[246] Aristotle said homosexuality often becomes habitual in "those who are abused from childhood." It has been assumed that the small nude children seen on vases waiting on adults in erotic scenes are servants, but in view of the usual role of noble children as waiters, we should consider the possibility that they may be children of the house. For, as Quintillian said about noble Roman children: "We rejoice if they say something over-free, and words which we should not tolerate from the lips even of an Alexandrian page are greeted with laughter and a kiss . . . they hear us use such words, they see our mistresses and minions; every dinner party is loud with foul songs, and things are presented to their eyes of which we should blush to speak."[247]

Even the Jews, who tried to stamp out adult homosexuality with severe punishments, were more lenient in the case of young boys. Despite Moses's injunction against corrupting children, the penalty for sodomy with children over 9 years of age was death by stoning, but copulation with younger children was not considered a sexual act, and was punishable only by a whipping, "as a matter of public discipline."[248]

It must be remembered that widespread sexual abuse of children can only occur with at least the unconscious complicity of the child's parents. Children in the past were under the fullest control of their parents, who had to agree to give them over to their abusers. Plutarch muses on how important this decision was for fathers:

> I am loathe to introduce the subject, loathe too to turn away from it . . . whether we should permit the suitors of our boys to associate with them and pass their time with them, or whether the opposite policy of excluding them and shooing them away from intimacy with our boys is correct. Whenever I look at blunt-spoken fathers of the austere and astringent type who regard intimacy with lovers as an intolerable outrage upon their sons, I am circumspect about showing myself a sponsor and advocate of the practice. [Yet Plato] declares that men who have proven their worth should be permitted to caress any fair lad they please. Lovers who lust only for physical beauty, then, it is right to drive away; but free access should be granted to lovers of the soul.[249]

Like the adults we have previously seen around little Louis XIII, the Greeks and Romans couldn't keep their hands off children. I have only turned up one piece of evidence that this practice extended, like Louis's abuse, back into infancy. Suetonius condemned Tiberius because he "taught children of the most tender years, whom he called his *little fishes*, to play between his legs while he was in his bath. Those which had not yet been weaned, but were strong and hearty, he set at fellatio . . ." Suetonius may or may not have made up the story, yet he obviously had reason to think his readers would believe him. So, apparently, did Tacitus, who told the same story.[250]

The favorite sexual use of children, however, was not fellatio, but anal intercourse. Martial said one should, while buggering a boy, "refrain from stirring the groin with poking hand . . . Nature has separated the male: one part has been produced for girls, one for men. Use your own part." This, he said, was because the masturbating of boys would "hasten manhood," an observation Aristotle made some time before him. Whenever a pre-pubertal boy was shown being used sexually on erotic vases, the penis was never shown erect.[251] For men of antiquity were not really homosexuals as we know them today, but a much lower psychic mode, which I think should be termed "ambisexual" (they themselves used the term "ambidextrous"). While the homosexual runs to men as a retreat from women, as a defense against the oedipal conflict, the ambisexual has never really reached the oedipal level, and uses boys and women almost without distinction.[252] In fact, as psychoanalyst Joan McDougall observes, the main purpose of this kind of perversion is to demonstrate that "there is no difference between the sexes." She says that it is an attempt to control childhood sexual traumata by reversal, with the adult now putting another child in the helpless position, and also an attempt to handle castration anxiety by proving that "castration does not hurt and in fact is the very condition of erotic arousal."[253] This well describes the man of antiquity. Intercourse with castrated children was often spoken of as being especially arousing, castrated boys were favorite "voluptates" in imperial Rome, and infants were castrated "in the cradle" to be used in brothels by men who liked buggering young castrated boys. When Domitian passed a law prohibiting castration of infants for brothels, Marial praised him: "Boys loved thee before . . . but now infants, too, love thee, Caesar."[254] Paulus Aegineta described the standard method used in castrating small boys:

> Since we are sometimes compelled against our will by persons of high rank to perform the operation . . . by compression [it] is thus performed; children, still of a tender age, are placed in a vessel of hot water, and then when the parts are softened in the bath, the testicles are to be squeezed with the fingers until they disappear.

The alternative, he said, was to put them on a bench and cut their testicles out. Many doctors in antiquity mentioned the operation, and Juvenal said they were often called upon to perform it.[255]

Signs of castration surrounded the child in antiquity. In every field and garden he saw a Priapus, with a large erect penis and a sickle, which was supposed to symbolize castration. His pedagogue and his teacher might be castrated, castrated prisoners were everywhere, and his parents' servants would often be castrated. St. Jerome wrote that some people

had wondered whether letting young girls bathe with eunuchs was a wise practice. And although Constantine passed a law against castrators, the practice grew so rapidly under his successors that soon even noble parents mutilated their sons to further their political advancement. Boys were also castrated as a "cure" for various diseases and Ambroise Paré complained how many unscrupulous "Gelders," greedy to get children's testicles for magical purposes, persuaded parents to let them castrate their children.[256]

Christianity introduced a new concept into the discussion–childhood innocence. As Clement of Alexandria said, when Christ advised people to "become as little children" in order to enter into Heaven, one should "not foolishly mistake his meaning. We are not little ones in the sense that we roll on the floor or crawl on the ground as snakes do." What Christ means was that people should become as "uncontaminated" as children, pure, without sexual knowledge.[257] Christians throughout the Middle Ages began to stress the idea that children were totally innocent of all notions of pleasure and pain. A child "has not tasted sensual pleasures, and has no conception of the impulses of manhood . . . one becomes as a child in respect of anger; and is as the child in relation to his grief, so that sometimes he laughs and plays at the very time that his father or mother or brother is dead . . ."[258] Unfortunately, the idea that children are innocent and cannot be corrupted is a common defense by child molesters against admitting that their abuse is harming the child, so the medieval fiction that the child is innocent only makes our sources less revealing, and proves nothing about what really went on. Abbot Guibert of Nogent said children were blessed to be without sexual thoughts or capacities; one wonders what he then was referring to when he confessed to "the wickedness I did in childhood. . . ."[259] Mostly, servants are blamed for abusing children; even a washerwoman could "work wickedness." Servants often "show lewd tricks . . . in the presence of children [and] corrupt the chief parts of infants." Nurses should not be young girls, "for many such have aroused the fire of passion prematurely as true accounts relate and, I venture to say, experience proves."[260]

Giovanni Dominici, writing in 1405, tried to set some limits to the convenient "innocence" of childhood; he said children after the age of three years shouldn't be allowed to see nude adults. For in a child "granted that there will not take place any thought or natural movement before the age of five, yet, without precaution, growing up in such acts he becomes accustomed to that act of which later he is not ashamed . . ." That parents themselves are often doing the molesting can be seen in the language he used:

> He should sleep clothed with a night shirt reaching below the knee, taking care as much as possible that he may not remain uncovered. Let not the mother nor the father, much less any other person, touch him. Not to be tedious in writing so fully of this, I simply mention the history of the ancients who made full use of this doctrine to bring up children well, not slaves of the flesh.[261]

That some change in the sexual use of children was going on in the Renaissance can be seen not only in the rising number of moralists who warned against it (Jean Gerson, like Louis XIII's nurse, said it was the *child's* duty to prevent others from molesting him), but also in the art of the time. Not only were Renaissance paintings full of nude *putti*, or cupids taking off blindfolds in front of nude women, but in addition real children were shown more and more often chucking the chin of the mother, or slinging one of their legs over hers, both conventional iconographic signs for sexual love, and the mother was often painted with her hand very near the genital area of the child.[262]

The campaign against the sexual use of children continued through the seventeenth century, but in the eighteenth century it took an entirely new twist: punishing the little boy or girl for touching its own genitals. That this, like early toilet-training, was a late psychogenic stage is suggested by the fact that prohibitions against childhood masturbation are found in none of the primitive societies surveyed by Whiting and Child.[263] The attitude of most people toward childhood masturbation prior to the eighteenth century can be seen in Fallopius's counsel for parents to "be zealous in infancy to enlarge the penis of the boy."[264] Although mastrubation in adults was a minor sin, medieval penitentials rarely extended the prohibition to childhood; adult homosexuality, not masturbation, was the main obsession of pre-modern sexual regulation. As late as the fifteenth century Gerson complains how adults tell him they never heard that masturbation was sinful, and he instructs confessors to ask adults directly: "Friend, do you touch or do you rub your rod *as children have the habit of doing?*"[265]

But it was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century, as a climax of the effort to bring child abuse under control, that parents began severely punishing their children for masturbation, and doctors began to spread the myth that it would cause insanity, epilepsy, blindness, and death. By the nineteenth century, this campaign reached an unbelievable frenzy. Doctors and parents sometimes appeared before the child armed with knives and scissors, threatening to cut off the child's genitals; circumcision, clitoridectomy, and infibulation were sometimes used as punishment; and all sorts of restraint devices, including plaster casts and cages with spikes, were prescribed. Circumcision became especially widespread; as one American child psychologist put it, when a child of two rubs his nose and can't be still for a moment,

only circumcision works. Another doctor, whose book was the bible of many an American nineteenth-century home, recommended that little boys be closely watched for signs of masturbation, and brought in to him for circumcision without anaesthetic, which invariably cured them. Spitz's graphs on different advice given for masturbation, based on 559 volumes surveyed, show a peak in surgical intervention in 1850-1879, and in restraint devices in 1880-1904. By 1925, these methods had almost completely died out, after two centuries of brutal and totally unnecessary assault on children's genitals.[266]

Meanwhile, sexual use of children after the eighteenth century was far more widespread among servants and other adults and adolescents than among parents, although when one reads of the number of parents who continued to let their children sleep with servants after previous servants had been found abusing them sexually, it is obvious that the conditions for child abuse still remained within the control of the parents. Cardinal Bernis, remembering being sexually molested as a child, warned parents that "nothing is so dangerous for morals and perhaps for health as to leave children too long under the care of chambermaids, or even of young ladies brought up in the châteaux. I will add that the best among them are not always the least dangerous. They dare with a child that which they would be ashamed to risk with a young man."[267] A German doctor said nursemaids and servants carried out "all sorts of sexual acts" on children "for fun." Even Freud said he was seduced by his nurse when he was two, and Ferenczi and other analysts since his time have thought unwise Freud's decision in 1897 to consider most reports by patients of early sexual seductions as only fantasy. As psychoanalyst Robert Fleiss puts it, "No one is ever made sick by his fantasies," and a large number of patients in analysis even today report using children sexually although only Fleiss builds this fact into his psychoanalytic theory. When one learns that as late as 1900 there were still people who believed venereal disease could be cured "by means of sexual intercourse with children," one begins to recognize the dimensions of the problem more fully.[268]

It goes without saying that the effects on the child in the past of such severe physical and sexual abuse as I have described were immense. I would here like to indicate only two effects on the growing child, one psychological and one physical. The first is the enormous number of nightmares and hallucinations by children which I have found in the sources. Although written records by adults which indicate anything at all about a child's emotional life are rare at best, whenever discovered they usually reveal recurring nightmares and even outright hallucinations. Since antiquity, pediatric literature regularly had sections on how to cure children's "terrible dreams," and children were sometimes beaten for having nightmares. Children lay awake nights terrorized by imagi-

nary ghosts, demons, "a witch on the pillow," "a large black dog under the bed," or "a crooked finger crawling across the room".[269] In addition, the history of witchcraft in the West is filled with reports of children's convulsive fits, loss of hearing or speech, loss of memory, hallucination of devils, confession of intercourse with devils, and accusations of witchcraft against adults, including their parents. And finally, even further back in the Middle Ages, we encounter children's dancing mania, children's crusades and child-pilgrimages, subjects which are simply too vast to discuss here.[270]

A final point I wish only to touch upon is the possibility that children in the past were actually retarded physically as a result of their poor care. Although swaddling by itself usually does not affect the physical development of primitive children, the combination of tight swaddling, neglect, and general abuse of children in the past seemed often to have produced what we would now regard as retarded children. One index of this retardation is that while most children today begin to walk by 10-12 months, children in the past generally walked later. The ages of first walking in Table 2 are all those I have found in the sources so far.

TABLE 2
AGE OF FIRST WALKING

Reference[271]	*Age of First Walking in Months*	*Approx. Date*	*Nationality*
Macrobius	28	400 A.D.	Roman
Federico d'Este	14	1501	Italian
James VI	60	1571	Scotch
Anne of Denmark	108	1575	Danish
Anne Clifford's child	34	1617	English
John Hamilton	14	1793	American
Augustus Hare	17	1834	English
Marianne Gaskell	22	1836	English
H. Taine's son	16	1860	French
Tricksy du Maurier	12	1865	English
W. Preyer's son	15	1880	German
Franklin Roosevelt	15	1884	American
G. Dearborn's daughter	15	1900	American
Amer. Inst. Child Life	12-17	1913	American
Univ. of Minn.–23 babies	15	1931	American

PERIODIZATION OF MODES OF PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS

Since some people still kill, beat, and sexually abuse children, any attempt to periodize modes of child rearing must first admit that psychogenic evolution proceeds at different rates in different family lines, and that many parents appear to be "stuck" in earlier historical modes. There are also class and area differences which are important, especially since modern times, when the upper classes stopped sending their infants to wet-nurses and began bringing them up themselves. The periodization below should be thought of as a designation of the modes of parent-child relations which were exhibited by the psychogenically most advanced part of the population in the most advanced countries, and the dates given are the first in which I found examples of that mode in the sources. The series of six modes represents a continuous sequence of closer approaches between parent and child as generation after generation of parents slowly overcame their anxieties and began to develop the capacity to identify and satisfy the needs of their children. I also believe the series provides a meaningful taxology of contemporary child-rearing modes.

1. *Infanticidal Mode (Antiquity to Fourth Century A.D.):* The image of Medea hovers over childhood in antiquity, for myth here only reflects reality. Some facts are more important than others, and when parents routinely resolved their anxieties about taking care of children by killing them, it affected the surviving children profoundly. For those who were allowed to grow up, the projective reaction was paramount, and the concreteness of reversal was evident in the widespread sodomizing of the child.

2. *Abandonment Mode (Fourth to Thirteenth Century A.D.):* Once parents began to accept the child as having a soul, the only way they could escape the dangers of their own projections was by abandonment, whether to the wet nurse, to the monastery or nunnery, to foster families, to the homes of other nobles as servants or hostages, or by severe emotional abandonment at home. The symbol of this mode might be Griselda, who so willingly abandoned her children to prove her love for her husband. Or perhaps it would be any of those pictures so popular up to the thirteenth century of a rigid Mary stiffly holding the infant Jesus. Projection continued to be massive, since the child was still full of evil and needed always to be beaten, but as the reduction in child sodomizing shows, reversal diminished considerably.

3. *Ambivalent Mode (Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries):* Because the child, when it was allowed to enter into the parents' emotional life, was still a container for dangerous projections, it was their task to mold it into shape. From Dominici to Locke there was no image more popular than that of the physical molding of children, who were seen as soft wax, plaster, or clay to be beaten into shape. Enor-

mous ambivalence marks this mode. The beginning of the period is approximately the fourteenth century, which shows an increase in the number of child instruction manuals, the expansion of the cults of Mary and the infant Jesus, and the proliferation in art of the "close-mother image."

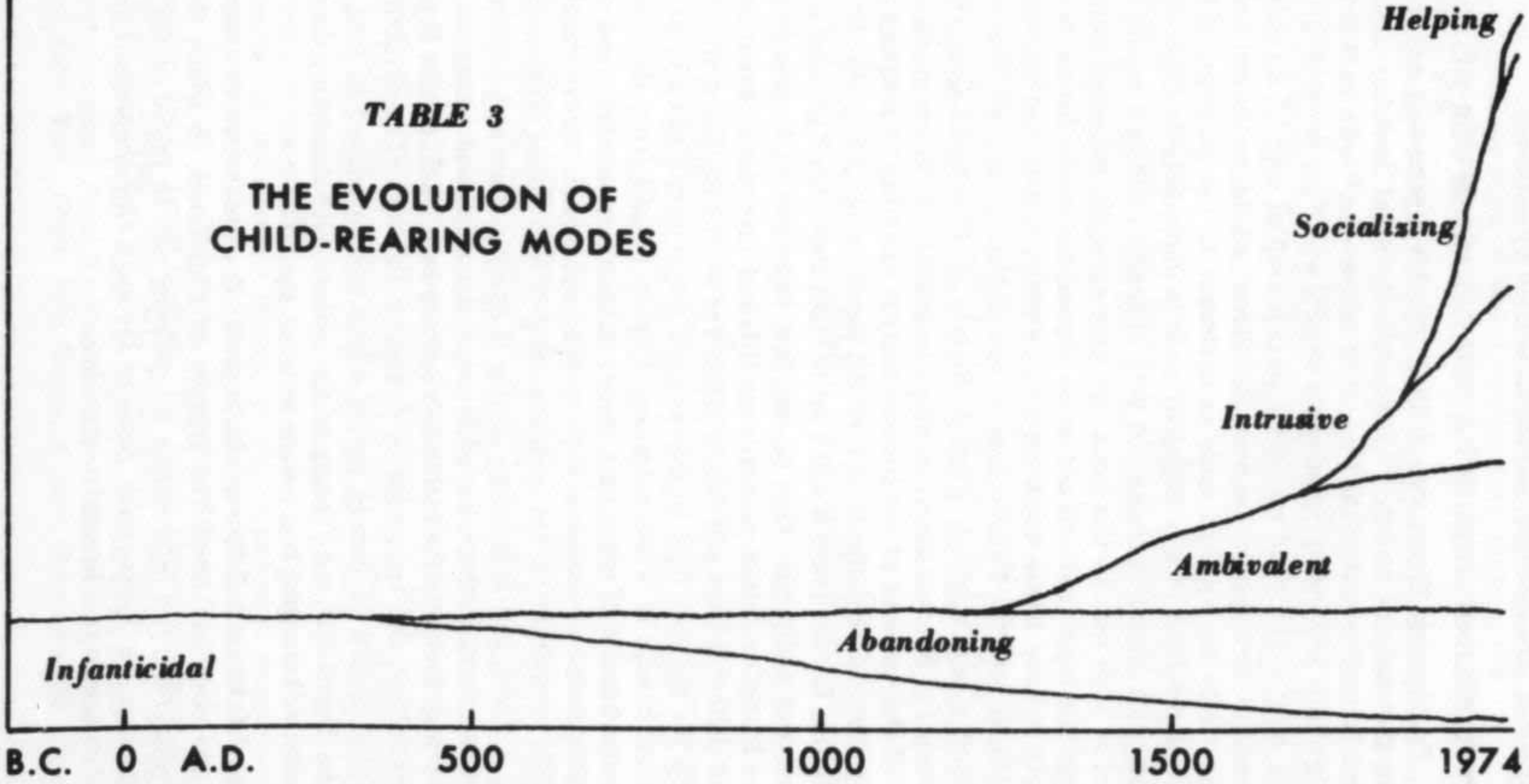
4. *Intrusive Mode (Eighteenth Century):* A tremendous reduction in projection and the virtual disappearance of reversal was the accomplishment of the great transition for parent-child relations which appeared in the eighteenth century. The child was no longer so full of dangerous projections, and rather than just examine its insides with an enema, the parents approached even closer and attempted to conquer its mind, in order to control its insides, its anger, its needs, its masturbation, its very will. The child raised by intrusive parents was nursed by the mother, not swaddled, not given regular enemas, toilet trained early, prayed with but not played with, hit but not regularly whipped, punished for masturbation, and made to obey promptly with threats and guilt as often as with other methods of punishment. The child was so much less threatening that true empathy was possible, and pediatrics was born, which along with the general improvement in level of care by parents reduced infant mortality and provided the basis for the demographic transition of the eighteenth century.

5. *Socialization Mode (Nineteenth to Mid-twentieth Centuries):* As projections continued to diminish, the raising of a child became less a process of conquering its will than of training it, guiding it into proper paths, teaching it to conform, socializing it. The socializing mode is still thought of by most people as the only model within which discussion of child care can proceed, and it has been the source of all twentieth-century psychological models, from Freud's "channeling of impulses" to Skinner's behaviorism. It is most particularly the model of sociological functionalism. Also, in the nineteenth century, the father for the first time begins to take more than an occasional interest in the child, training it, and sometimes even relieving the mother of child-care chores.

6. *Helping Mode (Begins Mid-twentieth Century):* The helping mode involves the proposition that the child knows better than the parent what it needs at each stage of its life, and fully involves both parents in the child's life as they work to empathize with and fulfill its expanding and particular needs. There is no attempt at all to discipline or form "habits." Children are neither struck nor scolded, and are apologized to if yelled at under stress. The helping mode involves an enormous amount of time, energy, and discussion on the part of both parents, especially in the first six years, for helping a young child reach its daily goals means continually responding to it, playing with it, tolerating its regressions, being its servant rather than the other way around, interpreting its emotional conflicts, and providing the objects specific to its evolving interests. Few parents have yet consistently attempted this

TABLE 3

THE EVOLUTION OF CHILD-REARING MODES



kind of child care. From the four books which describe children brought up according to the helping mode,[272] it is evident that it results in a child who is gentle, sincere, never depressed, never imitative or group-oriented, strong-willed, and unintimidated by authority.

PSYCHOGENIC THEORY: A NEW PARADIGM FOR HISTORY

Psychogenic theory can, I think, provide a genuinely new paradigm for the study of history.[273] It reverses the usual "*mind as tabula rasa,*" and instead considers the "*world as tabula rasa,*" with each generation born into a world of meaningless objects which are invested with meaning only if the child receives a certain kind of care.[274] As soon as the mode of care changes for enough children, all the books and artifacts in the world are brushed aside as irrelevant to the purposes of the new generation, and society begins to move in unpredictable directions. How historical change is connected with changing child-care modes we have yet to spell out. In this book, we have carefully refrained from discussing this topic, but will not be so abstemious in the future. Most of us have already begun work on articles which will extend our childhood findings into the broader area of psychohistory, and we have even initiated a new scholarly journal, *History of Childhood Quarterly: The Journal of Psychohistory*, in which to publish our future studies.

If the measure of a theory's vitality is its ability to generate interesting problems, childhood history and psychogenic theory should have an exciting future. There is still a lot to learn about what growing up in the past was really like. One of our first tasks will be to investigate why childhood evolution proceeds at different rates in different countries and different class and family lines. Yet we already know enough to be able for the first time to answer some major questions on value and behavior change in Western history. First to benefit from the theory will be the history of witchcraft, magic, religious movements, and other irrational mass phenomena. Beyond this, psychogenic theory should eventually contribute to our understanding of why social organization, political form, and technology change in specific times and directions and not in others. Perhaps the addition of the childhood parameter to history may even end the historian's century-long Durkheimian flight from psychology, and encourage us to resume the task of constructing a scientific history of human nature which was envisioned so long ago by John Stuart Mill as a "theory of the causes which determine the type of character belonging to a people or to an age."[275]

Lloyd deMause is Editor of this Journal. *You are invited to order copies of the complete book* The History of Childhood, *to which this is an introduction; full information on ordering can be found in the section following this Symposium. None of the main nine chapters of the book will appear in this* Journal *or elsewhere.*

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271. Stahl, *Macrobius*, p. 114; Julia Cartwright Ady, *Isabella D'Este: Marchioness of Mantua, 1474-1539 A Study of the Renaissance* (London, 1903), p. 186; Mary Ann Gibbs, *The Years of the Nannies* (London, 1960), p. 23; Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, 6 vols. (London, 1864), p. 2; Lady Anne Clifford, *The Diary of Lady Anne Clifford* (London, 1923), p. 66; Allan McLane Hamilton, *The Intimate Life of Alexander Hamilton* (London, 1910, p. 224; Hare, *Story*, p. 54; Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell, *"My Diary": the early years of my daughter Marianne* (London, 1923), p. 33; Mrs. Emily Talbot, ed., *Papers on Infant Development* (Boston, 1882), p. 30; Du Maurier, *Young Du Maurier*, p. 250; Preyer, *Mind*, p. 275; James David Barber, *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1972), p. 212; George V. N. Dearborn, *Motor-Sensory Development: Observations on the First Three Years of a Child* (Baltimore, 1910), p. 160; William B. Forbush, *The First Year in a Baby's Life* (Philadelphia, 1913), p. 11; Mary M. Shirley, *The First Two Years: A Study of Twenty-Five' Babies* (Minneapolis, 1931), p. 40. See also Sylvia Brody, *Patterns of Mothering: Maternal Influence During Infancy* (New York, 1956), p. 105; and Sidney Axelrad, "Infant Care and Personality Reconsidered," *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society*, 2 (1962), pp. 99-102, for similar retardation patterns in Albanian swaddled infants.

272. A. S. Neill, *The Free Child* (London, 1952); Paul Ritter and John Ritter, *The Free Family: A Creative Experiment in Self-Regulation for Children* (London, 1959); Michael Deakin, *The Children on the Hill* (London, 1972);

and my own book on my son, which is not yet in press.

273. Despite the single line of evolution described, the psychogenic theory of history is not uni-linear but multi-linear, for conditions outside the family also affect to some extent the course of parent-child evolution in each society. There is no claim here for reducing all other sources of historical change to the psychogenic. Rather than being an example of psychological reductionism, psychogenic theory is actually an intentional application of "methodological individualism," as described by F. A. Hayek, *The Counter-Revolution of Science* (Glencoe, Illinois, 1952); Karl R. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (Princeton, 1950); J. W. N. Watkins, "Methodological Individualism and Non-Hempelian Ideal Types," in Leonard I. Krimerman, ed., *The Nature and Scope of Social Science* (New York, 1969), pp. 457-72. See also J. O. Wisdom, "Situational Individualism and the Emergent Group Properties," *Explanation in the Behavioral Sciences*, Robert Borger and Frank Cioffi, eds. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970), pp. 271-96.
274. The quotes are from Calvin S. Hall, "Out of a Dream Came the Faucet," *Psychoanalysis and the Psychoanalytic Review*, 49 (1962).
275. See Maurice Mandelbaum, *History, Man and Reason: A Study in Nineteenth Century Thought* (Baltimore, 1971), chapter 11, for Mill's abortive attempt to invent a historical science of human nature.

COMMENT BY RUDOLPH BINION

"The Evolution of Childhood" is a *tour de force* of vision, industry, and bold, brilliant schematizing–a monumental beginning. From here on out, childhood will have a history.

The logic of beginnings is that they lead beyond themselves. This one by Lloyd deMause will elicit new facts and new formulations. He wants just that: no one could be less stuck on his first findings or more ready to stand corrected. I, unfortunately, can oblige only to the extent of querying some of his schemata. Schematizing from scratch is heroic labor because its results are suspect even as they emerge. And Lloyd deMause's schemata, being ambitious on a grand scale, are all the more exposed.

I find his periodization more persuasive than the postulate attached to it that maltreatment of children was usual in antiquity and has progressively declined. Greek antiquity, to consider just that, was indeed infanticidal. The curse on the mythic house of Atreus was infanticide–Tantalus' dread deed, repeated in ever new guises by his descendants. A timeless precedent had been set by Uranus, the first father, and avenged by Cronus, one of his children buried alive. Cronus in turn ate his own children until one, Zeus, escaped to avenge them. Thus child-killing by the father was, in the Greek conception, the aboriginal sin behind the original sin of father-killing–this, incidentally, instigated in each case by the mother. Greek parents can hardly have been casual or callous about such awesome doings. Lloyd deMause cites Ion's exposure, but not mother Creusa's ensuing remorse, which renders her sterile, and which is more forthright all in all than that of her modern counterparts–than the parents in Ibsen's *Little Eyolf* who kill their unwanted child by neglect, for instance, or the mother in Sartre's *No Exit* who kills hers outright. In Attic tragedy, exposure was attended by horror, and recoiled upon its perpetrator or at least failed to cheat fate. As for unexposed children in Greek literature, Euripides' Clytemnestra is touching toward little Orestes rocked drowsy by a coach ride (*Iphigenia in Aulis*, 623), but so is Homer's Hector of Troy with wide-awake baby Astyanax frightened by a plumed helmet (*Iliad*, Book VI). Homer's Andromache laments her Hector's death at least as much on Astyanax's account as on her own (*Iliad*, Books XXII, XXIV), just as Euripides' Hecuba and Andromache lament the child's death at least as much as Hector's (*The Trojan Women*). True, parental love was often depicted by the Greeks as proud or self-seeking. But isn't this a timeless truth about parental love, that of Brecht's Mother Courage just like that of Niobe, granddaughter of Tantalus? Niobe mourning her children was a stone forever running to tears. This striking figure of maternal grief betokens the ancients' art

and wisdom, not their mothers' harder, or softer, hearts. How grandiose and intimate both, how tender and selfish both, that grandfather's lament by Euripides' Cadmus over the limbs of Pentheus severed by his frenzied mother: ". . . never again will you touch my beard, and call me Grandfather, and put your arm around me and say, 'Who has wronged you, or insulted you? . . .' " (*The Bacchae,* 1319-1320, translated by Philip Vellacott). For Socrates, mourning did not merely involve self-pity; it was nothing but. And for all Socrates' countrymen, passion was inhumane; worse, it quashed humaneness, as well as all prudence, propriety, and piety, in its fearful raging. It is passion that overcomes Euripides' Medea as in her "savage pride" (her own words just before those Lloyd deMause quotes) she strikes at Jason through their children. Jason cries in horror that in killing their children she is killing him: is this the anguish of an exploitative father deprived? In Medea's deadly struggle with Jason, the children are weapons; she cares nothing for them in their own right. Accordingly they are dramatic nullities in Euripides' text. How different is Strindberg's *The Father* in these respects?

Are we so comfortable with abortion in place of infanticide at the contemporary end of progress in parenthood? Abuse is abuse, granted—but just why shouldn't children help parents, or be scolded, or have sex? And is being the child's "servant" an improvement for parents (never mind for the children) over an adults' world? Hardly—so if it really is the way of the future, parenthood will go out in glory.

Lloyd deMause neatly defines three "major reactions" to a child (p. 508). But these are not, I think, so frequent as a fourth: not relating psychologically—not projecting or reversing or empathizing—but just being pleased or annoyed or indifferent

Lloyd deMause's "psychogenic theory of history" is problematical, beginning with that name for it. "Psychogenic" means originating in the mind. Literally the term is applicable to all theories alike. In practice it is applied to ailments, not theories. It certainly cannot apply to "changes in personality" due to "parent-child interactions" (p. 505). Besides, the nexus of the theory is the causal force of such changes rather than their origin. The theory posits a self-contained developmental continuum of parent-child relations that engenders other historical changes. But it is less than clear how parents got closer to children, and from infanticide to abandonment and so forth, through the workings of projection and reversal down the generations. And I would doubt that the course of parent-child relations was not affected by independent social or technological developments, or again that the overall course of history was much affected by those "changes in personality" consequent on new modes of child care.

Yet Lloyd deMause may well dispel my dubiosity on either score. It would take lots more than that from him to astonish me after his pres-

ent performance. If this performance has raised questions, they are questions that could not be asked before and that now matter. This is a mark of rare achievement.

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COMMENT BY REUBEN FINE

It has by now become axiomatic that the study of children tells us a lot about their parents. Psychohistory, the child of psychiatry by history, can accordingly be expected to contain some informative revelations about both fields.

As the extraordinary documentation that deMause brings to light unfolds, this expectation is not only not diminished, it is heightened in such a fantastic way that one senses the dawn of a new era in human understanding. The die is cast; neither history nor psychiatry can ever be the same again. It is of course true that this work is but one of a number tending towards the same conclusion. Yet it stands out because it illuminates a hitherto virtually neglected aspect of human behavior. It is not impossible that this book will at some future time be considered a turning point in the integration of the social sciences.

As the book demonstrates beyond the shadow of a doubt, the history of childhood is a tale of indiscriminate horror. If men have been so appallingly cruel to those nearest and dearest, how have they behaved towards those less close? Obviously, the record is likewise one of murder, torture and bestiality of all kinds.

Psychiatry of the conventional (Kraepelinian) variety has rested upon a definition of the average man in any culture as "normal", studying only the deviations from that average. It remained for psychoanalysis to provide a vantage point from which the "normality" of any culture could be evaluated more objectively. Once that is done, as it has been, a considerable reevaluation of previous theories is unavoidable. Man, it must be concluded, has been more insane than sane, more irrational than rational, more miserable than happy, and more deluded than enlightened.

The key to all this misery, if one key be permissible, is hatred. Man has been possessed in large measure by hatreds so intense, so far-reaching, and so irresistible that the history of mankind often seems like nothing more than a bloody series of massacres.

It might have been assumed, and it has been assumed by many historians, that while this hatred extended to strangers, at least it was restrained towards kith and kin, especially the children. Now this last myth has to go by the board. The destruction of this myth of the "kind" treatment of "happy" children is the signal achievement of the present work.

In a work covering such a vast expanse, some errors of detail are bound to creep in. Thus what deMause castigates as "fosterage" may more simply be explained as the parental response to the sexual dilemma posed by children in the latency period, which has historically been resolved either by brother-sister avoidance, as in our culture, or by brother-sister extrusion (usually extrusion of the boy), as in other cultures. Hence fosterage need not necessarily be an act of parental hostility, though it may well be in many cultures. However, such minor errors of detail should not be permitted to mar the broad sweep of the main argument, that the history of childhood is a history of horror.

Inasmuch as conventional psychiatry relies on the average person in the culture as the norm, it inevitably becomes a form of psychohistory, exalting the basic personality structure and castigating the deviants as "abnormal". It was this catastrophic error in perspective which led pre-Freudian psychiatry to concentrate on the few unfortunates locked away in mental hospitals, and to ignore the far more numerous and far more dangerous "normals" who have in this century plunged the world into the worst blood bath it has ever seen, the end of which is still not in sight.

Szasz has uncovered some pre-Civil War American psychiatric diagnoses by Southern psychiatrists. They distinguished two major mental illnesses among Negroes: "dysesthesia aethiopis"—Ethiopian disturbance of feeling, also known as "rascality", and "drapetomania", which means the irresistible desire to run away. It requires no argument to show that these "diagnoses" were nothing more than rationalizations for the slave-owners to bear down on the slaves. Whether the psychiatrists of that day were consciously or unconsciously prostituting themselves in the service of one of the most odious institutions known to mankind is a matter for historical research.

The term "drapetomania", according to Szasz, is still to be found in some current textbooks of psychiatry, though cut loose from its original referents. How much of contemporary psychiatric diagnosis will be viewed in a similar light a hundred years from now is hard to say. The prostitution of psychiatry in the service of the state in the Soviet Union is only too glaringly obvious to any dispassionate outsider, even though the delegation of the American Psychiatric Association (which amazingly did not appear to include a single American psychiatrist fluent in Russian) refused to come out with a clear statement to that effect.

Likewise the recent declaration of the American Psychiatric Association that homosexuality is not a mental illness, but a "sexual orientation disturbance" is nothing but a proof of intellectual bankruptcy on the part of traditional psychiatry.

Sullivan openly argued that psychiatry and social science were essentially one, and Freud really took the same position, even though he was not as explicit in his statements. In such a fusion love and hatred will have to be accorded much more importance than heretofore, and certainly much more than conformity or non-conformity. In such a fusion, and such a reevaluation, the data uncovered in the present book will always be essential building blocks.

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COMMENT BY WILLIAM L. LANGER

The direction of human affairs has never been confided to children, and historians, who have concerned themselves primarily with political and military affairs and at most with the intrigues and rivalries of royal courts, have paid almost no attention to the ordeals of childhood. Even the students of education have, on the whole, devoted themselves to the organization and curricula of schools, and with the theories of education, with only occasional reference to what happened to the pupils at home and in the world at large.

Yet it seems clear that the history of childhood must be of major importance to any study of human society, for if, as it is said, the child is father to the man, it should be possible, with an understanding of any individual's or any group's past, to form a more intelligent judgment of their performance as adults. For that reason the present experiment in reviewing systematically the attitudes and practices of parents towards their children is to be warmly welcomed. Whatever the findings of the scholars contributing to this pioneer volume, they will all substantially add to our knowledge of mankind's past and so deepen our understanding of changing attitudes and reactions.

Unhappily the results of these investigations are most depressing. They tell a long and mournful story of the abuse of children from the earliest times even to the present day. We need not assume that the generalizations here advanced apply to all people at all times. No one can

doubt that there have always been parents who loved and cherished their children and that such mistakes as they may have made in the upbringing were due to ignorance rather than to ill-will. As a matter of fact, while in our own day cases of battered children are shockingly common, it must be said that ever since the eighteenth century a more humanitarian attitude gradually emerged. Parenthetically one is reminded of the fact that in England societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals sprang up at least as early as societies for the prevention of cruelty to children.

Possibly the heartless treatment of children, from the practice of infanticide and abandonment through to the neglect, the rigors of swaddling, the purposeful starving, the beatings, the solitary confinement, and so on, was and is only one aspect of the basic aggressiveness and cruelty of human nature, of the inbred disregard of the rights and feelings of others. Children, being physically unable to resist aggression, were the victims of forces over which they had no control, and they were abused in many imaginable and some almost unimaginable ways by way of expressing conscious or more commonly unconscious motives of their elders.

There may well have been yet another facet to the problem—one which can never be proved, but for which there are many indicators. Humans, like all animals and plants, have an almost infinite reproductive potential. More babies have always been born than society could provide room or employment for. Hence the widespread practice of infanticide in one form or another, the chief victims always being the female infants who would eventually produce yet more souls. Hence probably also the notion, prevalent at least in the Christian world, that sex relations were sinful and that the resultant offspring was, from the moment of birth, evil. How else is one to explain the cruel practices designed to exorcise the evil and make children less of a nuisance than they were? Countless women felt that they had too many children. The well-to-do upper classes, it is true, were frequently concerned to ensure themselves of an heir to the estate, and in some parts of the world it is even now true that peasant families desire large families so as to provide for their old age. But in the Western world, when life expectancy at birth was thirty years or less, this was not a controlling factor. Peasant women who had to work all day in the fields tended to regard young children as an encumbrance and took any and every means to discipline and quiet them. That children were put to work at a very early age is no news, but even at work they were often treated more as slaves than as humans. In short, children were not uncommonly looked upon as a real burden, and often called forth resentment and hostility.

Lloyd deMause has shown great courage in attempting the chapter introducing the volume, for despite interesting contributions here and

there, the history of childhood remains a relatively unexplored field. His essay is an impressive departure in historical work, an enterprise that could be undertaken only by someone with a wide knowledge of the sociological and psychological literature as well as the purely historical. The result of his effort is truly impressive. What is more, it provides a basic survey with much documentation that will serve as a starting point for further inquiry. No doubt critics will discover weaknesses and perhaps even downright errors. But as an overview of a very large, important, and generally neglected subject it warrants high commendation.

The full volume spells out, in specialized articles, many of the points made by the editor in his introduction. The story is monotonously painful, but it is high time that it should be told and that it should be taken into account not only by psychiatrists and sociologists, but also by historians. So large and crucial a segment of human existence should not forever remain veiled and neglected by those whose mission it is to recover man's past.

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COMMENT BY HELM STIERLIN

There is no doubt in my mind that deMause's psychogenic theory will have an exciting future. I, for one, found it immensely stimulating, as it opened new vistas, confirmed views I had formed in a different field of inquiry (chiefly the clinical study of separating parents and adolescents), yet also raised challenges and questions. Unfortunately, I have to be brief and selective. Therefore, I shall take up merely one major theme within this theory–the hypothesis that the evolution of child-parent relations originates in "the ability of successive generations to regress to the psychic age of their children and work through the anxieties of that age in a better manner the second time they encounter them than they did during their own childhood." DeMause likens this process to what occurs in psychoanalysis which also involves regression and a second chance to face childhood anxieties.

This is, indeed, a provocative and far-reaching thesis which—like several others deMause presents—forces us to take a fresh look at our data and to re-think cherished assumptions. In trying to do so, I realized that the thesis shapes up differently depending on whether I take psychoanalysis or family therapy and theory as my main conceptual and observational vantage point. (For the past eight years I have been practicing both.)

As a psychoanalyst I would define the evolution of parent-child relations much as deMause did—i.e., as primarily hinging on the "ability of successive generations to regress to the psychic age of their children" and thereby to re-work the anxieties of that age. And as psychoanalyst I would also agree with the author that "each closing of psychic distance between the generations produces fresh anxiety".

As a family therapist (and theorist), however, I have come increasingly to believe that regressions and the re-living and re-working of past anxieties define at best only part of the task at hand; the other—and probably more important—part is repair, mourning, understanding and acceptance of one's exploitation by one's parents, and of the losses and damages resulting therefrom. All this amounts then to a mutual, intergenerational liberation and reconciliation of which the offspring generations will eventually be the greatest beneficiaries. (I have dealt more extensively with this theme in some of my other writings and in my forthcoming book *Separating Parents and Adolescents.*)

Whether an evolution in parent-child relations (or an intergenerational liberation, if you wish) occurs depends here probably on the relative strength of several, partly synchronistic and partly antagonistic, tendencies which, I believe, always bear on how parents relate to their children. First, a tendency to take these children to account for what their own parents did to them (the parents)—i.e., punish the children for the cruelty, neglect, exploitation, etc., they suffered at the hands of their own parents; second, to turn their children into the kinds of parents they did not have but needed to have—i.e., to parentify their children; third, a tendency to pay off to their children a debt they owe their own parents—i.e., pass on to the new generation the warmth, enrichment, responsible care, etc., they received from the latter; fourth, a tendency to be better parents to their own children than their own parents were to them—i.e., to develop a new empathy vis-a-vis their children. Whether an evolution occurs would then depend on how much the two latter tendencies outweigh the two former ones, and, in particular, on how much the last tendency dominates.

Still, we must ask: how could—and can—there ever be an evolution in the light of the nightmarish abuse of children which we—thanks largely to the works of deMause and historians like him—come now to see as having prevailed throughout most of history?

My own attempts to answer this crucial question have led me here in a direction somewhat different from the one deMause pursues. In trying to conceptualize central interactional patterns between parents and children as observed in my research and practice, I have come to emphasize more and more the (mainly for the child) differing implications of what I called binding and delegating modes on the one side, and the expelling mode, on the other. In the binding and delegating patterns we find an often cruelly exploitative scenario, encompassing various combinations of the projective and reversal reactions so well described by deMause. Under the expelling mode, in contrast, we find the insidious neglect and rejection of children whom their parents view to be nuisances and human surplus.

I have—and this bears on the above question—here argued that the bound and/or delegated child, albeit exploited, receives a priceless "gift" which the expelled child lacks: a sense of being found uniquely important by, and of fulfilling a vital function for, his parents. While such sense of importance forges those chains of loyalty and guilt that turn many of these children into amazingly willing victims to their parents (even in families with battered children I have become impressed with the battered victim's frequent loyalty to, and bound-upness with, his parental batterers), it can, I believe, on a deeper level, also provide the strength and motivating force to develop new levels of empathy for one's own children. At this point at least I find no better explanation for the common observation that not a few parents who were victimized and damaged by their own parents—and who, therefore, could not help damaging and victimizing their own children in turn—could nonetheless develop a greater sensitivity and humanity vis-a-vis their offsprings' needs than could their own parents vis-a-vis theirs, thus contributing their share to the evolution of parent-child relations.

To repeat, the above reflects only one of the many challenging questions and implications which the psychogenic theory of history raises for me.

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COMMENT BY JOHN F. BENTON

In "The Evolution of Childhood" Lloyd deMause has laid down a challenge to historians and made an impressive contribution to the understanding of life in the past and present. It will be interesting to see how historians react to him. Some, I expect, will favor the summary execution of his ideas, either through smothering, public stoning, or the more tedious process of exposing errors. Others may prefer to entrust his nurture to the psychoanalysts, perhaps secretly hoping that he will never return from their fosterage. Some historians, I suspect, will intrude upon his work, reshaping it in their own image and distorting it. For my part, I prefer a fourth "mode": what this squalling but healthy infant article needs from the historical profession is appreciation and help.

For the past two years I have used earlier versions of "The Evolution of Childhood" in my teaching, first in an undergraduate course on psychohistory at the California Institute of Technology and then in a graduate seminar on medieval childhood at the University of Southern California. I have found that students who come to deMause's work after reading such authors as Erikson, Ariès, and Hunt are able to see meaning in aspects of history and childhood which were previously obscure and can approach the study of historical change with new insight. Some students have been converted by deMause, others have set out to refute him, but all have turned to the reading of historical sources with new questions and enhanced vigor. My own thinking and research has profited immensely from his stimulation and erudition. His application of the theory of projective and reversal reactions to the ambivalence of parents in the Western tradition seems to me nothing short of brilliant.

My appreciation for Lloyd deMause and his work does not mean that I have been convinced by all he writes. His "psychogenic" theory remains unproven. Even if further research demonstrates that all that he has said about two thousand years of history in the West is accurate, his evolutionary hypotheses would still need to be tested in other contexts. Does the study of over three thousand years of well-documented Chinese history reveal a similar development, and if not, why not? What is to be learned from the study of Japanese, Hindu, Islamic, or other societies affected by major religions? Before the "Western" pattern, if it really does exist, can be used as the basis for historical generalization, we need to know if it is typical of long-term human development, or if it is unusual, or even unique. Moreover, we need to look more closely at the quality and variety of child care in cultures studied by anthropologists. Not all abandon children like the Apache, kill them in famine years like the inland Eskimo and the Kalahari Bushmen, or sexually tease them like the Balinese. According to an anthropological colleague (Thayer

Scudder) who lived with the Tonga of Central Africa for several years, Tonga parents are tender, permissive, and supportive, and are far closer to deMause's socializing mode than many modern American parents. DeMause's theory suggests that those cultures which he unfortunately calls "primitive" are all at a "low psychogenic stage," a matter which is far from proven. It would be more fruitful to ask why the earlier partriarchal societies of the Mediterranean world from which the "Western tradition" is descended were all so much more brutal to their children than the Tonga. And with Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents* in mind, it is worth asking if any of the twenty-odd societies classed by Arnold Toynbee as "civilizations" were produced by people whose dominant attitude toward children was gentle and supportive.

It is unfortunate that one of deMause's key qualifications appears not at the beginning of the theoretical discussion but in footnote 273. Hypothesis 2 states that the "generational pressure" for psychic change occurs independent of social and technological change, but this bald statement is at last modified by the comment that "conditions outside the family also affect to some extent the course of parent-child evolution in each society." As an historian I am prepared to believe that the conditions of childhood play a vital, possibly even a dominant role in the shaping of any society. I accept that battered children become battering parents, and I can see how the capacity to empathize in a society can grow as conditions of child care become increasingly humane. But my intuition and historical experience tell me that economic, social, or religious conditions can work either to retard or foster empathetic parenting, and I welcome the reassurance of footnote 273 that psychogenic theory is not an example of "psychological reductionism." Closer adherence to this principle might have modified references to "the reason" or "the cause" in the body of the paper.

When we turn from the level of theory to the factual historical story deMause has to tell, my admiration for his work and the contributors to his book is great. Since I have had the opportunity to send my comments on an earlier draft to the author, I must share responsibility for those historical errors which appear here. I should have challenged more vigorously the statement (on p. 529) that sealing children in walls as foundation sacrifices was "common" down to the nineteenth century in Germany; a diligent search of both archeological and other historical literature has failed to show documentation for more than a few possible cases of such sacrifices in medieval and modern Europe. And without doubt I should have convinced the author, as I will now reassure the reader, that someone was putting him on when he was informed (p. 545) that "library storerooms and museum basements all over Europe" contain works related to sex in history which are unavailable "even to the historian." It is true that the Musée de Cluny has put in storage the

chastity belt in its possession (it was not in fact of medieval origin) and the Louvre has chosen to display its classical Hermaphrodite with its back to the public, but the Tower of London cheerfully exhibits Henry VIII's armored codpiece, and the archivists and librarians I have known have all been willing to make their resources available for historical research.

On a more significant level I should have challenged two points which relate to the chronology of the different psychogenic modes. A thorough study of over sixty medieval penitentials does not support the idea that masturbation by adults was a "minor sin" (p. 550). It was usually classed as a mortal sin, often equivalent to the penance demanded to murder. Moreover, penitentials which mention adult masturbation also punish that of children, though to a lesser penance than that demanded of adults.[1] I am also not certain how greatly if at all the sodomizing of children was reduced in the early medieval period (cf. p. 553), for it is commonly mentioned in the penitentials, and a positive attitude is conveyed by "O admirabilis Veneris idolum," a hauntingly beautiful love song addressed to a young boy and sung to the same tune as "O Roma nobilis."[2] Nevertheless, although I am unsure of the dates deMause assigns to the different modes, the approach itself when applied to Western history seems to me sound, needing refinement rather than fundamental revision. In spite of my critical comments, as an introduction to childhood in the past this essay is the best conceived and best documented history we have, and I trust that it will soon replace Ariès as the text historians first consult and assign to their students.

This comment began with a prediction of how historians may accept this landmark article. I have been privileged to read the comments of Rudolph Binion and William Langer, which were completed before mine. Both are characteristically informative and generous, and yet in both these positive statements there are comments which suggest to me that their authors have missed (or resisted) major parts of what I think deMause is saying. Binion calls attention to some tender passages in Greek literature and asks if it is not "a timeless truth" that parental love is proud or self-seeking. It seems to me the essence of the article under review that the ways in which parents have related to their children are not "timeless." Of course there are proud and self-seeking parents today, as there are also tortured, beaten and warped children. But is it possible to believe tha‘ any citizen of classical Athens had the same approach to parenting as that advocated today by theorists of child-rearing? Aristotle was a man of immense brilliance, but it is hard to imagine him understanding, let alone sharing, the viewpoints of such modern visionaries as Martin Luther King, Germaine Greer, or Benjamin Spock. If an ancient Greek would find it difficult (if not impossible) to understand our literature, why should we assume that we can easily find

some "timeless" communication in the writing of Euripides of Homer? What I find most valuable about "The Evolution of Childhood" is that it introduces the concept of *time* into psychohistory.[3]

William Langer tells us that "no one can doubt that there have always been parents who loved and cherished their children," but then goes on to say that "peasant women who had to work all day in the fields tended to regard young children as an encumbrance" and that at work children "were often treated more as slaves than as humans." The explanation for this contradiction he finds in economic and demographic factors. To do so is to turn deMause upside down as Marx reversed Hegel. True enough, societies which will accept slavery and the exploitation of women who must work all day in the fields will also accept child abuse. But where are we to find the roots of this acceptance of brutality, this lack of empathy? If I read deMause correctly, we must take account of the brutalized and brutalizing childhood of those adults who survive to perpetuate an exploitative, brutalized, non-empathetic society. Of course, in some sense a psychotic child-beater "loves" his or her children and expresses genuine remorse and grief when they die, but we must not consider this "love" as equivalent to the parental nurturance which sees the needs of the child as independent of those of the parent.

I said at the beginning that deMause needs help. He has not yet been able to find when most (or even many) children in the past were weaned, or unswaddled, or able to walk, and he has posed a challenge to historians in pointing out how much there is yet to learn about what growing up in the past was really like. I expect that help will be forthcoming and that within ten years problems in the history of childhood which now seem insoluble for "lack of evidence" will have their answers. They can be answered if enough historians appreciate "The Evolution of Childhood" and understand its approach.

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3. In *A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspective* (Princeton, 1962), D. W. Robertson, Jr. has argued that it is impossible to understand medieval liter-

ature through the direct application of modern feelings and attitudes. While Robertson opposes the application of modern psychology to medieval people, his conviction that medieval people were strikingly different from ourselves comes close to deMause's belief that our ancestors had childhoods (and therefore personalities) so different from ours that it is difficult for us to recognize and accept the difference.

COMMENT BY JOHN C. DUFFY

As a child-psychiatric clinician not too many years removed from training, I found Lloyd deMause's article personally disturbing. Here was an exciting, obviously important perspective about childhood with serious ramifications for my professional perspective–and until now, I knew nothing about it.

Of course I had been exposed to the history of my profession. It all began in the late twenties and early thirties. Child guidance clinics were first organized in liaison with juvenile courts, but soon became affiliated with hospitals, schools and community agencies where they might serve the needs of children in a non-institutionalized setting. In 1921 the Commonwealth Fund set up demonstration child guidance clinics and in a few short years the fledgling speciality of child psychiatry was launched. Of course, there were famous names: Dr. William Healy, Clifford Beers, Dr. Edward Strecker, Dr. Arnold Gesell. After all, isn't that all the history that's necessary? No one who reads deMause's chapter can ever again be satisfied with the selective "hero worship" accounts which pass for "historical background." He challenges us with our own cliches–children are important; child-rearing practices are important; children, families and society are intrinsically interwoven and interdependent. Perhaps even more shocking, that a study of the history of children and child-care modes may hold the key to fresh insights into man's history on this planet.

It is clear that the author does not envisage an easy task in applying psychogenic theory to the study of history. An obvious parallel is the struggle to achieve maturity in the area of psychoanalytic anthropology. Certain anthropologists have always been interested in child-rearing practice. Investigators such as Hartmann, Axelrod, Parsons and others have moved from utilizing anthropological data for proof of clinical findings to efforts to explain stereotypes and collective character of a culture and its people on the basics of mother-infant relationships.

As I read deMause's article, I began to feel like the blind man feeling the tail of an elephant. So much remains to be delineated before the true picture of the history of childhood emerges. We wish the author well, in my opinion no person is more qualified to lead the way.

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COMMENT BY HERBERT MOLLER

Lloyd deMause's "Evolution of Childhood" will evoke in the minds of many readers the question how frequent and pervasive were the examples of abuse and neglect of children in previous centuries. Were the contemplation of infanticide and its actual perpetration really a persistent temptation? Were "the urges to mutilate, burn, freeze, drown, shake, and throw the infant" not limited to a minority of mentally disturbed adults? How can it be explained that in the past virtually all parents and parent substitutes displayed "bizarre attitudes toward children similar to those of contemporary parents of battered and schizophrenic children". We are faced with a puzzle that is similar to the one presented by the numerous disturbing and horrible mother images that have been preserved from prehistoric and historic times. In Erich Neumann's *The Great Mother*[1] a comprehensive collection of sculptures and drawings of the Terrible Mother documents a preoccupation with "the destructive side of the Feminine" for various periods and countries. Also in European folklore we are faced with such stories as Hansel and Gretel, whose parents conspire to take them to the woods, there to "get lost"; whereafter the children meet a more positively evil mother figure in the person of a cannibalistic witch. To accept deMause's wealth of case material and his penetrating psychological interpretations merely as referring to aberrations instead of the uncovering of a fundamental aspect of childhood in the long history of mankind would amount to a denial of a repugnant aspect of our past.

To lend prima facie probability to the thesis it should be remembered that even at present in the United States every year about 2,000 children are killed by their parents and additional thousands are crippled by them. Altogether some 60,000 American children are annually subjected to such a degree of parental abuse of willful neglect as to bring them to public attention. These cases occur among parents of all income and educational levels. A much larger proportion are subject to harsh discipline in the home. Although we are living in the last third of "the century of the child", a vast number of small children are emotionally neglected or subjected to stress and fear owing to their parents' lack of empathetic understanding. It is probably the majority of five year olds, who suffer from nightmares and anxiety dreams without being told any frightening tales. If adolescents are now receiving corporal punishment relatively rarely in the Western World—compared with the general practice only a few decades ago—most young children from babyhood well into the elementary school years are still beaten by parents, who naively believe this practice to be necessary, educationally productive, and in any case emotionally harmless (observations among

underprivileged whites and blacks in central Boston, Jewish middle-class parents in Brookline, and medium-income families in outlying suburbs of eastern Massachusetts). It may well be that in another fifty years the spanking of small children will be viewed with revulsion or disbelief similar to our reaction to pictures and reports of the caning of British and central European school boys or the physical abuse to which apprentices and military recruits were habitually subjected only a few decades ago.

There is, however, a more fundamental context in which deMause's emphasis on the miseries of childhood in the past is intelligible not so much as a deviation from normality but as an aspect of the human condition. By contrast with other animals the human child is dependent on parental nurturance not for a few days or weeks but for many years. The human family, therefore, had to develop in the direction of long-term arrangements, greater cohesiveness, and–most important–it had to become a cooperative unit. In sexual life, the higher primates, unlike lower animals, have year-round sex, which also is conducive to the strengthening of emotional bonds and leads to play activities of adults and children, to mutual grooming, and other kinds of cooperation. However, the sexual attraction and the emotional ties of the primitive group engendered negative as well as positive feelings. The survival of the primitive human family and the group to which it belonged became dependent on cultural tabus, especially of incest, and the development of various restraints on behavior. Emotional closeness and mutual dependence are the areas of human life that engender the extremes of despair as well as gratification and even at best are beset by mood swings and clashes of interests. A prehistoric Rousseau could already have formulated the dilemma of man in society, the advantages of cooperation and the limitations on freedom they entailed, the child's need for security and his anxious sense of dependency during long years of helplessness. He could also have observed the parents' attachment to their child and the felt burden of having to support a greedy eater, a disturber of sexual privacy, and a growing rival. If the modern middle-class family has been presented as a hotbed of neuroses, it must be stressed that the family at all times was inevitably a field of engrossing emotional relationships, positive and negative, loving and hateful, giving and possessive. Not only today, but since Cain and Abel, a large proportion of all homicides have been committed within the circle of the family.

Lloyd deMause is well aware of the fact that parents have loved their children also in the past. Without this supporting attitude the human species would probably not have survived. Parents, however, have also felt aversion from their offspring, have regretted their existence, or have used and misused them for their adult purposes. Yet whether they re-

jected or loved them, they did not in the past treat them as persons in their own right. In this connection it should be recalled that even today judges treat children as the property of their parents, unless murder or provable mutilation are involved. Only during the last ten years or so has a noticeable change been initiated in this heritage from the past. Before the eighteenth century, adults had a low capacity for empathy with children, since they themselves rarely matured beyond the impulsive stage of ego development. In this respect their attitude was similar to that toward other disadvantaged categories of persons. But whereas the laboring poor, subject nationalities, and women have been able on occasion to fight back and finally to organize in self-defence, children could not do so. They could only grow out of their dependent condition, but in the process of growing up their personalities and their needs and beliefs developed along the line of those of their parents. Even when social conditions entailed change, people have only slowly overcome the compulsion to repeat the traumatic experiences of their own childhood.

The psychological mechanisms that have served adults to satisfy their own needs at the expense of their children have been elucidated by deMause with unusual insight. Much should be done hereafter to investigate specific patterns in the rearing of children and adolescents. There are, for instance, wide areas in the world, especially in Africa, where adults do not make any toys for children, whereas medieval European children were given toys, some of which have survived in museums or in iconographic representations. One would like to know the wider context in which this and similar cultural variances occurred. In view of the fact that psychologists have only relatively recently established the pressing need of infants for maternal love and human stimulation and conversely the traumatic aftereffects of separation from trusted adults, there is a need to clarify historical differences in the quality of love that mothers felt for their children. When and where have mothers enjoyed their babies to the extent that they have played with them in the seclusion of their homes? When and where did they love the infants they carried around and proudly showed off only as extensions of themselves, consequently neglecting their real needs? We must know more about the specific cultural situations that brought about significant changes in child-rearing patterns. Why, for instance, was masturbation in children severely punished only after about 1750? Why did child-beating decline in France, when it worsened in England?

Lloyd deMause insists that his presentation is not unilinear, but his longitudinal explanation to the effect that parents re-live their own childhood and learn from it and through growing self-awareness are induced to improve the treatment of their own children—this explanation involves indeed a unilinear scheme. Future work in this area will probably reveal considerable historical fluctuations and variegated regional

developments. It seems possible that under primitive conditions, among hunters and food gatherers who were not suffering from hunger and were well adjusted to their habitat, children lived with their parents and other group members without hurtful antagonistic tensions. On the other hand, it appears rather certain that children and adolescents of the earlier nineteenth century found family life and school more congenial than did those who grew up in the last third of that century. By relating the life experiences of children and adolescents to their contemporary conditions, the history of children will become a keystone for the understanding of social development. Much research remains to be done and published in the *History of Childhood Quarterly*.

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COMMENT BY EDWARD SHORTER

It's hard of course to write the history of everything that ever happened to everybody under 15. One must select. Evidence is lacking for perhaps 95 percent of the population. Upper-class cries for attention in diaries and memoirs virtually drown out all the other classes. Yet if the scholar sets out to write a general history of childhood, he should properly have in mind the representative experience of the common man; he will want to account for the typical and the customary in the lives of the great unwashed masses out there in the hills of the Spessart and the flat plains of the Beauce who are the principal subjects of the mainline social historian. Above all, he should resolve not to be distracted by the garrulous 5 percent of the population whose books he will readily locate in the library, sometimes nicely catalogued under "C". Lloyd deMause's failure to do this gets him into all kinds of difficulties.

Difficulty, first of all, at the theoretical level. Parents who are capable of the three responses to children deMause outlines–projective reaction, reversal reaction and empathic reaction–are parents who have already carved for themselves a substantial chunk of emotional autonomy from the surrounding community. They are parents with the freedom to respond to interpersonal problems in the way they deem best,

parents who are not locked by tradition into culturally standardized patterns. Now, most parents who lived in the real world of the popular classes in times past did not fit that description. In village life the average mother and father followed custom in childrearing. Whatever stances and responses they took towards their children were adopted because tradition commanded such attitudes, not because of the force of their own psychodynamics. They had in fact internalized their childrearing attitudes so extensively from the teachings of the surrounding community that their own internal circuits were switched out.

Only when the iceberg of custom begins to shatter, and a series of alternative emotional (and childrearing) styles becomes legitimate, do the psychological processes of parents from the popular classes finally take on a life of their own. The average person acquires a staggering new freedom to act in intimate situations as he feels. In my view, modernization carves a clear separation between the individual's own ego and his sense of attachment to the surrounding community, a distinction which traditional society had tried hard to efface. Only when this demarcation is present may one speak of psychodynamics as a force independent of culture. And only at that point would the individual parent's experiences as a child succeed in determining his attitudes towards his own children. In the years before 1800 the sole people with sufficient ego strength to choose freely on the basis of their own needs and desires from among alternative childrearing patterns were the upper bourgeoisie and aristocracy, and it is precisely about those people that deMause is writing.

In the back of my mind lurks the thought that these various categories of parental responses to children are simply inapplicable to traditional European society, so radically different is the modern world which spawned them from the *ancien régime psychologique* they purport to describe. At the core of my own ideas is a gasp of astonishment at how much modernization has changed intimate life, at how different is the ball game we play in today from the world of, let us say, three centuries ago. And if the whole range of social interaction, attitudes to authority and community, to love and intimacy, is fundamentally foreign today from the counterpart range of the world we have lost, then why not the psychodynamics as well? Everything I know about the conscious lives of people in the Bad Old Days impresses me with the difference, so why not also in the unconscious?

DeMause's fixation upon the childhood experience of the elite involves him in difficulty at the practical level as well, for his analysis distorts at many points the actual experience of average children in the real world. Symptomatic is the much discussed childhood of Louis XIII. I just refuse to believe that anything about the childhood of the dauphin of France could have been typical of the twenty million Frenchmen.

DeMause's failure even to *remark* upon the problems of generalness suggests that for him it is unimportant how the aristocracy differed from the agricultural laborers, how family life in early modern France diverged from that in early modern England, and how urban childhoods may have been different from rural ones.

From elitist sources deMause concludes that children in general were routinely mutilated, frozen, burned, drowned and castrated. In a careful reading of dozens of "topographies médicales," written by local doctors about village life in eighteenth and early nineteenth century France, I have seen virtually none of this. Brutality, yes. Harsh beating and callous indifference were the order of the day. But if the peasants and artisans tossed their children about, as deMause reports Henry IV's brother doing, these sources, which bring us as close to the reality of popular life as we are ever likely to get, are silent about it.

From elitist sources we discover that children were maltreated and that accordingly their physical development was retarded. In the popular classes *everybody* was retarded, not because their parents didn't love them and failed to pick them up when they cried, but because they didn't get enough to eat. Traditional Europeans were a badly undernourished population, and because of a chronic shortage of protein in popular diets people developed physically late, their growth remained stunted, and they dragged about for the rest of their lives like the stoop-shouldered peasants of whom Gérard Bouchard has so eloquently written.[1]

The problem, deMause discovers from these elitist sources, was not that parents didn't love their children but that they were "emotionally immature." At this juncture Nicole Castan or François Lebrun, who have read many accounts of how parents acted at their infants' funerals (absent often), who have painstakingly reconstituted families so as to see whether a subsequent child received a deceased child's name (as frequently happened), will probably give off gallic shrugs and make popping noises with their lips.[2] The available evidence from smalltown life before 1800 suggests that in fact parents did not love their children very much. So few were the objectives a mother was willing to subordinate to her child's survival, so avid her desire (or pressing her need) for the weekly wage as a glove-stitcher or cottage spinner, that she would typically send her children off to mercenary nurses to be cared for. Given the 2 in 3 chance the infant would not return, one is at a loss to identify much "love" among these people.

And then there are passages where a misunderstanding of smalltown life leads to a certain incompleteness of interpretation. On how commonly parents left children alone, for example. Most families wouldn't do this who had anything a crawler might damage. It was concern for their property rather than for the child that imposed supervision, for a

toddler who, for example, raked blazing coals onto a wood floor would start a fire that would burn down the cottage and attached barn, thus plunging the family into misery. Whether the infant was consumed in the blaze was much less important than whether *goods* were lost.

On telling children stories about werewolves and ghosts. Such tales were usually recounted in the evening in the barn, or around the hearth, not just to the kids but to everyone in the household, and often the neighbors as well, in a custom called in France the *veillée*, in Germany the *Spinnstube.* And not just the children but everybody believed the tales, or sort of. These populations were highly superstitious, and if they told the children that a *loup garou* would come and tear out their throats, it was because the grown-ups believed it–halfways–themselves. Such tales are, in other words, not a form of child discipline but a collective mythology shared by the entire community.

On frightening the children with corpses. Here again we're confronted with a failure of the historical imagination on the part of the twentieth century observer. People who lived before 1800 had notions of death totally different from our own. Death was for them an integral part of daily reality, not a ghastly specter we banish from our minds behind the white doors of hospital rooms. Childrén in the eighteenth century saw dead people, and children of today don't, not because our notions of punishment are different but because the entire relationship of the dead to the living is different.

On parents taking infant children into bed with them. Surely we've a more prosaic explanation than "the need of the parent for mothering." These peasants and laborers needed their sleep at night and brought the infants into bed to stop them from crying.

Ultimately, there is a good sociological reason for most of the psychological phenomena deMause raises. I'm not saying that in *all* cases a sociological explanation of greater economy may be substituted for a psychological one, just that the practicing historian must be careful to see all sides of the rock before he selects a hammer and crashes away. Psychological explanations are becoming indispensable in our work, as precisely writers such as Lloyd deMause make available to us whole new toolkits, and show us what we can now fashion that formerly we couldn't. But before we can write very persuasively about what past populations experienced at the psychodynamic level, we must make sure we understand the physical, social and cultural realities in which they found themselves. Here I become uneasy in reading deMause.

Yet his argument has a breathtaking scope and ambitiousness. It's grand sweep, the force of the logic, make it easily *the* major statement to date on the history of childhood. He has documented the case only for a small population, the *schreiblustig* elites of a heavily Anglo-Saxon world. Scholars who wish to broaden its social and territorial extension

will either have to suspend disbelief or get into the sources of popular social history and do some digging of their own.

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COMMENT BY HERMAN WALDMAN

Our knowledge of parents and children owes much to the genius of Sigmund Freud who described the impulses as well as the psychodynamic mechanisms by way of which these impulses are acted out upon children by their parents.

DeMause's examination of parental treatment serves as further evidence of the validity of Freud's conclusions concerning the contents of the deeper layers of the human mind. The psychohistory of parents and children is simultaneously an elucidation of the manifestations of the death instinct, aggression, sexuality, maternal fixation and separation anxieties.

Sigmund Freud also taught that repression of the id drives because of the incapability of the ego to deal with id forces results in blindness toward recognizing the deeper impulses. Perhaps one of the unique aspects of deMause's study is in lifting the veil of repression. DeMause has expanded the field of knowledge concerning historical relationships between parents and children because of his ability to look at and describe these relationships in a more objective manner than previous researchers.

To what extent can we explain the prevalence of sadism and brutality in the modern world on historical factors associated with the evolution of the treatment (or more appropriately mistreatment) of children from the earliest historical times? DeMause answers this question unequivocally. The answer is that throughout recorded history children have served as objects for the release of their parents' unleashed impulses and unconscious drives.

DeMause's compendium of insults heaped upon children throughout the ages makes certain aspects of the contemporary scene more under-

standable, though certainly not more forgiveable. The roots of the contemporary prevalence of child psychosis, child beating, child rape, parental neglect, infanticide and pre-infanticide (abortion) are all detailed here. And there is a long human history to these acts, indeed. How much our current civilization owes to antiquity for its practices toward children becomes crystal clear. And with the clarity also comes a significant realization concerning the strength of the primitive unconscious residuals which continue to dynamically influence contemporary civilization.

DeMause's chart of the evolution of child-rearing modes is a unique and valuable contribution in itself. The chart graphically illustrates and suggests a rapid accretion of additional parental repertoires beginning approximately in the sixteenth century up to the present. While I would disagree with deMause's characterization of today's parent-child mode as "helping", because I believe that such a description is an overgeneralization, the chart suggests some interesting areas of future research. An important area for future research in psychohistory would be that of establishing correlations between the rapidity of acquisition of new modes of parent-child interaction and changing political, social, economic and religious forces impinging upon individual life styles. It may even be possible, in this way, to obtain further hypotheses for investigations aimed toward the determination of the possibility of evolution of the weakening of thanatos. This conclusion would be warranted only after elimination of all others.

Although man's basic nature is determined by timeless unconscious drives, the manner as well as the degree to which these impulses are carried out behaviorally is determined by a great many other factors. Whether a child will be regarded as a reward or a punishment must play a large part in the evolution of child-rearing modes. For instance, to a farmer having an additional child to work the fields may be a blessing and a reward from heaven while to an Eskimo a child may simply mean an additional encumbrance to hunting and filling one's belly. Parents will respond according to the rewarding or aversive consequences associated with the arrival of the child.

While the ego is a product of the id, it also serves as a counterforce to the expression of the unbridled id impulses—mediating, as it were, and finding new ways to express instinctual drives. The ego grows by way of learning as it deals with the real world. The extent to which learning experiences become available will determine the capacity of parents to discover and carry out new modes of relationship with their biological offspring. Increased learning brings an increasing repertory of behaviors for parents to call upon toward the arrival of children.

DeMause's monumental research effort demonstrates the instinctual underlayers which have determined parental behavior toward children

from antiquity to the present. Much research yet remains to be done concerning increasing the influence of the ego in the child-rearing modes of parents.

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COMMENT BY HENRY EBEL

An unusual confrontation took place today in front of the West Side Temple of Moloch, just as the daily infant sacrifices were getting underway. One of the parties was Dr. Menahem Schwartzberg, author of *Behavior Modification Controls for Your Infant and Child*, who is usually credited with the reinstitution of the rack and bastinado in many homes and schools. The second was Lloyd deMause, the former editor-in-chief of the now-defunct *History of Childhood Quarterly*.

DeMause looked considerably the worse for wear. His prison term has obviously not helped either his physical or his financial condition. Still, he held his head high as he greeted Schwartzberg, and the following dialogue ensued:

Schwartzberg: Well, you old bum, are you still going to stick with all that Freudian bull****? Or are you starting to see the light?

DeMause: I don't care *how* many people go to your infant weenie-roasts, Schwartzberg, or how much government money you get, I know in my heart of hearts that this is all just a phase.

Schwartzberg: A phase, huh? A phase of what?

DeMause: Well, you have to realize, Schwartzberg, that history is a grand dialectic. Basically, there have been four grand stages in child-rearing: the Exterminatory Mode, the Killing Mode, the Sacrificial Mode, and the Projective-Rejective Mode. Then we moved into stage number five, which was the Helping Mode, and which involved, as exemplary Helpers, my wife, myself, and four of our close personal friends.

DeMause was interrupted by a new shipment of infants that had just arrived at the Temple. They made a frightful racket as they were unloaded, and deMause seemed to become quite upset. "This is all wrong!"

he shouted, "this is terrible, awful! How can you do this kind of thing?" A crowd had gathered. "Aw shaddup!" somebody yelled, "they don't feel the pain the way we do." "Just listen to the bum," commented a lady on my left. "Next thing he'll tell us it's wrong to eat them."

Schwartzberg was becoming visibly impatient. "Look, deMause, I know we worked together on Applied Psychoanalysis, but that was in the old days and I got other stuff to do now."

DeMause had recovered a bit of his equanimity, however, and insisted on finishing his lecture. "The thing you have to understand, Schwartzberg, is that each tremendous advance in parent-child relations caused this tremendous rise in the anxiety level. So PROGRESS moves, you see, through REGRESSION. First we regress, and then we make a sort of leapfrog-jump and are much better off than we were before the regression. Now take Hitler. Really, he had a much better childhood than Bismarck. But it made him very anxious to get that oral-traumatic overfeeding that Klara gave him, so he started this war and 50,000,000 people got killed. You can't have a historical-progressive advance without breaking a few omelheads. I mean, omelettes."

By now Schwartzberg was on his way up the steps of the Temple. It was the last building left standing on 87th Street, and its radioactivity level had been officially declared "tolerable."

"Bull****," yelled Schwartzberg from the top step. "Obscurantist neo-Hegelian bull****! What we need is behavior modification and MORE behavior modification! And nothing modifies behavior like THAT OLD-TIME RELIGION! Try it, you old bum! One good baby-fry and you'll feel like a new man!"

Schwartzberg vanished into the Temple. DeMause shuffled off down the street. He really looked terrible.

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COMMENT BY MICHAEL B. KATZ

No one can ever doubt again that it is possible to study the history of childhood. Though the memories of childhood lie deep and usually inaccessible within the mind, though reliable and systematic accounts are rare and though immense quantities of material must be mined for small nuggets, the patient, imaginative and resourceful scholar can reconstruct far more about the intimate details of parental attitudes and behavior than most historians have considered possible. The existence of this

possibility, it seems to me, is the primary achievement of Lloyd deMause's essay, and it is one of the very first importance. He is right that childhood is a field which has been neglected, and he is right, too, that we cannot understand the dynamics of any culture without insight into the way in which children are treated. One can only hope that his essay, the book of which it is a part, and this journal will spark the massive research that is necessary to illuminate the many questions which he raises.

Certainly, every research worker in this area will profit from deMause's bibliographic efforts. The two hundred and seventy-five footnotes to the essay are themselves a major contribution to scholarship and the starting point for anyone working in the field.

Nor can anyone doubt the sheer human interest and pathos which his essay must arouse. The collection of horrible anecdotes drives home forcefully his point about the hideousness of childhood in times past. His evidence leaves little doubt that children in most earlier centuries were treated with a mixture of violence, neglect and abuse that today we consider unthinkable in anyone not psychopathic.

Despite these major achievements, enhanced by deMause's vigorous and lucid style, the essay leaves me uneasy on a few accounts. First of all there is the question of the adequacy of his psychogenic theory. I am not competent to evaluate the accuracy with which he presents psychoanalytic ideas; but, granting that he has drawn appropriate inferences from contemporary theory, problems remain. For one thing, his interpretation at least skirts the edge of a monocausal theory of history, which, in whatever variety it appears, usually turns out to be rather less complex than social reality. Can we accept his implication that child-rearing practices are the driving force in history and, further, that they have followed an evolutionary and "progressive" sequence more or less independent of external influences?

If we approach that question from the experience of the historiography of education, we must be at least skeptical. Historians of education once were fond of evolutionary explanations of educational institutions, stressing the development of free, secular public education as a process of steady growth that might be represented by the metaphor of a tree. More contemporary work has shown, however, that the process was a good deal less linear, not really inevitable and much more complex. On a larger scale Robert Nisbet in *Social Change and History* has exposed the distortions worked by linear, evolutionary theories of historical change.

In fact, it is possible that there is some contradiction between the psychogenic theory presented early in the essay and some of the data that comes later. If I understand the theory correctly, each generation

of parents, through a process of regressing to the psychic ages of their children, should reduce somewhat the distance between adult and child and contribute to the progressive improvement, by our standards, in child-rearing practices, notably the development of the empathy with children which deMause finds lacking in earlier times. However, his data point to a hardening of some attitudes–especially towards toilet training and towards masturbation–in the eighteenth century, which appears inconsistent with the theory, although the abandonment of swaddling at the same time does support it. In a similar vein, Daniel Calhoun has recently shown how American attitudes toward child-rearing passed through three phases between the eighteenth and the late nineteenth century;[1] it would be hard to fit these, since the last phase was less permissive and less empathetic than the penultimate one, into the psychogenic theory.

The other problem with the essay stems from its contextual vacuum. Although deMause at the close of the article explicitly states that he has deliberately avoided trying to explicate the relation between "historical change . . . with changing child-care modes", we must none the less wonder whether the psychogenic theory will be of very much use in this respect. For as a social historian I continually wanted to know why particular practices which he described characterized certain times and places and not others, or why at certain times they changed. Why did swaddling end in the 18th century in England and America and in the 19th in France? Is it that each country was at a different psychogenic stage, or could the explanation lie in other factors? Better than swaddling, we might ask the question with respect to breast-feeding. At some point there was a switch from the use of wet-nurses to nursing by the mother. Exactly when and in what circumstances did it occur? Can it be explained through the achievement of a psychogenic stage uninfluenced by external factors, or might the development of medical knowledge, the spread of information about the mortality of infants sent to wet-nurses, or the altered social environment that accompanied industrialization have played a critical role? Any theory which omits the latter, the non-psychogenic factors, can be only partial at best.

Finally, and on a related theme, deMause is aware that he does not differentiate between social classes and geographic areas in his essay. But, we must ask, how would he go about this? The sources for child-rearing that he cites generally represent the writings of an educated minority of the people in any one place. Aside from assessing the reliability of what they report, one must raise serious questions about the extent to which one can generalize to an entire population from the example of the privileged minority. Contemporary studies have shown considerable variation in child-rearing practices among social classes. If this is so today, is there any reason to believe that the situation was dif-

ferent in the past? Perhaps the principle of "stratified diffusion", the spread of attitudes and behavior downward throughout the social structure over time, recently put forward by Michael Young and Peter Wilmott,[2] can be applied universally. Were that to be the case, then we could expect the lower classes to adopt the child-raising patterns of the elite at a subsequent point in time. But this is speculation. I raise it merely to highlight the importance of the question of making inferences about the population as a whole, an issue which must be faced very seriously and systematically by the practitioners of the history of childhood.

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REPLY BY LLOYD DEMAUSE

For the appreciation given by my commentators, my sincerest thanks. For the doubts and critical remarks, I'll try to reply as directly as possible.

1) *The Independence of Psychogenesis:* The main point of my "psychogenic theory" was to call attention to a historical force previously overlooked by sociologist and historian alike which produces new personality-types and thereby new history: the evolution of parent-child relations. "Generational pressure", or "psychogenesis", occurs every time an adult and a child interact; it is a powerful, private force for change in historical personality, and exists wholly independent of public events, economic, social, whatever. But a statement of independence is not a claim for monocausality: gravity is a wholly independent force, but everything doesn't move because of gravity. Precisely how much of adult history is rooted in psychogenesis I have yet to demonstrate. Obviously I think I can trace a substantial part of political, religious, social and even economic history back to the evolution of childhood. But that's not the purpose of this particular essay, which was written to de-

scribe the effects of psychogenesis on the evolution of childhood, not to give its implications for adult history.

2) *The Term "Psychogenic":* There are economic theories of history, social theories of history, and so on; I call mine psychogenic, paralleling these terms, because it derives its dynamic solely from the psychological, in the interpersonal interaction between generations. It views man not primarily as *homo politicus* nor *homo economicus* but as *homo relatens,* with the child challenging his caretakers anew in each generation, asking them to help it evolve psychologically beyond them. When the child is successful, it is called "psychogenesis", a new historical personality is forged. When the adults cannot respond to the challenge, it is called "discipline", and historical personality is frozen at the parent's level. Thus Need not Reason, id not ego, moves history.

3) *Childhood in Technologically Primitive Tribes:* No better proof of the independence from technology of psychogenic evolution can be found than the varying child care modes displayed by tribes with equally low technologies. I do indeed believe that my six categories of child-care modes can be applied equally well to history, to contemporary families, and to primitive tribes. I recently spent two years doing nothing but collecting anthropological field reports of 150 primitive tribes on which some data was given on childhood, hoping to be able to apply psychoanalytic taxology to their child-care methods. What I found was, to the everlasting disgrace of the anthropological community, that there are virtually no reports which are both accurate and complete enough to even begin to judge the outlines of the emotional content of parent-child relations. Anthropologists totally contradict each other's reports on the same groups; they scotomize most of the relevant interpersonal details; they give you weaning averages to the third decimal but forget to tell you what mothers *say* to their children; they react to their own over-controlled childhood by rating wholesale emotional abandonment as "permissiveness"; they feature twenty pages on couvade while burying in a footnote the practice of leaving disobedient infants outside at night "to be eaten by the wild animals"; and so on. The Linton Marquesan studies upon which Kardiner depended in his well-known books have been shown by Suggs and Sheahan to be wholly untrue: "anthropological curiosities". There are dozens of other similar situations, including much of the work of Margaret Mead.

Restudying these tribes now is at best difficult; several young anthropologists are now working on studies for our Journal that will reveal the paucity of factual evidence underlying such cross-cultural summaries as those of Whiting and Child. Until then, one should put little credence in all those reports of tribes with kind, empathic parenting, which, oddly enough, usually produces adults who exhibit a variety of magical, regressive thought-processes. Just one tribe with highly em-

pathic child-care which produces superstition-ridden adults would be enough to disprove all of psychoanalytic theory. I do not believe it will be located, any more than I believe one can document an empathic mother in history prior to modern times. Psychoanalysis is a science and, like other sciences, lives on bold hypotheses and careful attempts to disprove them. Single cases of disproof are enough to invalidate any of its theories. If good parenting is, as I claim, only historically achieved, it would be as impossible to find a "helping mode" empathic mother in the Middle Ages as to find a human skeleton in Mesozoic rock. Evolutionary theory allows arrests but never huge leaps. I welcome, I beg for, attempts to disprove all sections of the theory; such will be the kind of research which will contribute to a truly scientific psychohistory. That is why I began this Journal, and set up this Symposium.

4) *The Class Problem:* Although I specifically refrained from getting into many class differences in this essay, since they were discussed in greater detail in the other nine chapters of the full 450-page book, to say that the child-care patterns I have outlined are solely the experiences of a "garrulous 5 percent of the population" is just plain silly. Indeed, precisely the opposite is true: The bulk of the footnotes supporting my evidence describe non-aristocratic behavior, for the simple reason that, until recently, almost everybody was brought up by lower-class women whether in the house or at wet-nurse, and the pediatricians and other eye-witness reports I rely on so heavily are hardly describing aristocratic personalities. To deny this fact is not only to fail to consult my sources but also to miss a central fact of the history of childhood: If true differences in class mentality can only arise when differing modes of child care are differentially distributed among economic class, then true class behavior only becomes evident in the modern period when more wealthy mothers began to try to bring up their children themselves. Much work remains to be done, as I said in my conclusion, on economic class differences in child care. But from what we already know, it would be a gross distortion to imagine that child abuse was mainly "elitist". Just the opposite, to judge by the growing number of studies now coming in to the Journal for publication in future issues.

5) *The Censorship Problem:* Despite appearances to the contrary, censorship by libraries and museums of sexual materials remains a major obstacle in the path of historical research. All the library restrictions which Wayland Young complained of a decade ago in his *Eros Denied* continue. Scores of scholars returning from Europe drop by my office and tell long tales of crippling restrictions and outright rejection. These range from young historians denied historical records on female masturbation to major writers like G. Rattray Taylor, who described a hilarious if sad account to me of finally getting permission while writing his famous book *Sex in History* to work in the British Museum's "locked

case" room, and having the curator shove books into a desk drawer as Taylor came into the room, saying "*These* even *you* can't see." The main problem with most erotic material is that it is uncatalogued. The first problem about getting to see the erotica kept in the basement of the Naples Museum is to *find out it is there.* Even Licht's famous *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece* is expurgated; nothing in the foreword tells you so. The rule remains: the more sexual, the more secret–and particularly so with sex and children.

6) *Evolutionary Theory and Optimism:* Evolutionists are not always optimists. I deny I am an optimist. Progress in childhood evolution obviously is not inevitable: Australian aborigines still eat their babies as cave men did, and from what they term "baby hunger" (internalizing lost objects), not from nutritional or religious reasons. There is nothing in my paper that precludes the return of the Temple of Moloch; many homes resemble it yet. All that is certain is that if we do nothing to quickly improve the general level of childhood, all the tinkering in the world we do with "institutions" won't save us from extinction by the destructive weapons we choose to place in the hands of infantile leaders. It is this hard fact which I believe is the starting point for the construction of a new psychohistory, and which was the driving force behind my writing the foregoing article on the evolution of childhood.

The full 450-page book, The History of Childhood, *may be obtained by sending $12.50 (plus tax for New York residents) to The Psychohistory Press, 2315 Broadway, New York, New York 10024.*

THE POPULAR CINEMA AS REFLECTION OF THE GROUP PROCESS IN FRANCE, 1919-1929

PAUL MONACO

The concept of collective fantasy or mass psyche, however much used by psychohistorians in the past, was terribly unsatisfying as long as no specific empirical evidence could be pointed to which could be depended on to reflect the content of the fantasy at any particular time. Paul Monaco proposes we use persistent themes in popular cinema as a major index of mass fantasy, and demonstrates the significance of some central themes in French cinema during the 1920's to political conditions of the time.

The art historian Walter Abell has written: "Psycho-historically considered, art is one of the cultural symbols into which society projects its existent states of underlying psychic tension . . . Thus, we are led to conceive the higher forms of cultural expression in any society as manifestations of a 'collective dream'."[1] In support of his theory, Abell cites examples mainly from literature and architecture. The popular cinema, however, may offer a better reflection of the collective latent tensions in society than the works and artifacts of high culture. A movie is usually "essentially a group production".[2] And for that reason alone a popular film likely bears a closer relationship to the group processes within society than an individual artistic creation. The term 'mass culture' does have meaning, and that meaning is accented in the cinema. The high unit costs of feature films mean that they must appeal to a broad cross-section of society, rather than to an elite within society, in order to

produce profits.[3] Films come and go quickly, being seen by millions. The 'timeliness' which a film must possess in order to strike the mass fancy should not be ignored. During the 1920's a feature film normally 'played itself out' within about six months after its première.[4]

Walter Abell speaks of all art works as manifestations of a collective dream. The nature of the cinema experience suggests that films have a unique kinship to dreams. Among Sigmund Freud's observations was that "our dreams think essentially in images."[5] All films–and most emphatically silent films–express themselves primarily through images. The rhythmic luminosity of the film projection itself produces an aura of hallucination.[6] The discoveries of REM-researchers during the 1950's and 1960's make the argument that the dream experience and the film experience are akin to each other particularly compelling:

> Approximately fifteen years ago, scientists discovered that dreaming occurs during sleep characterized by a particular patterning of electrical activity of the brain and by rapid movements of the eyeball, as if the eye were *watching* the pictorial content of a dream. When awakened from this stage of sleep, which occurs periodically through the night, subjects almost always are able to recall a vivid, perceptual hallucinatory (at the same time it seemed *real*), and somewhat distorted drama that would unhesitatingly be called a dream.[7]

The eye movements of the dreamer are not random, but are "associated with the visual characteristics of [his] dream."[8] The same is true of watching a movie: "The film spectator occupies a fixed seat, but only physically . . . Aesthetically he is in permanent motion as his eye identifies with the lens of the camera."[9] Any film projection "temporarily modifies" the psycho-motor comportment of any viewer,[10] in ways quite similar to the psycho-physiological 'third stage' which characterizes dream sleep.[11]

Several general elements reinforce the viewer's psychological absorption into the material presented on the screen. These include the dark magic cave environment of the movie theater, the continuous, uninterrupted nature of a film-showing, the rhythmic luminosity of the projection itself, and the social isolation of the spectator.[12] Specifically, the cinema has mastered techniques and devices that permit a film to cut from scene to scene ignoring limitations of time and space. "The primary structural . . . peculiarity of cinema is discontinuous presentation; the primary means of producing it is the cut."[13] By comparison, notable in dream recollections recorded by numerous REM-researchers, is the subject's use of the descriptive phrase: ". . . and then all of a sudden the scene changed."[14] Just that happens in films, with a frequency and abruptness duplicated in no other art form. Freud unintentionally points up this parallel between film and dream:

> Sometimes, in a dream in which the same situation and setting have persisted for some time, an interruption will occur which is described in these words: 'But then it was as though at the same time it was another place, and such and such a thing happened.' After a while the main thread of the dream may be resumed, and what interrupted turns out to be a subordinate clause in the dream-material—an interpolated thought.[15]

Enrico Fulchignoni claims that "the movie screen compares to a doctor or a center for analysis to which crowds come to indulge in the rite of recognizing their most secret dreams."[16] Yet, the way in which a given film might reflect an individual's unconscious concerns is impossible to study and analyze. When particular films gain exceptional popularity with a defined group, however, those films become valid documents for analysis in terms of collective psychological categories. As Peter Bächlin, the author of *Film als Ware*, neatly puts it:

> The popularity of a film, indeed the very reason for its existence, arises on the whole from the adaptation of its contents to the dominant thoughts, conceptions and basic wishes of contemporary society.[17]

The producers who make feature films do not worry about the medium and what can be done with it; they concentrate, instead, on keeping ahead of the tastes of the mass audience.[18] The popular cinema is a group phenomenon, and should be studied in that light. The 'basic wishes of contemporary society', of which Bächlin speaks, are likely latent. Very few popular films address themselves directly to manifest public concerns.

Historically the cinema is an industry and film is merchandise. An analysis of the latent meanings of the popular films of a given society must at least briefly inform itself of the rudimentary facts of how the film industry functioned in that society. During the 1920's some sixty to one-hundred feature-length films were produced annually in France.[19] Of those native productions, forty-eight can be documented as having achieved wide-spread national popularity in France from 1919 to 1929.[20] The mass audience in France during that decade was a 'national' audience. During those years movie-going could not be identified with any particular economic group, social class, age category, or sex.[21] Nor was the audience for films to be characterized as distinctly urban rather than rural. By the early 1920's there was a movie theater for every 9,000 inhabitants in France; the ratio of movie theaters to population was divided equally as between Paris, the other large cities, and smaller towns and villages.[22] A film which premièred in Paris was seen in Bordeaux and Marseilles, as well as in scores of provincial towns, within a time-span of a few weeks.[23]

During the 1920's the French film industry operated in a relatively free market. The two biggest film firms–Pathé and Gaumont–which had dominated pre-World War One movie-making, steered clear of film-production during the decade following the war.[24] Instead of making movies, both companies concentrated on safer commercial enterprises: the distribution and exploitation of them.[25] Film distribution in France was open and competitive, unlike the situation in the United States where the big producers used the 'block-booking' scheme to force their films on movie theater owners.[26] Pathé and Gaumont did own modest chains of movie theaters, but 97% of the cinemas in France were independently owned by individuals.[27] During the 1920's numerous foreign-made films were imported into France. Of these some (such as the Hollywood films of Charlie Chaplin and Jackie Coogan as well as a number of silent westerns) were popular with French audiences. The popularity of these films does not, however, invalidate the study of the most popular native-produced films as a dream-like reflection of the shared latent concerns of the mass audience in France.[28]

Latent collective meanings of films reveal themselves through analysis of manifest film contents. On the conscious level, movie-goers are, and have been since the advent of cinematography, primarily interested in the content of a movie–that is, the film story and its cinedramatic development.[29] Hence, attention to the cinematographic devices through which that content is portrayed is minimized. Still, the repetition of certain such devices in the popular films of a national cinema may reveal psychologically important tendencies. Moreover, the way in which technical means are used to intensify the impact of certain scenes cannot simply be ignored, and, in some cases, can be of great consequence.

For clarity it is best to begin the process of analysis with the thematic material which is easiest to recognize. Half of the most popular French films of the 1920's handle, in one way or another, an orphan story. The first popular orphan film of the Post-World War One era was *Le petit Café* which premièred in early 1919. In the film, the orphan Albert Loriflan is a waiter who has been tricked into a twenty-year contract by the café owner Philibert. Philibert had learned that Albert had inherited millions from a benefactor before poor Albert himself learned the good news. Albert cannot enjoy his money because he is bound by the contract to pay a high penalty if he quits his job. A happy ending "à la française" finds Albert out of the contract and in the loving arms of Philibert's daughter. During the 1919 cinema season the orphan theme caught on slowly. In *La Nouvelle Aurore* Giselle is an orphan who is eventually reunited to her long-lost father, who had been sent to prison unjustly. But Giselle reunited with her father stands dramatically peripheral to much of the action in the film's complicated plot. Equally peripheral to an intricate plot, albeit emotionally poignant, is the sub-

theme involving the little girl "Petite Ange" in *J'Accuse*. Little Angel is presented to the viewer as an orphan, but she turns out to be the daughter of a French woman who was raped by a German soldier during one of the attacks of 1914. In another popular production of the year 1919, *Travail*, the orphan story is more fully developed. Josine, a working girl, has been left an orphan and must care for her brother Nanet. She becomes the mistress of the brutal Ragu and her life is miserable. Eventually, however, she marries the idealist Luc, and little Nanet, who is raised in their loving home, grows and marries the daughter of a wealthy factory owner.

The story of Josine and little Nanet comes closest among the orphan themes of 1919 to paralleling what became an almost archetypal form of orphan story in French films of the twenties. The most intense portrayals of the orphan theme were exploited by French film-makers during the years 1921 to 1926 with repeated box-office success. Louis Feuillade's *Les deux Gamines*, for example, portrays the adventures of a double pair of orphans—Ginette and Gaby, Blanche and Renée. The viewer follows them down various rocky roads until all four attain adulthood and happiness. Two successful filmic adaptations from Lamartine by the director Léon Poirier—*Jocelyn*, made in 1922, and *Geneviève*, which appeared the following year—centered around orphan stories. The orphan story in each is different, but the emotional impact is similar. Jocelyn, a simple country curé, is entrusted with the care of an orphaned boy during the Terror of the French Revolution. The boy is, in fact, a girl; a girl with whom, in all due course, Jocelyn falls in love. In *Geneviève*, the good-hearted heroine from whose name the title comes, promises her dying mother to care for her younger sister Josette. Here the orphan theme is emphasized twice over. Josette comes of age, and becomes pregnant by a soldier who then falls in battle. Josette abandons her new-born baby. When the baby is found by the authorities, Geneviève says the baby is her own. She goes to jail and on her release learns that Josette has died and the baby has disappeared. A decade passes. One day Josette's son appears during a thunderstorm at Geneviève's humble door. When his true identity is by chance revealed, Geneviève becomes his protector and joins the household of his adoptive parents. In *La Mendiant de Saint-Sulpice* (1924), twin girls are born during a German bombardment of a French village in the year 1870. A cousin of the mother has one of them stolen during the confusion of the German attack, in which his own new-born child has perished. The rogue's aim is to raise the child as his own and someday cash in on an inheritance his own child was due to receive. Years later the twin girls are united not only with each other, but also with their true mother as well. *Enfant des Halles* (also 1924) is a typical film by the highly successful commercial director René Le Prince. A street urchin orphan of

the Paris slums finds a baby girl abandoned in a pile of vegetables at the main market. The boy, named Berlingot, "adopts" the baby girl and takes her to live with the poor family which is keeping him. Later, Berlingot himself is adopted by a rich Canadian couple which has lost its two children in an auto accident. In truth, the little girl found in the vegetable pile was their daughter, who had been picked up and then abandoned by a vagabond who happened upon the scene of the auto accident. The wealthy Canadians die years later. Berlingot is left an orphan for a second time, but this time he is left a rich one. He happens to meet a young lady—the very girl he had found abandoned as a baby. They fall in love and marry.

The basic structure in such French orphan films can be stated simply. An orphan, abandoned and alone in the world, is taken in by a protector or reunited to its parents. In the denouement, the orphan is invariably rewarded with happiness and health, often with wealth, and sometimes with true love and marriage. In each case the story differs, but this variety reduces to uniformity at the psychic level. The popularity of the orphan theme was recognized already in the 1920's by one of France's keenest and most prolific writers on the cinema, Ricardo Canudo. In his *L'Usine aux images* (1927), to characterize the typical popular French cinema of the decade, he chose as representative *Taô*. He described this adventure serial which premièred in 1921: "It's about an orphan—naturally; beautiful, noble, and rich—naturally; exposed to interesting persecutions and saved, after many a hazardous adventure, by a young man who is poor, herculean, courageous, and generous—naturally; who turns out by accident to be her Uncle the Duke de Bellisle, with whom she—just as naturally as ever—falls in love."[30] Whether the film is set in the jungles of Cambodia as in *Taô* or in the Paris of Louis Napoleon as in Henry Roussel's *Violettes impériales* (1923), upon analysis the basic theme in both films is revealed as similar. *Violettes impériales* was one of the commercially most successful French films of the 1920's. Its story revolves around a poor orphan girl named Violetta who is taken under the protective wing of the Empress Eugénie. Violetta is appreciative, and demonstrates it when she saves the Empress from an assassin's bomb. Violetta takes Eugénie's place in the Imperial carriage for a visit to an orphans' home. Violetta knows the dangers; the carriage is bombed. But she survives, saved from the worst effects of the blast by a blanket of flowers presented to her by the little orphans. Eugénie rewards Violetta's loyalty by elevating her to the ranks of the nobility, whereupon Violetta can marry the nobleman she loves.

The plot of *Violettes impériales* is simple when compared to the intricate photoplay of *Joueur d'echecs* (1926). Nonetheless, the plot of *Joueur* evolves from an orphan story, indeed a double orphan story. The main characters are Boleslas, the orphaned son of a countess, and

Sophie, an orphan girl of unknown, but evidently impoverished, background. Both are taken in and raised by the Baron von Kempelen. Boleslas becomes a hero of the Polish nationalist movement. His life is endangered, and he is saved only by the unselfish sacrifice of the Baron. Not surprisingly, Boleslas and Sophie discover their true love for each other as they mourn the Baron's death. True love likewise awaits the orphan hero of *Paris* (1924). Jean Fleury, orphaned at an early age and hence forced to give up his studies and take a factory job, courageously catches a thief trying to steal Professor Roullet's design for a new locomotive. The new engine explodes—the thief is killed and Jean convalesces at the side of his one and only true love, Aimée, who will soon be Mme. Fleury. In *Les Misérables* (1925) Jean Valjean promises the dying young mother Fantine that he will care for her illegitimate daughter. This he does, and little orphan Cosette grows to find true love and happiness in her marriage to the lawyer Pontmercy. The orphan theme is developed in another adaptation from literature, *Les Mystères de Paris* (1922), in which a Duke becomes the protector of the orphaned bistro singer Fleur-de-Marie, and later discovers that she is his own daughter. Yet another variation on the motif of the orphan finding love and security is found in *Visage d'enfants* (1923). A little boy has been embittered by the death of his mother. When one day her vision no longer comes to him, he feels hopelessly abandoned. He is about to jump into the raging torrents of a river when his step-mother appears and saves him. In the arms of this woman, from whom he had felt himself estranged, he now discovers true love and happiness.

The frequency of repetition of the orphan story in the most popular films of the 1920's is in itself striking. No national cinema of any other land at any other time has been so singularly obsessed with this particular thematic material.[31] To interpret the meaning of the orphan films, caution demands consideration of other thematic material in the same set of films which seems to relate to the orphan motif.

Logic would first turn to the noteworthy presence of children in French films of this decade.[32] The association is clear: an orphan is a child bereaved of its parents. Among films which portray children which have nothing to do with the orphan theme proper, *Le Secret de Polichinelle* (1923), *La Terre promise* (1924), and *La Valse de l'adieu* (1928) merit mention.[33] *L'Homme du large* (1920) presents the coming of age of a fisherman's son. Abel Gance's serious-minded *J'Accuse* makes much of scenes of French children playing at war as the real war rages a few kilometers away. Gance employed the juxtaposition of children and soldiers again in his 1927 *Napoleon.* Jean Renoir's comedy *Tire au Flanc* (likewise 1927) reaches its most poignant satirical moment when a group of soldiers on manoeuvre run amuck amidst an outing of school children. In *Maldone* (1928) the restless "roulier" who has set-

tled down temporarily to respectable family life finds his greatest joy in playing with his young son. In *Travail* the idealist Luc Froment becomes aware of the potential for reconciliation of social classes when he sees the children of workers playing happily with the children of a factory owner. When the sailor hero of *Le Baiser qui tue* (1928) fears that he has syphillis, his tortured mind conjures up the worst of all visions–he sees himself attacking his baby son. Finally, the hero of *Crainquebille* (1923) is the little newspaper hawker who befriends a lonely, abandoned, and distraught man. Tenderly and lovingly the boy takes Crainquebille home to live with him.

More examples of children in the most popular French films of the decade could be cited, but they need not be. The pattern is clear. The meaning of it, however, is complex. On the face of it, the portrayal of children in these popular films is not related to the orphan motif in an illuminating manner. What must be considered is not just what all orphans are–parentless children–but rather what orphans are specifically in the French films which depicted them. The thrust of these orphan stories is that an individual is abandoned, alone, lost in the world, and up against great odds. The resolution comes when the orphan is recognized for what he or she truly is. 'Recognition' is followed by reward: being reunited with parent or proper guardians, or else finding the security and happiness of true love.

What is elemental to the orphan movies–being abandoned and alone–is paralleled in another genre of the French popular cinema. Movies which portray the individual attaining his or her greatest achievements when alone and abandoned convey, in different form, the same message as the orphan films.

Abel Gance explained why he made *Napoléon* in a single line: "I did the film about Napoleon because he was a paradox in an epoch which itself was a paradox."[34] That may have been Gance's conscious intention and inspiration, but the emotional emphasis in the film is not on elements of paradox. The dramatic high points come in moments in which Napoleon is alone and abandoned and must master a situation through his force of character. Emphasis upon the lone individual abandoned is also exploited in the two Joan of Arc films which were popular with French audiences during the 1920's. This is particularly true of Theodore Dreyer's much acclaimed[35] *La Passion et la mort de Jeanne d'Arc.* The film's action is confined almost entirely to a courtroom where Joan faces her brutish interrogators. The composition is so dependent upon close-up and medium shots that Joan is seen almost exclusively isolated in the frame against a neutral background. There are few titles in the movie but one of those comes at a dramatic moment when Joan can mumble only: "Alone, alone, alone." Joan is taken to the stake alone, as she has suffered the abuses of her interrogators alone. Only in

the very last scenes of the movie do the townsfolk recognize her true human worth and rise in protest against her persecutors. In *La merveilleuse Vie de Jeanne d'Arc* (produced in 1929, two years after the Dreyer film) the message is likewise clear that Joan must stand alone to realize her true heroism.

The dramatic high point in *Le Miracle des Loups* (1924) is when young Jeanne, the daughter of an advisor to the French King Louis XI, is surrounded by enemy Burgundians as she is on her way to deliver the King's message to his supporters. As the Burgundians close in upon her, the miracle from which the film draws its title occurs. Wolves appear from the surrounding forests, form a protective ring around Jeanne, and force the Burgundians to retreat in fear. She gets through to the besieged city of Perrone and delivers the message. In the meantime her father has been killed. "Alone and now orphaned," as a descriptive title informs the viewer, Jeanne rises to lead the defense of the town. When the battle is over, she is united with her long-lost true love, Robert Cottereau.

The hero of *Les Misérables,* Jean Valjean, is a loner when he first leaves prison. He assumes various disguises and performs a number of good works. At the end of the film he gains belated recognition for all that he has done. In *Travail* Luc Froment is abandoned and scorned by the very people he wished to help through a visionary reordering of society. Finally, however, he wins their approval and appreciation. The hero of the war film *Chignole* (1919) steals a plane against orders and shoots down an enemy German fighter single-handedly. Thus, does he win the approval of his officers and the hand of Sophie Bassinet. In another war film, *La grande Épreuve* (made nine years after *Chignole*), the soldier Paul undertakes alone the risky mission of blowing up a supply depot behind German lines. This he achieves, but he returns to the French trenches badly wounded. He recovers, however, in time to celebrate the armistice with his engagement to the lovely Claire.

Several films already mentioned as examples of the orphan film genre portray beside the orphan figure an abandonded, lonely character whose good works are recognized belatedly: *Jocelyn, Geneviève,* and *Les Mystères de Paris. L'Homme du large* is yet another movie which depicts the final triumph of an individual who has been left alone and abandoned. It tells of a fisherman's son who comes of age and falls in with a bad pack. As punishment, his father binds him in a fish-net and puts him into a little one-man boat which he sets adrift upon the sea. Alone, abandoned, and disowned, the young man is reborn through this experience. In the final scenes of the film he is seen, brave, courageous, and manly, captaining his own small craft at sea. A similar story of an individual who comes upon hardship, runs amuck, finds herself alone and abandoned, and wins redemption and recognition through her suf-

fering is developed in Jacques Baroncelli's *La Légende de Soeur Béatrix* (1923). In an earlier film by the same director, *Le Secret du 'Lone Star'* (1920), the heroine is left alone after her father's suicide. In turn, her fiancé abandons her when she is accused of a felony. In the end she demonstrates her true human worth, whence her innocence is recognized, and she is reunited with her lover.

All of these popular French films which portray stories of orphans or other abandoned individuals are "hero" movies. Interestingly, the basic common elements in these films resemble elements discovered by Otto Rank some seventy years ago in his studies of myths from various cultures. Rank concluded that "the normal relations of the hero towards his father and his mother regularly appear impaired in all these myths."[35] In general, this is true of the French films under discussion here. Rank adds: "Summarizing the essentials of the hero myth we find the descent from noble parents, the exposure in a river and in a box, and the raising by lowly parents; followed in the future evolution of the story by the hero's return to his first parents."[36] The characteristic elements of the French films are close enough to those characteristics established by Rank for traditional myths to allow the generalization that in many instances the French popular cinema of the 1920's provides a throwback to the classical and primitive mode of telling a hero story.

In the French popular movies the 'exposure' of an orphan or of another hero figure who is abandoned is never literally in a river or in a box. But certain motifs in the French films do mesh with these elements, most dramatically the repetition of water imagery and seascapes on the one hand and the significance of landscape cinematography on the other.

Seascapes are important in such films as *La Bataille* (1923), *Le Baiser qui tue*, *Coeur fidèle* (1923), *J'Accuse*, and *La Nouvelle Aurore*. Water plays a dramatic-symbolic role as well in *Les Deux Gamines*. The orphans Ginette and Gaby go to the seashore to spread flowers on the water in memory of their mother who was lost in a shipwreck. They are offered a ride by a Monsieur Bersange and his sister; this incident marks the beginning of a development whereby the girls are united to their mother, who did not perish in the shipwreck after all. As has already been mentioned, the little boy in *Visages d'enfants* is saved from drowning himself in a raging river by his step-mother. In *Napoléon* the symbolic birth of the hero occurs when Bonaparte decides to leave behind the comfortable life which could be his on Corsica and sets forth in his little boat (using the French tri-color as a sail) upon the swelling seas in search of a greater destiny. Water imagery is, of course, important in *L'Homme du large*, as well as in *Maldone*, *Rose France* (1919), and *Le Secret du 'Lone Star'*.

This frequent repetition of water imagery is the unconscious representation of group psychic wishes dealing with birth. This interpretation follows the established analytical view that water dreams are most often birth-related in individual cases.[37] Other material, both manifest and latent, in French popular films of the 1920's reinforces the validity of this interpretation.

Landscape cinematography was prominent in the French cinema of the 1920's. On the surface, the landscape passages in popular French films often seem to be incidental and gratuitous–lingering visualizations of countryside with little apparent aesthetic or dramatic 'raison d'être' in themselves. In films as different in plot and technical development as *La Valse de l'adieu* (1928), *Le Femme nue* (1926), *La Dame de Monsereau* (1923), *Taô*, *Les deux Gamines*, and *Un Chapeau de paille d'Italie* (1927) landscape photography is significant. In the war films *J'Accuse*, *La Grande Épreuve*, and *Verdun, Visions d'histoire* (1927) landscape footage is essential. Likewise, landscape cinematography is dramatically and emotionally important in Marcel l'Herbier's *Rose France* and *L'Homme du large*. The same is true of the lone film by Jean Epstein which achieved broad popularity, *Coeur fidèle*. Jean Gremillion's *Maldone* has been repeatedly cited in histories of the cinema as a masterwork of landscape cinematography.[38] The earliest French films in which nature and landscape imagery were fully developed were directed by Jacques Baroncelli and Léon Poirier,[39] and between these two "cinéastes" five films were made during the 1920's which were among the most popular in France.

The most important French 'school' of cinematography during the 1920's was the impressionist movement in directing, which was inspired by the theoretical writings of Louis Delluc. It is not so important that a handful of directors tried to develop impressionism in the film by emphasizing a particular approach to landscape photography. More revealing for the purposes here is that many of the devices and techniques pioneered by the true cinematographic impressionists crept into the work of commercial film-makers. For this indicates that the French mass audience had a sharp and sympathetic eye for landscape photography, which was not true of other national audiences.[40]

Though production capital was often hard to come by in France during the twenties, French film-producers were notably willing to spend money for films shot on location.[41] This preference for shooting on location and filming outdoors (rather than in a studio) would not have been sustained were the results not appealing to French audiences. Moreover, investment capital in film research in France during the 1920's was directed almost entirely into the development of techniques for making color film–this while in all other lands research time and money were

channelled into attempts to perfect a process for producing synchronized sound films.[42] Of the few studios built in France during the decade, most were built in the sunny south near Nice and were constructed as "glass cages" to create a filming atmosphere in which "natural, outdoor" lighting prevailed.[43] The cinema capitalists put their money where they think the mass audience's heart is. Thus, such investments (in filming on location, the development of color film, and building of glass-cage studios) are revealing as part of the psychohistory of a national cinema.

The common visual effect of landscape photography in the French films of the 1920's is a sense of affirmation, an impression of being at one with the world. There is no opposition between man and nature in the French movies of the 1920's, whereas just the opposite is true, for example, of the popular German films of the same decade.[44] Many of the French films allude directly to the life-giving and sustaining force of nature. As the director Marco de Gastyn accurately described his cinematographic characterization of Joan of Arc in *La merveilleuse Vie de Jeanne d'Arc:* "A peasant, she clings to the soil with all her atavism, as if she herself were a product of that soil."[45] In *La Force de sa vie* (1920) young Jean Paoli returns from Paris to his native Corsica, where he spends weeks communing with nature, thus regaining his spiritual as well as his physical energies. The hero of *Le Baiser qui tue* goes to his native Brittany, where his closeness to the soil speeds his recovery from wounds suffered when he saved his fellow sailors from a shipboard explosion. Napoleon too is portrayed as a son of the soil in the Abel Gance film of 1927; Bonaparte reaches his most profound thoughts while meditating in isolation in the Corsican countryside. Frédéric Chopin in *La Valse de l'adieu* returns to the peaceful Polish village of his birth from Paris when he reaches the limits of his emotional energies. The dramatic high point in the grandiose war film *Verdun, Visions d'histoire* comes when an elderly farmer shouts to weary French troops: "Don't let them pass, comrades." Those words keynote the Frenchmen's successful defense against the final German assault. As a title explains the farmer's words: "It was as if the land itself were speaking to them."

In general, landscape scenes in French films of the twenties are developed with a studied patience. The controlled slowness induces the feeling that the viewer is lingering in the spot being photographed. Landscape footage is often repeatedly edited into the filmic action. The final effect is that often the scenes of countryside and nature convey a sense of comfort and affirmation on the one hand, and a distinct feeling of "déjà vu" on the other. That editing in French films of the 1920's was slow-paced is an observation reinforced by various contemporary comments. Rex Ingram, an American film director who sometimes worked in France during the decade, characterized French productions by say-

ing: "The immobility of the entire structural form combines with the amiable inaction of the performers."[46] Considering the most popular French films of the 1920's, this generalization holds for almost every case.[47] Elie Faure devoted much attention in his writing on cinema to criticism of the slow-paced editing and near total lack of visual movement in the typical French movies of the era.[48] The French style sometimes disturbed foreigners in particular. In an open letter published in the *Courrier cinématographique* in 1928 R. Waage, the director of the "Filmkuset" in Bergen, Norway, claimed that French-produced films were invariably received unfavorably by Norwegian audiences because they had "too slow movements".[49] In France itself, however, the general reaction to "la lenteur du développement" was most often favorable.[50]

It is in the landscape and seascape passages in French movies that the slowness and repetitiousness of the cinematographic development is most clear. These settings, and the manner in which they are presented on the screen, combine to create a feeling of affirmation, familiarity, and comfort. It is in just this way that the landscape cinematography in French films is akin to the water imagery in these same films. The landscape passages represent an unconscious birth motif. According to Freud, individual dreams of landscapes or other localities yield "a convinced feeling of having been there once before", whence landscapes symbolize the mother's womb. This meaning holds for female as well as male dreamers; Freud's original phrase "Das Genitale der Mutter" refers in this context to the genital rather than the sexual quality of the mother's equipment.[51] The landscapes in French films represent birth, as do the seascapes. For at the unconscious level what seem to be opposites (landscapes/seascapes) are interchangeable, an equivalence affirmed by the distinctive mode of cinematographic presentation in both cases: the camera lingering, familiarly and intimately.

The first collective obsession that can be established from the French popular cinema of the 1920's concerns children and birth. The obsession with children is reflected manifestly as well as latently. The meaning of this obsession with children and birth can be understood best in light of the demographic situation which existed in France after World War One. France was the single major European nation in which the birth rate had levelled off before the end of the nineteenth century. By the 1920's, France's population growth rate had already been at a near-standstill for almost five decades. In 1890 Arsène Dumont's *Dépopulation et civilisation* had appeared in France,[52] and on the eve of World War One Jacques Bertillon had published a work entitled *La Dépopulation de la France.*[53] Before World War One France was not yet losing population; compared to other European nations, however, she was no longer growing. Between 1871 and 1911 the total population growth rate was barely 9%.

In the same period population growth in European Russia stood at 78.2%, in Germany at 57.8% and in the United Kingdom at nearly 43%.[54] World War One brought France's relatively low population growth rate to a standstill. During the war France lost proportionately the most of any nation in human as well as in material terms.[55] 1,400,000 Frenchmen died, and twice that many were seriously wounded. In crude mathematical terms, the incorporation of Alsace and Lorraine into the French Republic after the war just about replaced the number of men that had fallen.[56] But, in fact, 30% of all French males between the ages of eighteen and twenty-seven had died in the war. This minimized the number of potential fathers in the demographic curve during the decade following the war. The war years themselves were marked by a startling decline in the rate of marriage, a trend that held throughout the 1920's.[57] The fertility rate had fallen during the war years too, and that decrease was not appreciably reversed in the post-war era.[58] In 1911 France had a population of 41,476,000. In 1921 the population was barely over 39 million. Only by 1936 did France again reach the forty-one million mark.[59]

In itself, a standstill in birth rate and even a slight loss in total population is no cause for undue national concern. Yet just such concern spread in France. At the end of the 1920's Ludovic Nadeau's popular *La France se regarde; Le problème de la natalité* appeared in print. Nadeau concluded that France's claim to be a major power was at stake in the population issue. He backed this argument with specific examples, citing as most important his claim that Germany would be forced to pay its reparation debts only when France took heed of the "répoulateurs" and began churning out progeny at record rates.[60] Another example of popular concern for the standstill in France's birth and population growth rate is found in a series of articles run by the Parisian daily *Bonsoir* during the year 1923. The items which appeared were demographic figures from a French and German town of equal size which were printed without further comment. The message was clear. For example:[61]

Montelimar (France)		*Limarteberg (Germany)*
pop. 13,150		*pop. 13,400*
1	marriages	30
0	births	40
4	deaths	4

The public concern over birth and population in France during the 1920's sprang from a fear of France's possible long-range loss of great power status, to be sure. More importantly, however, that fear was refined by the more immediate concern over a future challenge from the recently defeated but still larger and stronger neighbor on the other side

of the Rhine. By the early 1920's Germany already counted over sixty million inhabitants; her rate of population growth was not retarded as was France's. The birth imagery and portrayal of children in the most popular French films represent the working off of this pressing group obsession. The wish-fulfillment which recurs time and again in these movies is one in which births abound and happy children romp and play with an unconscious eye on the national future. These popular films disguised what they were really about—the psycho-symbolic solution of one of the major problems to which post-war France was a sorry heir.

That very problem, however, would have been alleviated had developments in international relations gone as the French were led to believe they would go by the Versailles Conference. Those twenty million more Germans would have been a minor worry rather than a major threat had the two major co-designers of the Versailles settlement, the United States and Great Britain, shown themselves willing to live up to guarantees of France's security. This was not the case. Within a year of their formulation those guarantees were rendered worthless. The collective security provisions of the Versailles Treaty (Article 16 of the League of Nations charter associated with the Treaty, to be exact) were overshadowed by the refusal of the United States to join the League and by England's adoption of an increasingly more generous position towards Germany during the 1920's.[62] Wilson and Lloyd George had promised other separate protective treaties to France as well. But these treaties had to be ratified by both the United States and England before going into force. The British ratified theirs, which did not take effect, however, as the United States failed to follow suit. Increasingly France became alarmed for her security. She sought then to ensure it by forging a system of Eastern alliances, a project which she had begun during the first quarrels with Wilson and Lloyd George even before the Versailles Treaty had been finalized.[63]

The "entente cordiale" under whose aegis France and England entered the war as allies in 1914 became the "rupture cordiale" of the 1920's. France certainly wanted it to be otherwise. Her attempts to go it alone against Germany (notably the 1923 occupation of the Ruhr) as well as her searching out of substitute allies (Poland and the "Little Entente," and 'collective security' through the instrumentality of the League of Nations) were, in retrospect, but a sad charade. What France wanted was a return to the situation in which her security would be guaranteed by her old Allies, that is, her old protectors and guardians, primarily England and secondarily the United States.

France had been abandoned. She was a diplomatic orphan. This is the main group psychological meaning of the orphan theme in French movies of the decade following World War One. The orphan films present a recurrent, dream-like working off of the French national trauma

of having experienced in short order the disintegration of those very alliances which had meant victory instead of defeat in the First World War, and which were assumed to be the necessary guarantee of French security for the future. Like the orphans and other heroes of her most popular movies, France found herself abandoned, for all practical purposes alone in the world, and up against big odds.[64] The message in those films is almost always the same—the orphan is recognized for what he or she is, and is reunited to those who love him or her most, be it parents (i.e., the rightful guardians) or a true love (i.e., the proper partner). On the group unconscious level the wish-fulfillment is that France should be recognized for what she truly is, whereupon she would be reunited (that is, re-allied) to her old protectors England and the United States. There seems to have been two forms to that national wish: regain *protectors* of 1917/1918, England and the United States; recover *alliance,* with England. The first is represented by the orphan regaining its parents. The second, by the regaining of the old, true beloved.

The unconscious group wish in the orphan films finds a direct parallel in the number of French films of the 1920's which end in marriage or at least in a partnership which is presumed to be right and lasting. In the discussion of the orphan films, many titles have been cited which end in marriage or engagement. To be added to the list are *Les Exploits de Mandrin* (1924), *La Dame de Monsereau, Le Miracle des Loups, La Force de sa vie, Les Transatlantiques, Le Baiser qui tue,* and *Verdun, Visions d'histoire.* This in itself is significant, for a word for marriage in French is "alliance", the same word used for a formal diplomatic partnership, an alliance between nations. The association here is clear; it makes the argument all the more compelling that a persistent meaning of these films refers to the group psychic wish to see the old protective partnership between France and England formally reestablished. The argument is compelling twice over if a common dramatic situation in these most popular French films is taken into account as well. Often the marriage or engagement that occurs signifies the reestablishment of a long-standing true love that had in some way, often through a misunderstanding, been interrupted.

In *La Femme nue,* for example, the painter Rouchard falls in love with and marries the model Lolette. Their life together is a joy on earth until Rouchard makes the acquaintance of a seductive princess. A misunderstanding occurs between him and Lolette over this. In the end, however, the couple is reunited, and a mutual friend of theirs assures Rouchard: "Imbécile . . . elle t'aime toujours." In *Violettes impériales* Violetta cannot return the love of a dashing nobleman because of her impoverished past. Her courageous deeds, however, merit her elevation to the nobility, whence she can be united forever to her lover. In *La Rue de la Paix* (1927) the lovely Manon and her true love, the designer Laurent, have a misunderstanding over her relationship to the million-

aire Ally. In the last scenes Manon and Laurent are happily reunited, and Ally recognizes that these two people truly belong together. The heroine of *La Terre promise*, the Jewess Lia, loves the Christian André. She is urged to sacrifice for the good of all the Jews of her Bessarabian town, however, and marry her wealthy Uncle. She is about to do just that when Uncle Moïse himself recognizes that he was mistaken in asking for her hand. Lia and André wed, and the happy couple enters the "promised land" of marital bliss. In *La grande Épreuve* the brave French soldier hero Paul falls in love with a nurse named Claire. Because of a letter he finds in the pocket of his dying brother Max at the front he is misled into thinking that he and Max love the same girl. The misunderstanding is corrected. As bells toll the armistice of November 1918, Paul and Claire announce their engagement. The misunderstanding in *Le Secret de Polichinelle* is on the part of the parents of wealthy Henri de Jouvenal. They disapprove of his marrying the working-class Marie. Only when they come to know and love the illegitimate son of Henri and Marie do the elder Jouvenals recognize their error and bless the marriage. In *L'Homme du large* the sister of the young man who has gone bad gives up her lover and enters a nunnery to atone for the sins of her brother. As soon as she realizes that her brother has overcome his misspent past, the sister leaves the cloister and rushes to the passionate embrace of her true love. At the end of *Taô*, the Cambodian girl Soun retires to a Buddhist convent. This might seem to be a contradition to what happens in *L'Homme du large*, but it is not. Soun has merely decided to devote the rest of her life to prayer and meditation, having realized that Jacques, whom she loves, rightfully belongs to his lover Raymonde, to whom he is now united until death do them part.

The common theme shared by all these films can be summarized succinctly. The original love relationship has been interrupted by a misunderstanding. That misunderstanding is recognized for what it really is, whence the correct, original relationship can be reestablished.[65] At the group psychic level this means that the original, informal partnership with Great Britain which had collapsed after 1919 because of a misunderstanding (or so the group mind wanted to interpret it) should be recognized as the right and natural partnership, whence would follow the fulfilled wish of the partnership being reestablished in a permanent, formal "alliance".

It is noteworthy that when popular French films of the 1920's deal with a 'triangle' love story, the second (or substitute) partner is neither undesirable nor an enemy. The substitute lover has come between two lovers only because an unfortunate misunderstanding has separated them temporarily. The substitute lover is not 'undesirable', but simply 'less desirable' than the proper partner. The portrayal of the substitute partner is furthermore usually sympathetic in that he or she in the long run recognizes the greater force of the true love relationship, and with-

draws from the triangle. This elaboration of the triangle story points to the complex diplomatic relationship in which France found herself during the 1920's. When France's original protective alliances dissolved, she turned to a substitute partnership with several Eastern European nations. Based on the so-called "Little Entente" this arrangement was always considered, if not always openly recognized, as a substitute arrangement, a "pis aller", a "système hybride, force provisoire".[66] The French really wished that this substitute partnership would give way to the reestablishment of the original partnership. In these films there is, however, an unconscious refusal to offend the substitute partner; thus, the 'less desirable' rather than the 'undesirable' formulation in the triangle story.

It is common for feature films to portray violent deaths, accidents, murders, crimes, and so forth. Violence as a manifest element in a given cinema reveals little. Of greater importance are the differences between the ways in which filmic violence occurs and what it means. If there are crimes, who is the villain and who is the victim. If there are murders, what sort of murders and which weapons are used. These are the sort of subtle analytical considerations that reveal most about the real meaning of violence in the cinema of a particular nation in a particular era.

The source of danger in popular French films of the 1920's is always precisely defined. There is no question as to who is the culprit and scant development of suspense. The most popular French films of the decade included no detective movies, no whodunits. Danger is always recognizable and recognized—the hero (or heroes) must deal directly with it.

Often the villain in French popular films is portrayed as an outright brute, whether it be Ragu in *Travail,* Rollin in *La Mendiante de Saint-Sulpice,* Lau in *Le Miracle des loups,* Mlle. Benazer in *Les deux Gamines,* or Alerof in *Paris.* The same is true of the long-lost wretched father of Berlingot in *Enfant des Halles,* the mean Russian major in *Joueur d'échecs,* the abusive chief prosecutor in *La merveilleuse Vie de Jeanne d'Arc,* and the nameless archetypal brute in *Coeur fidèle.* The brute is big and aggressive; his choice victims are innocents, defenseless children, women, and, of course, orphans. In other French films of the decade in which the villain is not cut to the mold of the brute it is nonetheless always a single character who is up to no good. In *Violettes impériales* the evil-doer is Violetta's own brother gone bad, the wild-eyed anarchist bomber. The prime mover in all things bad in the film version of *Les Trois mousquetaires* (1921) is Cardinal Richelieu. In *Taô* it is the half-breed criminal of that same name.[67] In *L'Atlantide* (1921) it is the seductive temptress from whose name the film title comes. In *Napoléon* it is the rabble-rouser and English agent Paoli.

The portrayal of the single villain takes its meaning from the French situation of the 1920's. For all practical purposes France had only one

enemy–a clear and recognizable source of potential danger, Germany. The characterization of the brute in these films reinforces this interpretation (France as orphan, France as abandoned and up against it; hence, Germany as brute).[68]

Another element typical to the handling of violence and danger in the popular French films is the blood the viewer sees. Its meaning is not to be disregarded. In films about World War One blood is a common and not unexpected visual motif: *J'Accuse, Chignole, La grande Épreuve.* The same is true of those other films which portray other wars and war scenes: *La Mendiante de Saint-Sulpice, La merveilleuse Vie de Jeanne d'Arc, Napoléon,* and *La Bataille.*

More precise and illuminating references to blood which is shown can be drawn from other films. In *Rose France* the young American Marshall Dudley Gold goes to a fortune teller to find out if the patriotic French girl Franciane really loves him. Not insignificantly, the woman draws a sample of Marshall's blood and reads from it of Franciane's passionate love for poor, suffering France. When Joan of Arc, in the Theodore Dreyer film about her trial and persecution, is finally forced into a confession by her interrogators, she must submit to a bleeding. In *Le Miracle des loups* the villain Lau tricks Robert Cottereau into firing upon his own true love Jeanne. In the last scenes of the film, however, Robert and a blood-covered Jeanne are reunited in a loving embrace. At the end of *Les deux Gamines,* the long-lost father of Ginette and Gaby is reunited with them. He had led a wretched criminal life. In the last reel he reforms. He offers blood to a dying hospital patient. It is a noble sacrifice, and as doctors finish bleeding him, a title tells the viewer that Manin had been morally regenerated. He dies peacefully, a hero born of this sacrifice. In *L'Homme du large,* when the young man who has gone bad robs the meagre savings of his own poor family, his sister attempts to stop him. In so doing, she is cut on the arm and bleeds copiously. A sequence of close-up and medium shots emphasizes her bleeding as she raises her hand to cross herself, symbolizing her decision to enter a nunnery to atone for the sins of her brother. In *Coeur fidéle,* when the crippled girl shoots the villain, he falls dead beside a baby's crib. A medium shot captures the joyous face of the baby and the blood-covered face of the slain brute in the same frame. In *Les Exploits de Mandrin* the evil Bournet d'Erpigny, who has nefariously seen to it that Mandrin be hanged in spite of the King's reprieve, is found stabbed to death, his shirt soaked in blood. In *Violettes impériales,* little Violetta emerges blood-splattered from the Empress's carriage after her own anarchist brother had planted a bomb. Blood flows too in *Jocelyn, Geneviève, Joueur d'échecs, Taô, Travail,* and *Le Secret du 'Lone Star'.*

Violence can be dramatized in the cinema without a trace of blood being actually seen. This is emphatically the case in the films of other national cinemas of the 1920's, in which blood is never shown on the

screen.[69] The blood that is repeatedly seen in French popular films is a minor detail; a minor detail, however, only on the surface level. On the unconscious level the blood seen represents the French blood lost between 1914 and 1918. Proportionately France had suffered the greatest human losses of the war. She had been bled, and she knew it. And during the 1920's the collective national psyche was obsessed with the memory of that bleeding. Commenting on the possibilities of Franco-German rapproachment towards the end of the decade, Georges Clemenceau wrote:

> And when Mr. Streseman [the German Foreign Minister] declares seriously that 'the path is now open for cooperation between Germany and her neighbors', he is acting as the spokesman for the most criminal people of all history who, *having been unable to take the very last drop of our blood*, now ironically offer us the privilege of reconstituting their strength at our costs.[70]

The blood which is seen in the popular French movies of the twenties relates to the theme of sacrifice in that same set of films. This theme reasserts itself repeatedly. In films such as *Genèvieve, Jocelyn, Violettes impériales, Joueur d'echecs,* and *Les Mystères de Paris* the theme of sacrifice is as strong as the orphan theme. In *L'Enfant des Halles* and *Les Misérables,* the sacrifice of the hero is undertoned, but its presence is still significant. The notion of sacrifice is blended into the hero stories in both Joan of Arc films, in *Napoléon,* and in *Chignole.* Ellen Frendy in *Le Secret du 'Lone Star'* is willing to sacrifice her own good name and even the true love of her fiancé in order to save the reputation of her deceased father. Lia in *La Terre promise* is ready to sacrifice and marry a man she does not love for the good of her people, as, indeed, is Prince Sasha in *L'Education de Prince.* In *Taô,* Soun leaps to shield Chauvy from Taô's bullets, which thus strike her instead. In *La Bataille,* in *Koenigsmark,* and in *L'Homme du large* the sacrifice occurs at the end of the film when in each case the heroine decides to forsake her own happiness for a loved one. In *J'Accuse* and *La grande Épreuve,* both heroes, Jean Diaz and the soldier Paul, respectively rise to the moment and sacrifice themselves against great odds. In *Les deux Gamines* Manin sacrifices himself to help another and earns his own redemption as a human being in so doing.

In the films cited, the sacrifice is always worth it—always, in some way, rewarded. What is repeatedly portrayed in all these instances of sacrifice is exemplified in the scenes of the 'raising of the dead' in Abel Gances *J'Accuse.*[71] French soldiers lying dead on the battlefield are resurrected. They march forward and confront their relatives and friends. Then they return to those various positions of death on the battlefield from which they miraculously rose. Each one of the soldiers now knows

that his death "has served a grand sacrifice". The recurrence of the sacrifice theme in various popular French films of the 1920's reflects the on-going group obsession with the notion that France had made a noble sacrifice as a nation in World War One, and that the sacrifice had been worthwhile. Here the wish-fulfillment in the set of celluloid dreams comes closest to merging fully with the mythological. France's role in World War One was in no way 'sacrificial'; that it was, however, is precisely what the French group mind wanted to believe. France had entered the war in 1914 hoping for a swift victory and sweet rewards. Instead, the fighting bogged down within her own frontiers, and the war of attrition which followed cost her dearly. After 1918 in many quarters in France the view was held that France had won the war but not the victory–that Germany had come out better than she should have and France worse off.[72] Things turned sour. The promised German reparations went mostly unpaid. The alliances which were to assure France's future security disintegrated. The unconscious wish of the French group mind as revealed through the analysis of her most popular native-produced films was that she, the abandoned orphan, the old true lover, the good heroine, should be recognized for what she was, whence would follow the happiness and sense of security she deserved. The claim upon that recognition was embodied in the myth of France's sacrifice. The group mind wanted to believe in "France, yesterday the soldier of God, today the soldier of humanity, always the soldier of the ideal."[73] Thus, the group mind attempted to convince itself at the unconscious level by way of its film-dreams that France's role in World War One had been one of sacrifice rather than merely one of suffering. This was the group psychic way of working-off the collective trauma born of France's immediate post-war disappointments. For France had entered the war, then the peace, with naturally selfish aims and expectations which were quickly dashed by the evolution of the historical situation and the conflicting self-interests of other nations.

Only five French-produced films set in World War One attained broad popularity with the national audience during the 1920's. These movies were *Chignole*, *La grande Épreuve*, *J'Accuse*, *Rose France*, and *Verdun, Visions d'histoire*. Another half dozen films handle dramatic material dealing with some other war: *La Bataille*, *Joeuer d'échecs*, *La Mendiante de Saint-Sulpice*, *La merveilleuse Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, *Le Miracles des loups*, and *Napoléon*. Three other films contain direct references to the First World War: *Les deux Gamines*, *Koenigsmark*, and *La Nouvelle Aurore*. In all these cases the references to World War One or some other war are conscious and undisguised. More revealing are the concealed references to France's wartime experience of 1914-1918. Shortly after the première of Theodore Dreyer's *La Passion et la mort de Jeanne d'Arc* in 1927, an English reviewer commented:

> To any who have an historical, political, sociological, or even a logical flair, Joan [the Dreyer film] will be a failure. We are tired of seeing the war anyhow, but how insufferable it would be if we saw it tricked out in a romanticism that made it just a sensation to wring our hearts. So with Joan.[74]

Intriguing it would have been had the author of those lines elaborated upon that odd half-sentence–"We are tired of seeing the war anyhow . . ." Elaborate he did not, but the meaning of those words can only be that the Dreyer film, featuring hobgoblinish prosecutors who abuse and persecute the innocent, childlike, abandoned heroine Joan, is a parable of World War One. The association between the Joan of Arc story and the First World War is drawn directly in Marco de Gastyn's *La merveilleuse Vie de Jeanne d'Arc.* Joan's childhood friend, Rémy Loiseau, who has carried her standard, falls in battle. Later Joan goes to his grave to pray. As she kneels, the tombstone inscription changes visually before the movie viewer's eyes:

> Rémy Loiseau, Royale Lorraine, Rocroy, 1643
> Rémy Loiseau, Garde française, Fonteroy, 1745
> Rémy Loiseau, 3ème demi-brigade, Valmy, 1792
> Rémy Loiseau, 1ère Voltigeurs, Montmirail, 1814
> Rémy Loiseau, 156ème d'infanterie, Verdun, 1916

The reference here to an actual recent event in national history is blunt, primitive, and rare. It is not the manner in which references to the shared collective national experience normally occur in cinematographic dreams. The manner in which national events and their consequences are reflected in the popular cinema is oblique, disguised, and unconscious. The attempt here has been to try to unravel and decipher the meaning of the repetitive themes and motifs of a particular cinema. Psychological and historical categories of analysis have been interwoven to get at the unconscious meaning of these popular movies for the group mind of the audience to which they appealed. By these standards, the interpretive analysis of the French popular cinema of the 1920's discloses disguised patterns of reference to the shared trauma of World War One and its immediate post-war consequences for France as a whole.[75]

In the text the terms 'group mind' and 'collective unconscious' have been used. They are catchphrases meant to describe a phenomenon about which little is known. In this essay their meaning is figurative rather than literal, and limited rather than all-encompassing. 'Group mind' refers to concerns, some conscious, others unconscious, which were evidently shared by large numbers of persons who composed the mass movie audience in France during the 1920's. World War One was an event which the nation shared as a nation, and every Frenchman's consciousness of this personal sharing overlapping into the realm of col-

lective sharing was stimulated, heightened, and exploited in various ways during the war itself. The sense of nation and one's belonging to it was, of course, fostered in many ways, through many institutions, long before the cinema was discovered.

The 'group mind' refers to received ideas and notions which enjoyed broad conscious or unconscious currency. These were, at times, manipulated by governments or elements within society, but they were spawned in the first instance by shared experiences. The formation of the group mind is situational, hence historical. The intensification of the feeling of belonging to a group is precipitated by a rise in group consciousness (brought on by a shared experience, such as war) which, in turn, increases the level of participation in the shared feelings of the group unconscious. The 'group mind' has nothing to do with national character or race, and this is demonstrated in the analysis of the French popular cinema of the 1920's. Those films reflect a collective obsession with particular historical events and their aftermath; they reflect nothing of the 'Gallic spirit' or the 'French mentality'.

Not all individual members of a group, whether it be a nation or a social class within a nation, are fully aware of the group mentality and the extent of their absorption into it. Not all potential members of a group are individuals who actually do share in the group mentality. The integration of any given individual into the conscious or unconscious processes of the group mind, or alternatively an individual's remaining aloof or hostile to the group mind, is a variable which can swing either way in any individual case. In this regard material and situational conditions for integration into the processes of the group mind are as much modified by individual psychological factors as those factors are by material and situational causes of a determinant nature.

The analysis of films in this study derives its interpretations only through the shared, public, mass dimension. The notion that some may have that an individual's public concerns are relatively superficial in his individual psychology is irrelevant. The popular cinema is collectively produced, and the most interesting level of response to it is collective and unconscious.

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3. Jean Galtier Bossiere, "Réflexions sur le cinéma 1920", Le Crapouillot, édition spéciale, "Histoire du cinéma", November, 1932, p. 6. And, Howard Lewis, *The Motion Picture Industry* (New York, 1933), p. 81; Jacques Durand, "Le film est-il une marchandise?", *Le Cinéma, fait social,* XXVIIème semaine sociale universitaire, 20-25 April, 1959, Brussels, p. 40; Peter Bächlin, *Der Film als Ware* (Basel, 1947), p. 38; Charles Ford, *Bréviaire du cinéma* (Paris, 1945), p. 88.
4. Henri Fescourt, *et al., Le Cinéma: des origines à nos jours* (Paris, 1932), p. 143; and *Die Lichtbildbühne,* 15. Jahrg., Heft 13, 25 March 1922, p. 17.
5. Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams,* trans. and ed. by James Strachey (New York, 1965), p. 82.
6. Jean Deprun, "Le cinéma et l'identification", *Revue Internationale de Filmologie,* no. 7, July/August, 1947, p. 38.
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8. *Ibid.,* p. 47.
9. Edwin Panofsky, "Style and Medium in Motion Pictures", in Daniel Talbot, *Film: An Anthology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), pp. 18, 19.
10. Gilbert Cohen-Seat, H. Gastaut, and J. Bert, "Modifications de l'E.E.G. pendant la projection cinématographique", *Revue Internationale de Filmologie,* Tome V, no. 16, January-March, 1954, p. 20. See also Y. Galfriet and J. Segal, "Cinema et physiologie des sensations", *Revue Internationale de Filmologie,* nos. 3, 4, October, 1948, pp. 292, 293 and Henri Gastaut and Annette Roger, "Effets psychologiques, somatiques, et électroencéphalographiques des stimulus lumineux intermittents rythmiques", *Revue Internationale de Filmologie,* Tome II, nos. 7, 8, pp. 215 ff.
11. Foulkes, *op. cit.,* pp. 21 and 23. Herman A. Witkins and Helen B. Lewis, *Experimental Studies of Dreaming* (New York, 1967), p. 9 and pp. 45-47.
12. Enrico Fulchignoni, *La Civilisation de l'image* (Paris, 1969), pp. 30, 31. Also, Agostiono Gemelli, "Le film, procédé d'analyse projective", *Revue Internationale de Filmologie,* Tome II, no. 6, no date, p. 136.
13. Raymond Spottiswoode, *A Grammar of the Film* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965), p. 201.
14. Foulkes, *op. cit.,* p. 64.
15. Freud, *op. cit.,* p. 371.
16. Fulchignoni, *op. cit.* p. 72, 73.
17. Bächlin, *op. cit.,* pp. 12, 13.
18. Pauline Kael, "Movies: The Desparate Art", in Talbot, *op. cit.,* p. 54.
19. André Chevanne, *L'Industrie du cinéma* (Bordeaux, 1933), pp. 43-47.
20. The list of most popular French films for the years 1919-1929 was documented from the French film trade journals *Le Courrier cinématographique* and *La Cinematographie française.* See Paul Monaco, *Cinema and Society in France and Germany, 1919-1929,* unpublished dissertation, 1974, Brandeis University, pp. 300-368.
21. Durand, *op. cit.,* p. 34. Also, Georges Sadoul, *Le cinéma devient un art* (Paris, 1956), p. 442, and Claude Bonnefoy, *Le cinéma et ses mythes* (Paris, 1965), p. 63.

22. Chevanne, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Jacques Durand, *Le cinéma et son public* (Paris, 1958), p. 91. During 1919 the journal *La Cinématographie française* ran a series of articles and reports on film theaters in France under the title "Le tour de France projectioniste"–see, for example, *Le Cinématographie française*, 2ème année, numéro 4, 25 January 1919, pp. 79, 80; *ibid.*, numéro 6, no date, p. 76; *ibid.*, numéro 8, no date, p. 62; *ibid.*, numéro 24, 19 April 1919, p. 35. Also, *Le Courrier cinématographique*, 14ème année, 23 August 1924, pp. 17, 18, and *ibid.*, 30 August 1924, pp. 25, 26.
23. Paul Leglise, *Histoire de la politique du cinéma français:* "Le cinéma et la IIIème république" (Paris, 1970), p. 55. For a general comment on this aspect of the broad appeal of the silent cinema, see A. J. P. Taylor, *From Sarajevo to Potsdam* (London, 1966), p. 97.
24. Jacques Pietrini, "Le Défaitisme de Monsieur Pathé", *La Cinématographie française*, 3ème année, numéro 103, 23 October 1920, pp. 22, 23; Jean Mitry, *Index historique du cinéma* (Paris, 1967), p. 135; Alexander Jason, *Jahrbuch der Filmindustrie* (Berlin, 1923) I, 32; G.-Michel Coissac, *Histoire du cinématographe* (Paris, 1925), p. 481; Friedrich Zgliniki, *Der Weg des deutschen Films* (Frankfurt a.M., 1955), p. 412; Rene Jeanne and Charles Ford, *Histoire encyclopédique du cinéma* (Paris, 1947) I, 485.
25. Already in 1919 it was clear to Pathé and Gaumont that safer profits could be earned in the distribution and exploitation branches of the film industry. See, *Le Courrier cinématographique*, 9ème année, 12 July 1919, p. 2.
26. The practices of American firms are discussed thoroughly in Henri Mercilon, *Cinéma et monopoles* (Paris, 1953). See also Durand, *Le Cinéma et son public*, p. 1. The best discussion of American booking practices compared to those common in Europe is in Bächlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 ff.
27. Walter Dadek, *Die Filmwirtschaft* (Freiburg i. Br., 1957), p. 21.
28. Indeed, the types of foreign films which appealed to a national audience may well provide reinforcement of interpretive conclusions based on analysis of native-produced films.
29. See the discussion of film and film plots in: Bela Balazs, *Der sichtbare Mensch, eine Film-Dramaturgie* (Halle, no date), 2. Auflage, pp. 35-37; Robert Gessner, *The Moving Image* (New York, 1968), a monograph dedicated to studying 'what is fundamental in cinema as a story-telling art form'; Roy Huss and Norman Silverstein, *The Film Experience* (New York, Evanston, and London, 1968), pp. 127 ff.; Ernest Lindgren, *The Art of the Film* (London, 1948), pp. 35-37; Rod Whitaker, *The Language of Film* (Englewood Cliffs, 1970, pp. 139 ff.
30. Ricardo Canudo, *L'Usine aux images* (Geneva, 1927), p. 87.
31. Other national cinemas have, of course, produced orphan films. The American cinema of the 1920's was, in fact, fond of the genre. The important point is that these American orphan films differed in dramatic development and emotional impact from their French counterparts. Moreover, the popularity of the orphan film in the United States was neither so persistent nor nearly so intense as in France.
32. Since this essay concentrates on analyzing the unique mixture of themes and motifs in a particular popular cinema, it is always helpful to have comparative evidence at hand. The German popular cinema of the 1920's did not often show children. Sixty-three films could be documented as having been exceptionally popular with Weimar audiences. Of those, only *three* have any child actors, and in none of them are children central characters; see Monaco, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-462.
33. Little David, the adopted son of the Rabbi in *La Terre promise* is an orphan. But this fact is only once alluded to in the movie, whence the film has not

been counted among those of the orphan genre.

34. Carl Vincent, *Histoire de l'art cinématographique* (Brussels, no date), p. 21. Cited also in Jeanne and Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 338, 339 and in Georges Sadoul, *Histoire du cinéma français* (Paris, 1962), p. 32.
35. Otto Rank, *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero* (New York, 1964), pp. 65, 66.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
37. Freud, *op. cit.*, pp. 435 ff. See also, Rank, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
38. Henri Agel, *Miroir de l'insolite dans le cinéma français* (Paris, 1958), p. 99.
39. Sadoul, *Histoire du cinéma français*, pp. 24, 25.
40. The Germans, for example, produced very few films incorporating landscape passages during the 1920's. See, Ludwig Kapeller, "Die deutsche Landschaft als Filmbühne", *Die Lichtbildbühne*, Heft 13, 29 March 1919, pp. 30-32; Robert Spa, "Dans les studios de Berlin", *Ciné-Miroir*, 7ème année, numéro 147, 27 January 1928, no page number; Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler* (Princeton, 1947), p. 75.
41. Émile Roux-Parassac, "Le Studio France", *Ciné-Miroir*, 7ème année, numéro 176, 17 August 1928, pp. 535 ff.; "Les Films tournés au Maroc", *Ciné-Miroir*, 4ème année, numéro 82, 1 September 1925, pp. 275, 276.
42. Kenneth Macpherson, "As Is", *Close-Up*, no. 1, July, 1927, p. 8.
43. Fescourt, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 155.
44. The opposition of man and nature was particularly keen in the popular German 'mountaineering' films of Arnold Fanck and others. For general comments on the subject see Kracauer's *From Caligari to Hitler* and Lotte Eisner's *Die dämonische Leinwand* (Wiesbaden/Biberich, 1955). Specifically, see Léon Poirier, "Nature et cinéma", *La Cinématographie française*, 6ème année, numéro 270, 5 January 1924, pp. 23-25.
45. *Le Petite Illustration*, numéro 408, supplément cinématographique numéro 14, 24 November 1928, p. 10.
46. H. A. Potamkin, "Le Cinéma américain et l'opinion française", *La Revue du cinéma*, 1ère série, numéro 4, 15 October 1929, p. 56.
47. The single exception among the forty-eight most popular French films of the decade is *Un Chapeau de paille d'Italie*, which was directed by René Clair.
48. Elie Faure, *Fonction du cinéma* (Geneva, 1964), p. 29. The same idea is expressed in somewhat different form by Canudo, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
49. *Le Courrier cinématographique*, 19ème année, numéro 4, 29 January 1928, p. 9. That other foreign audiences reacted in much the same way as the unreceptive Norwegians to French-produced films is confirmed in O.B., "Vision d'histoire", *Close-Up*, Vol. II, no. 2, February, 1928, p. 20.
50. Agel, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
51. Freud, *op. cit.*, p. 435.
52. Ludovic Nadeau, *La France se regarde: Le Problème de la natalité* (Paris, 1931), p. 443.
53. Michel Huber, Henri Bunle, and Fernand Boverat, *La Population de La France: Son Évolution et ses perspectives* (Paris, 1950), p. x.
54. Nadeau, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Huber, Bunle, and Boverat, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11; André Armengaud, *La Population française au XXème siècle* (Paris, 1965), p. 8.
55. Jacques Chastenet, *Les Années d'illusions, 1918-1931* (Paris, 1960), pp. 15, 16.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.
57. Armengaud, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 17.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19. A detailed discussion of the subject is found in Philippe Ariès, *Histoire des populations françaises et leurs attitudes devant la vie depuis le 18ème siècle* (Paris, 1948), pp. 386-427 and pp. 461-470.
59. Jacqueline Beaujeu-Garnier, *La Population française* (Paris, 1969), p. 9.
60. Nadeau, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

61. *Bonsoir* (Paris), 9 August 1923, p. 4.
62. Fernand L'Hullier, *De la Sainte-Alliance au pacte atlantique* (Neuchatel, 1955), II, 139 and 160 ff.; also, Chastenet, *op. cit.*, p. 79 ff. See also, Carl Bergmann, *The History of Reparations* (Boston and New York, 1927), for a discussion of England's attitude towards Germany and France's reaction to it.
63. Pierre Renouvin, *Histoire des relations internationales: "Les Crises du XXème siècle"* (Paris, 1957), I, 191 ff.; Frederick L. Schuman, *War and Diplomacy in the French Republic* (New York and London, 1931), pp. 253 ff.; Charles Petrie, *Diplomatic History* (London, 1948), pp. 332, 333. Also, Arno J. Mayer, *Politics and Diplomacy of Peacemaking: Containment and Counter-revolution at Versailles, 1918/1919* (New York, 1967) and Ivo J. Lederer, *The Versailles Settlement* (Boston, 1967). An interesting Marxist interpretation of France's falling out with England is to be found in W. J. Potjomkin, *Geschichte der Diplomatie* (Berlin, 1948), I, 114 ff.
64. Of particular interest are several French monographs written during the 1920's on this subject: Charles Gautier, *L'Angleterre et nous* (Paris, 1922); Alcide Ebray, *A Frenchman Looks at the Peace* (New York, 1927), trans. by E. W. Dickes; Henri Brenier, *French Points of View* (Marseilles, 1921), trans. by the author. See also, *Les Délibérations du Conseil de Quatre* (24 Mars-28 Juin 1919), notes de l'Officier Interprète Paul Mantoux (Paris, 1955), vol. II.
65. In a handful of French popular films the dream-wish is distorted with regard to the actual reuniting of the lovers. Instead, an emotional, psychological form of reuniting occurs, which serves to reinforce the group psychological wish-fulfillment motif of the most typical movies: *La Bataille, Koenigsmark, La Legénde de soeur Béatrix, Maldone, Les Trois mousquetaires,* and *La Valse de l'adieu.*
66. L'Hullier, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
67. The only exception to the rule might be found in *Taô.* But "L'Esprit du Mal" is revealed in quick fashion to be Taô, and the potential mystery is resolved before its cinedramatic development begins. The film story of *L'Atlantide* is curious, but it is no real mystery. The source of danger is clearly recognized, although it is peculiar.
68. During World War One popular propaganda in France had characterized the Germans as brutish–Huns who raped women and murdered babies. That the image of the "Boche" as brute carried over into the films of the 1920's on the subconscious level is not surprising.
69. The German popular films of the same decade scrupulously avoided showing blood on the screen. See, Monaco, *op. cit.*, pp. 253 ff.
70. Georges Clemenceau, *Grandeurs et misères d'une victoire* (Paris, 1930), pp. 329, 330. [My italics.]
71. The Gance film (which we re-made in a sound version in 1938) is often considered to be a pacifist film; see, René Jeanne, "Les Metteurs en scène français: Abel Gance", *Ciné-Miroir,* 2ème année, numéro 22, 15 March 1923, p. 86, and also Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 63 and Kevin Brownlow, *The Parade's Gone By* (London, 1969), pp. 533 ff. The film, however, has only some superficial and naive pacifist overtones, as a close viewing of it reveals. For a general discussion of war films and the reasons why none of them are truly pacifist, see Michael Radtke, "Irrwitzige Schlachten: Ein Film Anti-Krieg ist kein Film Anti-Krieg", *Film und Fernsehen,* 9. Jahrg., Heft 5, May, 1971, pp. 15-19.
72. Louis Forest, "Pourquoi les Allemands ne se semblent pas vaincus", *Le Matin* (Paris) 2 January 1919, p. 2. Articles of this sort and tone were to be found commonly in almost all popular French newspapers and magazines, particularly during the few years immediately following the war. Interesting are the

articles in this vein which appeared in the film trade journals, such as: P. Simonot, "Achevons la victoire", *La Cinématographie française*, 2ème année, numéro 13, 1 February 1919, pp. 3, 4, or *Le Courrier cinématographique*, 10ème année, numéro 39, 25 September 1920, which editorialized: "Don't do a thing my friends, just go on living. Germany will pay. You are the victors –dance! And you danced, and you're still dancing. But it's not Germany that is paying, it's us."

73. Chastenet, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13.
74. Kenneth Macpherson, "As Is", *Close-Up*, vol. III, no. 1, July, 1928, p. 9.
75. Two French film historians have written: "At the end of the war (World War One) one can say that France continued to exploit, though perhaps less forcefully, the themes that were popular before the war," Maurice Bardech and Robert Brasillach, *Histoire du cinéma* (Paris, 1966), 201. The statement is misleading. On the unconscious level the popular films of 1919-1929 were the reflection of group psychic tensions born of the post-war period. But even on the surface level, post-war French films differed from their pre-war predecessors. The pre-1914 favorites, the fantasy films and primitive science-fiction movies of Georges Melies, the comedies of Prince Rigadin and Max Linder, and the adventure serials of Louis Feuillade differ essentially in manifest content, and to some degree in technique, from the films which were popular in France after 1919. On the other hand, the persistence of the theme of the individual isolated and abandoned in French films right up to the eve of World War Two has been suggested in Raymond W. Whitaker, *The Content Analysis of Film: A Survey of the Field, An Exhaustive Study of 'Quai des Brumes', and a Functional Description of the Elements of the Film Language*, unpublished dissertation, 1966, Northwestern University, pp. 254 ff.

The popularity of each film was based on reports found in the two major French film trade journals for the period, *La Cinématographie française* and *Le Courrier cinématographique*. In a few cases monographs and other printed works on the French silent cinema were helpful in double-checking this documentation.

In so far as possible, the content analyses of the films were based upon the viewing of the films themselves. This work was greatly facilitated by the help of Madame Mary Meerson of the Cinémathèque française and the staff of the Cinématheque Royale de Belgique. Both archives permitted access to all pertinent film copies in their holdings. For those films for which no extant copy could be located, the content analyses were based on written summaries printed in the movie magazine *Ciné-Miroir*, or, in a few cases, on the original scenarios preserved in the Bibliothèque des hautes études cinématographiques.

French Popular Films (1919-1929)
In Alphabetical Order

Film Title	*Name of the Director*	*Year in Which the Film Premiered*
L'ATLANTIDE	Jacques Feyder	1921
LE BAISER QUI TUE	Jean Choux	1928
LA BATAILLE	E. E. Violet	1923
UN CHAPEAU DE PAILLE D'ITALIE	René Clair	1927
CHIGNOLE	René Plaisetty	1919
COEUR FIDÈLE	Jean Epstein	1923
CRAINQUEBILLE	Jacques Feyder	1923

Film Title	*Name of the Director*	*Year in which the Film Premiered*
LA DAME DE MONSEREAU	René Le Somptier	1923
LES DEUX GAMINES	Louis Feuillade	1920
L'EDUCATION DE PRINCE	Henri Diamant-Berger	1927
ENFANT DES HALLES	René Le Prince	1924
LES EXPLOITS DE MANDRIN	Henri Fescourt	1924
LA FEMME NUE	Léonce Perret	1926
LA FORÇE DE SA VIE	René Le Prince	1920
GENEVIÈVE	Léon Poirier	1923
LA GRANDE ÉPREUVE	A. Duges and A. Ryder	1928
L'HOMME DU LARGE	Marcel l'Herbier	1920
J'ACCUSE	Abel Gance	1919
JOCELYN	Léon Poirier	1922
JOUEUR D'ÉCHECS	Raymond Bernard	1926
KOENIGSMARK	Léonce Perret	1923
LA LÉGENDE DE SOEUR BÉATRIX	Jacques Baroncelli	1923
LA MADONE DES SLEEPINGS	Maurice Gleize	1928
MALDONE	Jean Gremillion	1928
LA MENDIANTE DE SAINT-SULPICE	Charles Burguet	1924
LA MERVEILLEUSE VIE DE JEANNE D'ARC	Marco de Gastyn	1929
LE MIRACLE DES LOUPS	Raymond Bernard	1924
LES MISÉRABLES	Henri Fescourt	1925
LES MYSTÈRES DE PARIS	Charles Burguet	1922
NAPOLÉON	Abel Gance	1927
LA NOUVELLE AURORE	Gaston Le Roux	1919
PARIS	René Hervil	1924
LA PASSION ET LA MORT DE JEANNE D'ARC	Theodore Dreyer	1927
LE PETIT CAFÉ	Raymond Bernard	1919
ROSE FRANCE	Marcel l'Herbier	1919
LA RUE DE LA PAIX	Henri Diamant-Berger	1927
LE SECRET DU 'LONE STAR'	Jacques Baroncelli	1920
LE SECRET DE POLICHINELLE	René Hervil	1923
TAÔ	Gaston Ravel	1921
LA TERRE PROMISE	Henry Roussel	1924
TIRE AU FLANC	Jean Renoir	1927
LES TRANSATLANTIQUES	Pierre Colombier	1927
TRAVAIL	Henri Pouctal	1919
LES TROIS MOUSQUETAIRES	Henri Diamant-Berger	1921
LA VALSE DE L'ADIEU	Henry Roussel	1928
VERDUN, VISIONS D'HISTOIRE	Léon Poirier	1927
VIOLETTES IMPÉRIALES	Henry Roussel	1923
VISAGES D'ENFANTS	Jacques Feyder	1923

FROM THE SOURCES

Steel harnesses for girls; England (1790):

> "A few days after my arrival [at boarding-school], although perfectly straight and well-made, I was enclosed in stiff stays with a steel busk in front, while, above my frock, bands drew my shoulders back till the shoulder-blades met. Then a steel rod, with a semi-circle which went under the chin, was clasped to the steel busk in my stays. In this constrained state I, and most of the younger girls, had to prepare our lessons. The chief thing I had to do was to learn by heart a page of Johnson's dictionary, not only to speak the words, give their parts of speech and meaning, but as an exercise of memory to remember their order of succession."
>
> Mary Somerville, *Personal Recollections, From Early Life to Old Age* (London, 1873), p. 22.

Steel harnesses for girls; America (1787):

> Reports she has sent to Mrs. Washington collars which "may be raised by means of a screw" to force the girls to keep their heads up. "I have made a little ornament of ribbon which may be worn over them as a disguise when the young ladies are dressed and go without a vandyke. It is a pity that a fine form be spoiled by a child's not holding herself erect. Indeed, I think it is essential to health and beauty to hold up the head and throw back the shoulders. It expands the chest and prevents those ridiculous distortions of face and eyes" produced by "a foolish bashfulness."
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> Elizabeth Powel to Martha Washington (Nov. 30, 1787) as quoted in James T. Flexner, *George Washington and the New Nation* (Boston, 1969), pp. 316-17.

THE ENGLISH PURITANS AND PREGNANCY, DELIVERY AND BREAST FEEDING

R. V. SCHNUCKER

The estimate of William Gouge that less than one woman in twenty nursed their own children in seventeenth-century England provides the background to Professor Schnucker's survey of Puritan childbirth and breast feeding practices, which he provides in enough detail to begin to grasp some of the motivations and fears of parents when having a new baby.

The breeding, bearing, and bringing up of children was of such a serious matter for Puritans that one of their ministers, Thomas Gataker, who lost two of his four wives as a result of complicated childbirths warned the unmarried woman in his book *A Wife Indeed* to recognize the requirements and consequences of being a wife and mother.[1] The soundness of his warning is revealed in a letter of autumn 1626, in which Mary Proud wrote of Anne Faversham who had given birth to a daughter and almost died from hemorrhaging.[2] Another example of the sensitivity to the dangers of childbirth was expressed by Elizabeth Jocelin. After her marriage when she was twenty-seven and pregnant, having never suffered a sick day in her life, and after having felt the first movement of the foetus, she secretly bought a new winding sheet. Elizabeth died as her child was born.[3] The fate of Elizabeth brings our attention to pre- and post-natal knowledge and attitudes among English Puritans, specifically pregnancy, delivery, and breast feeding. The first

part to be discussed in this paper is their knowledge concerning conception and their attitude toward pregnancy.

The Puritans did not understand the process of conception. For example it was taught that the male child was conceived on the right side of the womb as the result of plentiful sperm issuing forth from the right testicle of the man.[4] Female children came from the left testicle of the man and were conceived on the left side of the womb. The Puritans reasoned that the male was hot and the liver, the source of the hot moist blood and on the right side, provided the proper environment and position for the conception of male children. Females who were cold would be conceived on the left cooler side of the womb.[5] It was believed that the age of the parents and the quality of their "seed" affected the ultimate character of the child.[6] For example, the children of old men seldom had a good temperament for ". . . old men beget most part wayward, peevish, sad, melancholy sons, and seldom merry."[7] Those men who engaged in coitus when the stomach was full, would father children who would be either sick or crazy; a drunken man causing conception would father a brainless child; ". . . foolish, drunken, or haire-brain women, most part bring forth children like unto themselves . . ." Those men who ate great quantities of garlic or onions or who fasted inordinately, or studied too hard would make their children subject to madness and melancholy for ". . . if the spirits of the brain be fusted . . . at such time, their children will be fusted in the brain: they will be dull, heavy, discontented all their lives." If a woman at the time of her conception thought of another man, the child to be born would be like him; similarly during pregnancy by desiring something intensely or by being scared, the mother could cause moles, warts, hare-lips, monsters, and scars on the unborn child.[8]

Signs of pregnancy given by one medical writer included the following: if a woman drank cold water and her breasts became cold, she was apparently pregnant.[9] If the woman's urine was poured over barley seed and it sprouted after ten days, she had conceived.[10] If a man felt a sucking at the end of his penis during coitus, the woman was pregnant.[11] A woman had conceived if she took great sexual delight in her husband; if her stomach became flat; if she suffered from morning sickness; if her menstrual period stopped; if her breasts swelled; if she felt movement of the foetus.[12]

William Gouge, a famous Puritan clergyman, charged the mother with the major responsibility for pre-natal care. The first age of a child was its infancy he wrote, and the first part of the infancy was while the child was in the mother's womb. As soon as a woman realized she was pregnant, she ought to have special care about herself so that the child would go full term and be safely delivered. His reason for this was ". . . the child being lodged in her, and receiving nourishment from her

(as plants from the earth) her wellbeing tends much to the good and safety of the child . . ."[13] If the suggestions made by Gouge and many of the medical manuals were followed, then the pre-natal care was basically sound by modern standards. The suggestions consisted of a good diet, moderate exercise, and a helpful husband.

The diet was to be substantial but minus spicy and salty foods. The diet was to include bread made of good wheat well baked; meat consisting of chicken, capon, young pidgeons, turtle, pheasant, veal, mutton; any kind of fruit preferably at the end of the meal; starchy foods such as peas and beans were to be avoided.[14] Exercise was to be moderate and the woman was to avoid running, leaping, dancing, and riding long distances in wagons and coaches.[15] Rueff told the pregnant woman to be cheerful and to get sufficient rest.[16] During pregnancy, there was often a desire for strange foods; this was called the "longing for Pica" and various causes were assigned to this desire such as the growth of the child's hair, or the time of the new moon, or the vomit of a newly pregnant woman.[17] The pregnant woman's dress was to be light and comfortable and she was to avoid lacing herself tightly to match the fashions.[18] Under no circumstances was blood letting to occur, particularly if the foetus had grown large because it had more need of good nourishment than it had required earlier.[19] In the event the pregnancy became burdensome for the woman due to the size of the edema, it was recommended that a sling be devised that would keep her from having too much pain and would keep the skin from stretching too much.[20]

The husband was advised to treat his pregnant wife kindly, to use his utmost to ease her pain, discomfort, and needs with sweet and loving words.[21] Gouge told his male readers to be very tender with their wives and helpful to them for they owed such help and tenderness to their wives and children.[22]

Today when the practice of midwifery in America has practically become a lost art, how many wives could go next door to help their neighbor in delivery as Richard Oxinden's wife did for her neighbor Mrs. Francis Tilghman in the early seventeenth century?[23] In the world of the English Puritans there were no sterile hospitals into which mothers could enter for delivery; there were no medically trained obstetricians surrounded by various modern devices that would make delivery easier and safer. Delivery in the Puritan's world would usually take place in the bed in which the conception also had occurred; those in attendance were neighbor women or relatives knowledgeable in the art of midwifery; and no anaesthetics were available to assuage the pains of labor and birth. If complications developed and a caesarian delivery was necessary it was performed only upon dead women or those sure to die.[24] The more experienced midwives were licensed by bishops since

they had the authority to baptize a newly born infant if its chances for survival were not good.[25] The bishop's license apparently meant the midwife knew the proper formula for the sacrament of baptism and that her character was generally good.[26]

The custom of the time was to send for the midwife and a few responsible women of the neighborhood to aid the pregnant woman when time for delivery was imminent. There were two reasons for more than one or two women to be present: first, they functioned as witnesses for the birth of the child; second, they would learn about delivery and could thus disseminate this information among other women for any of them might be called upon in an emergency to help deliver a child.[27]

The skill of the midwife depended a great deal upon her experience and ability to glean helpful information from some of the works available to her that dealt with childbirth. Not a great deal was available in written form in England until the early seventeenth century when some French works were translated into English. This paucity of written information was partly due to the attitude that childbirth was a mystery reserved for the observation of women only; thus male physicians were excluded from the delivery room. It was not until the Chamberlains, the innovators of the forceps, came to England that much of an effort was made in England by male physicians to enter the area of obstetrics. As late as 1658, Dr. Willoghby, called to advise a midwife about a difficult delivery had to creep into the delivery room on hands and knees and then had to examine the laboring woman while she was covered in a semi-lighted room. Upon finishing the examination, he had to crawl out of the room and consult with the midwife in the hallway.[28] When difficulties in delivery occurred, the outcome was not pleasant to contemplate. Boaistuau made this painfully clear in his description of what might happen:

> But that which is more cruel, and that we cannot apprehend with out horror, is, that sometimes they be forced to call Chirurgians, Mediciners, and Barbars, in stead of wise Matrons and mid-wives, to dismember the children and pull them out by pieces, and sometime it behoveth to open the poor innocent mother alive, and put iron tools in her body, yea to murder her, for to have her fruit.[29]

By 1637 at least two French works were available in English that could have served as valuable guides for the midwives. *The Expert Midwife* by Jacob Rueff was published in 1637 while a quarter of a century earlier, *Childbirth* by Jacques Guillimeau had been published. Both translators of these works apologized to the female reader for intruding into her sanctuary. Yet they were concerned about the lack of information among the midwives.[30] The translator of Guillimeau's work asked, was it better for millions to perish through want of help and informa-

tion or that ". . . such means which though lawfull in themselves, yet may by some be abused, should be had and used?"[31]

The above books said that a midwife should possess certain qualities. She was to be beyond the age of child-bearing, but neither too young nor too old. She was to be healthy and have no diseases nor be deformed in any part. She was to be neat in her dress and in her person. Her hands were to be small with the nails pared and very clean and even. She was not to wear rings when she was about her business.[32] She was to have a pleasant and merry disposition and accustomed to hard work so that if necessary she could stay awake two or three nights.[33] She was not to be gossipy nor report anything she might hear or see in the privacy of the childbirth room.

There were three ways in which childbirth took place: squatting, supine, or sitting. Rueff recommended the birth stool while Guillimeau preferred the supine position in a bed. The Puritans and their Anglican colleagues had nothing to say about which position was better or worse, or which had more theological signification or was an archetype of this or that in the Scripture.

The birth stool was similar to a very sturdy chair with a strong back and most of the seat cut away so that the remaining part was in the form of a new moon. Around the bottom was draped black cloth and the seat covered with cloths so that the woman would not be bruised and neither would the child as the two of them moved about in the process of labor. As the labor pains became more frequent and birth was imminent, the woman was placed on the stool, the midwife stationed another woman behind the back of the stool to better hold down the laboring woman. Two other women were stationed at either side of the stool to hold her arms as the pains became greater and more rapid. Then the midwife knelt before the laboring woman and after having greased her hands with a concoction of the oil of lillies, sweet almonds, and hens grease or some other ointment, she reached into the vagina to determine the opening of the cervix and the closeness of the birth as well as the position of the child. If necessary, the midwife gently stretched open the mouth of the womb and helped to direct the child's entry into the world being careful not to let the child drop to the floor. As soon as the child had emerged, the midwife cut the umbilical cord and bound it and wrapped the child to keep it warm. The midwife then returned to the new mother and helped with the afterbirth. The midwives were very much aware of the necessity of the expulsion of the afterbirth and had various prescriptions to aid in this process such as seven pills of ungentum bascilicum.[34]

The same basic process was followed if the woman was in the supine position; a woman at each side, the midwife standing at the foot of the

bed ready to aid in receiving the child. Both men suggested a kind of breath control that would aid in labor but only to be used as the mouth of the womb was open. Guillimeau gave his instructions concerning this to the midwife this way:

> when her throws come upon her making them double and increase, by holding in her breath and stopping her mouth and forming herself, as though she would go to the stool, which is much fitter for her to do than to lie crying and lamenting.[35]

The clearest explanation of a normal birth and the more detailed instructions were found in Guillimeau's work. Rueff's work went into more detail with illustrations of how to handle abnormal births. He even included drawings of various tools, such as the forceps, that could be used in aiding the birth of the child. Many of these techniques with modern refinements are still used in hospitals today.

Although the puritans said nothing theological about the technique of delivery, they did have a good deal to say about the labor pains that accompanied birth. Bullinger, often the precursor of many Puritan attitudes on human sexuality, stated the woman must put her trust in God and gladly suffer labor pain because it was a cross placed upon her by God as the result of Eve's sin. He quoted I Timothy 2.15 where it stated that woman brought sin into the world but her honor could be recovered by the bearing of children; thus ". . . should Christian wives remember in all their cross and to be glad willing and of a good courage therein."[36] In his *New Catechism,* Becon took the same stance; labor pain was due to the first sin and was a means for women to redeem themselves.[37] This idea was not unique to England. In 1574 John Alday translated and had published Boaistuau's *The Theatre or Rule of the World* and in this work, Boaistuau declared that if a man would consider carefully all the misery and pain of birth, he would find in it the truth of an old proverb: ". . . we are conceived in filth and uncleanness, born in sin and care, and nourished with pain and labor." He went on to state that man's entrance into the world was bathed with blood and pain ". . . which is nothing else but the image and figure of sin . . ."[38] The curse of the woman turned into a double blessing said Smith, when she suffered the pangs of childbirth. First she brought forth a child, the first blessing in Scripture, and second she had salvation through the labor process.[39] This redemptive quality of labor pain appeared also in a prayer written by Samuel Hieron. The prayer was to be used when the labor was about to begin or while it was in progress.

> O Lord, I now find my experience the truth and certainty of thy word, and the smart of the punishment which thou layest upon me being in the loins of my Grandmother Eve, for my disobedience towards thee. Thou hast greatly increased the sorrows of our

> sex, and our bearing of children is full of pain . . . Make me still to lift up my Soul unto thee in my greatest anguish knowing that thou alone must give a blessing to the ordinary means for my safe delivery.[40]

While men were seldom allowed into the room where birth was taking place they had a healthy respect for what was going on. Gouge for example instructed the husband to provide for his wife during the time of her delivery for she could not provide for herself in her pain.[41] Gouge envisioned labor pain to be the greatest that ordinarily was endured by any. The pain was manifested by screeches, outcries which came not only from weak and faint-hearted women but also ". . . are forced from the strongest, the stoutest woman that be, and that though before hand they resolve to the contrary."[42] Perhaps this reflected Gouge's own experience while he paced the floor outside the room where his wife was giving birth; his wife gave birth to thirteen children, the last one in 1624, two years after the publication of *Domestical Duties,* and she died as the result of this complicated pregnancy and childbirth. Richard Rogers during the painful labor of his wife's first delivery, reflected upon what was happening and what he would do if she died as a consequence of the birth; he paused again during her next childbirth.[43] Perhaps he had in mind a situation similar to that described by Lucy Hutchinson. She recalled that a relative of her husband had given birth to twins but the birth was so difficult that the young mother went insane.[44] Although the Puritans thought of childbirth with labor pain as justifiable, it was still a time of fear and trembling for both husband and wife. Research concerning the aristocracy has born this out; mortality among aristocratic women was high, with 45% dying before fifty years of age and one-fourth of them from the complications of childbirth.[45]

One of the reasons for numerous women in the birth room was to serve as witnesses. Some mothers, having given birth alone, abandoned their newly born baby in a convenient place so that it would become a ward of a parish, or killed the child and disposed of it.[46] It was commonly believed that a woman would not tell a lie while in the midst of labor. The witnesses would note if the father was proclaimed to be someone other than the husband, or in the instance of an unmarried mother, the man named was then to care for the child's support.[47] The consequences of bastardy were serious in a land where inheritance laws were followed strictly and only legitimate children could inherit. As Agrippa said in 1534: "For he is base born, and is the son of the people, yea rather the son of no man, which is the child of a woman not lawfully married."[48] Even in cases of bastardy when the parents were prosecuted with the punishment involving public repentance and whippings, it still was hard to control.[49] In Wiltshire in 1578, there were

eighty-four cases of bastardy that came before the court.[50] Perhaps this was why Barnaby Rych wrote this sarcastic comment: "She that hath born a bastard to a man of note, she thinks it to be no blemish at all to her reputation; nay, she thinks the better of herself."[51]

After the child was born, it had to be nursed. Baby-bottles were generally unknown although in some instances a cow's horn was used to serve the purpose of nursing and in some wealthier homes, a silver pap-boat was used; but these devices were rare.[52] The normal procedure was for the mother to nurse the infant or for a wet nurse to be employed for that purpose. In some instances the nurse came into the home or the infant was sent to a village to be nursed.[53] Many protested against wet nursing but the women of the wealthier families still tended to give this responsibility to other women.[54]

The Puritan ideal, overwhelmingly affirming the necessity of the mother to nurse her infant, was based upon the Scripture, and grudgingly allowed the use of wet nurses when the life of either mother or infant was endangered. Henry Smith wrote that as the fountains of the earth gave forth water for drinking, so were the breasts of women made to nurse their infants. Drawing further from nature, Smith observed that every beast and bird was bred and nourished by its mother except the human female who allowed someone else, the wet nurse, to feed her young. He likened this to the cuckoo who laid eggs in a sparrow's nest to be hatched and fed by the sparrow.[55] When some acted as if the female breast was only for show and ostentation, the staunch Puritans Robert Cleaver and William Perkins argued that God had given the female two breasts to nourish infants.[56] Even the bachelor Dillingham gave his affirmation to the practice of the mother nursing her infant. "I refer the duty that the mother is to perform to her child: namely, the duty of nursing the same . . . why has nature given women breasts full of milk, but that they should nurse their own children.[57]

The Puritans turned to the Scripture to support their position that the nursing of an infant by its mother was not only the way of nature but was also God's will. Gouge for example was convinced that God's word implied in some passages that nursing was a duty; in other places God expressly commanded it through the example of holy women; and in still other places it was taken for granted by God that it would not be denied a newly born infant.[58] The passages most frequently cited involved Sara,[59] Mary,[60] and the injunction of I Timothy 5.10-14.[61] After having given the examples of Sara and Mary, Cleaver said that it was a commendation for any woman to have nursed her own children and those who had not done so ". . . make themselves but halfmothers. . ."[62] This was the attitude of Elizabeth Clinton and of Gouge. In his gloss on Titus 2.4 where the mother is encouraged to love her chil-

dren, Gouge declared that the best way for a mother to do this was ". . . by letting it such her own breasts . . . for daily experience sheweth that mothers love those children best to whom they themselves give suck."[63] These biblical examples could be aimed at any class of society; Sara was considered a wealthy princess and she nursed Isaac; Mary was considered to be poor and she nursed Jesus. The justification given by non-nursing mothers for shirking their duty was also based upon scriptural precedent. Some pointed to Rebecca, Deborah, and Naomi who hired nurses, but the Puritans explained this away with the declaration that these hired nurses were dry and not wet nurses.[64]

According to the Puritans two important advantages occurred to the infant nursed by its mother, advantages not available to the infant given to a wet nurse. The first advantage was physical and the second psychological. Basic to both advantages was the belief that the best milk for the infant was that of its mother. Concerning the physical advantage, Cleaver wrote ". . . the mothers milk should be much more natural for the child, than the milk of a stranger,"[65] and Guillimeau and Gouge concurred in this belief.[66] It was their position that the best way to keep an infant physically healthy was to have it nursed by its mother.[67] The experience of Elizabeth Clinton tended to confirm their position. She wrote that she was convinced that those of her children she nursed were physically healthier than those given to wet nurses; in fact she feared that deaths of some of her children were due to the default of wet nurses.[68]

The second or psychological advantage was two-fold. First, the mother passed on to her infant through her milk certain qualities that shaped the infant's future character and behavior. This belief was expressed by Becon: "For children by drinking in strange milk, drink in also strange manners and another nature. . ."[69] The same idea found in an old saying was cited by Smith: "*He sukt evil from the dug:* that is, as the nurse is affected in her body or in her mind, commonly the child draweth the life infirmities from her. . ."[70] When the mother gave her child to a wet nurse, there was no guarantee as to what would happen to the child physically or psychologically; but if she nursed the child, then she would determine what the child would be like. The second part of the psychological advantage given to an infant nursed by its mother was that the child learned of his mother's love and in turn would love her. It was the opinion of Gouge that children who loved their mothers most were nursed by their mother. This was the opinion of Elizabeth Clinton who admitted that at one time she did not believe that it was possible to have such advantages from nursing, but she had repented when she had seen the fine results in nursing her own children.[71]

The Puritans warned that by refusing to nurse their children, mothers were offending God. It was declared that those who said they could not

nurse because they were dry, ought to recall the words in Hosea 9 where dry breasts were called a curse.[72] To those who could nurse their infant and did not, their actions declared their refusal to be thankful to God and the rejection of the fruit of their own womb.[73] The most common caveat was that a mother should not be surprised if her child denied her later in life since she had denied it her breasts early in life.[74] A husband who hindered or forbade his wife's nursing or complained about the inconveniences of it, or refused to buy what she needed to better nurse the infant, or who did not actively encourage her and suggested a wet nurse, was warned he was an accessory to sin. The husband was not to forget that he was for the most part responsible for his wife's pregnancy and certainly he could not abuse his child by denying it its mother's milk. If husbands would only take a positive attitude toward nursing wrote Gouge, ". . . where one mother now nurseth her child, twenty would do it."[75]

Although the Puritans recommended nursing, those who practiced what others preached, knew that there were disadvantages and complaints connected with breast feeding. For example when Mrs. Josselin attempted to nurse her first born, her difficulty was of such a nature that her husband recorded in his diary ". . . it pleased God my wives breasts were sore which was a grievance and sad cut to her, but with the use of means in some distance of time they healed up . . ."[76] Sore nipples and sore breasts were a common complaint, but they did not stop the dedicated from nursing.[77] Mothers were told that the best way to cure a sore breast was to give the child suck. Further, if a woman suffered from sore nipples, she ought to endure a little more pain and continue to nurse. "Many mothers have given their children suck when blood hath run by the mouth of the child by reason of sore nipples, and yet both mother and child done very well."[78] This comment from Gouge was probably the result of his wife's experiences in nursing their children. Gouge also dealt with a question which concerned some Puritans; was it wise to engage in coitus while the wife was lactating? His answer was that since nursing was the duty of the wife, the husband ought to do what he could to contain himself.[79]

Two common complaints heard today and heard in the past were: "I can't nurse because I can't produce milk" and "I can't nurse because my breasts are underdeveloped." To the latter complaint the knowledgeable Gouge declared the flat-breasted should use the known means to raise the nipples so nursing could be done. To the former complaint, Cleaver summed up the Puritan attitude to the inability for lactation. "But whose breasts have this perpetual drought? Forsooth, it is like the gout; no beggars may have it, but Citizens or gentlewomen."[80] In other words, only the wealthy who could employ wet nurses seemed to be af-

flicted with the inability to lactate. Although Robert Burton suggested witches might be responsible for dry breasts,[81] Gouge correctly diagnosed the cause for many not lactating. "Some are themselves the cause of wanting milk because they will not let it be drawn down: or because they will not use means (for means there are) to get and increase milk."[82]

Some complained they didn't know how to nurse and the Puritan reply was as one would expect: "Let them learn seeing it is their duty."[83] Still others complained they could not endure the pain of nursing. Gouge made a biting reply that if such was their attitude, then if they could, they probably ought to try to hire someone to endure the pain of nine months of gestation and the labor pains as well. Since they were willing to accept gestation and labor pains, they might as well nurse their own infants.[84] It was partly a matter of mental attitude. "If women would with cheerfulness set themselves to perform this duty, much of the supposed pain and pains would be lessened."[85]

Some of the middle class who worked with their husbands at a trade objected to nursing because it caused them to be absent from work; thus it was cheaper to hire a wet nurse. The Puritan answer to this was that no business in the world was more acceptable to God than the mother nursing her child.[86] Another rather common complaint was that nursing was inconvenient and troublesome. It disturbed the sleep of both parents and disrupted their ease and quiet during the day. "Seeing children come from the loins of the father as well as out of the womb of the mother" said Gouge, "they must be content to endure some disturbances. . ."[87] Nursing was messy, was another objection. It soiled one's clothes and meant that the mother must open her breasts to the public. "Ask . . . any modest loving mother" wrote the Countess of Lincoln, "what trouble they accounted it to give their little ones suck: behold most nursing mothers and they be as clean and sweet in their clothes . . . as well as that suck not."[88]

A major objection to nursing was the belief that a mother who nursed would suffer impaired beauty. The young mother by nursing would look older faster and her breasts would sag.[89] The reply given to such an objection was that the reverse was true. Did women lose their beauty because of nursing? ". . . it hath been observed in some women that they grew more beautiful, better favoured, by very nursing their own children . . ." was the reply of Elizabeth Clinton.[90] The woman who dried up her breasts was the one who lost her beauty, for nursing was a means to better health and to greater strength. "The drawing forth of a womans milk by her child is a means to get and preserve a good stomach, which is a great preservative of good health."[91] Still others complained about nursing for it did not give them the freedom they wanted for

gossiping. This was self-love declared Gouge, and those who thought this way possessed very little love for their child, little respect for God and were half-mothers.[92]

With all the insistence that mothers nurse, yet the Puritans recognized that there were some instances when this could not occur. As great an example as Mrs. Gouge only nursed seven of her thirteen children. Thus exceptions to this God given duty were made. For example, Becon wrote that the mother should do the nursing "except very necessity compel her . . ." to do otherwise.[93] Perkins allowed these conditions for the use of a wet nurse: the mother's health was poor; the mother lacked the ability for some reason; or any just impediment.[94] After listing the usual objections as to why it was difficult for a mother to nurse, Gouge said: ". . . if therefore in truth it be so that the mothers giving suck to the child will be dangerous to her self or to the child, she may and ought to forebear. . ."[95] The overwhelming spirit however was that such exceptions demanding a wet nurse were rare and most mothers ought to and were capable of nursing their own infants.

Let us turn now to the often maligned wet nurse. Apparently many of the wet nurses came from the country where they had lived active lives working in the fields and continued to do so after marriage. They normally would have had a good appetite because of their strong vigorous existence. They were the ones usually used by the gentry and the aristocracy for wet nursing.[96] Those who lived in the country were aware of this and to meet the need, there is some evidence that human cows gathered into certain locales and flourished in their trade of selling their milk as wet nurses.[97] Hints that such a practice had developed were given by Gouge for example. He claimed that it had been observed in many country villages that on the most part the children who died there were nurse children, and the number who died every year was very great.[98] In the anonymous tract *The Pilgrimage of Man*, the author commented upon how often women brought forth their children and would not take the time to nurse them; so the children were sent ". . . to sorry villages to be nursed of strange and unknown nurses. . ."[99] In the parish registers of Saints Peter and Paul, Mitcham, there was more evidence of the sorry villages with their high death rate of nurse-children. The registers contained the records of the burial of many such children who had been sent there, apparently by their parents for wet nursing.[100]

The problems involved in wet nursing were known then, and seem incredible to us today. The wet nurses in some villages would get the infants confused and returned them to the wrong parents.[101] Others would claim to have sufficient milk, only to starve the infant because they were at the end of their lactation. Others who promised to be faith-

ful in taking care of the infants were careless and interested only in the small pay they received. As has been stated previously, Elizabeth Clinton suspected that the slothfulness of some of the wet nurses she had used was responsible for the death of some of her little babies.[102]

There was one continuous objection to wet nurses shared by the Puritans that has been mentioned before and needs now to be reiterated: the character of the wet nurse, her illnesses, almost her very being was thought to transfer via her milk into the infant being nursed. The statement of Ferrand was typical of the sentiment of the time: ". . . the milk of the nurse . . . is of the very great force, either in correcting, or corrupting as well the manners of the mind; as the Constitution of the Body."[103] The physician Anniballe in Guazzo's *Civile Conversation,* made the same observation except that he took an analogy from nature and applied it to the human sphere. He claimed that if a lamb was nursed with the milk of a goat and a kid was nursed with the milk of a yew, the kid would have very soft hair and the lamb very rough wool. Therefore,

> it is to be thought, that as a child, by reason of the milk, taketh after the complexion of the Nurse, so the disposition of the mind, followeth the complexion of the body; and therof also it commeth, that the daughters of honest women, prove altogether unlike them, both in body and mind, so that to deliver children from their mothers to Nurses, cannot be said to be other than a corrupting of nature.[104]

It was the opinion of Boaistuau that cheap, corrupt, and deformed nurses were so apt to create future human misery, that it would have been better for the children to have been nursed by ". . . some brute beast in the wilderness, than to be put into the mercy of such nurses . . ."[105] If the nurse was a drunkard or forward, these evils would pass to the infant; he even suspected that syphilis and leprosy could be passed by a wet nurse to her charge.[106] Sir Hugh Cholmley claimed that his weak and stunted body as a child was the result of having a wet nurse who was pregnant at the time he was nursed by her.[107]

"Every one knows how hard a thing it is," wrote Guillimeau concerning wet nurses, "to find a good one because they have been so often beguiled and deceived therein."[108] He then gave the qualities and characteristics of the ideal wet nurse. He was but one of many who attempted to aid in the selection of a wet nurse. He described a young woman of good stock between twenty-five to thirty-five years of age who was neither too large nor too small. She was not to be fat nor skinny but she should have strong solid arms and legs. She was to have normal vision, neither lame, nor hump shouldered, she was to be healthy and with no disease. Her complexion and the general color

tone of her body was to be lively and rosy. In particular she should not be blotched nor have red hair. Her chest was to be broad and garnished with two breasts of reasonable bigness neither limber nor hanging down, neither hard nor soft, full of Zaure veins and arteries. The breasts were not to be knotty nor swollen bigger than they ought to be. The nipples were to be pronounced and the color of a strawberry and of reasonable bigness and thickness so the child could get a hold of them in order to secure an easy draught of milk. She was to be chaste and not pregnant nor desiring coitus with her husband for ". . carnal copulation . . . troubleth the blood, and so by consequence the milk; also it diminisheth the quantity thereof, by provoking the natural purgations . . ."[109] She was to have a good quality of milk and it would be better if she had too much of it rather than not enough. The milk must be white, have as sweet a taste as possible, and a pleasant odor. The nurse ought not to breast feed her charge until two months after her own delivery.[110] The Scottish physician Makluire also suggested many of the above qualifications for the wet nurse but added some equally important considerations–namely the attitudes of the wet nurse. He wanted the wet nurse to be diligent, lusty, merry, sober, chaste, meek, not sluggish nor sad, not a glutton, nor delicate in her eating, but gentle and courteous.[111] For Burton, it was the latter considerations of Makluire that were of the utmost importance for ". . . passions corrupt the milk and alter the temperature of the child . . ."[112]

We might wonder after reading about the ideal wet nurse if anyone took it seriously. In a letter from Richard Leveson to Anne Newdigate, Leveson commented that Queen Anne was pregnant and the royal physicians were looking for a wet nurse. They were going to ". . examine and give their opinions of their aptness for that charge as by tasting of their Milk, etc." He was of the opinion the royal physicians were going to ask his wife to submit to the examination and the "etc." and so Leveson remarked in the letter, "I'll walk on foot to Arbury to keep her at home."[113]

What can we conclude from this; The Puritans were not insensitive to the condition and needs of pregnant women and they suggested special care to be taken to secure a good diet and have moderate exercise. The Puritans were aware of the danger connected with delivery and saw revealed in the labor pains a punishment for Eve's sin as well as a redemptive element. The Puritans shared their society's fear of bastardy. Using Scripture precedents and proofs, they strongly favored the ideal of the infant being breast fed by its mother since such a practice was of great physical and psychological benefit to the child and the mother, and was in accord with God's design. But the careful reading of Puritan comments on breast feeding reveals considerable evidence that the ideal

was not always realized partly because psychological problems that hindered nursing were present then as now. Comments such as: the milk won't draw down; my breasts are under-developed; my breasts become too painful and sore in nursing; be cheerful while breast feeding; the father's complaints against his wife nursing; the fear of sagging breasts which would impair physical attractiveness; present a picture of an environment in which some mothers found it difficult to nurse and even if they started to nurse might have found it difficult to sustain lactation.

Concomitant with this was the necessity to use a wet nurse which in turn presented other problems. If the wet nurse was in a village, would the infant be physically healthy in the hands of the wet nurse; was there a chance for babies to be confused and their proper identity lost; would the milk of the nurse corrupt the infant? There was also the haunting problem of the mother's possible guilt of having rejected the fruit of her own womb and subsequently in the future being rejected by the child and also by God. Elizabeth Clinton summed it up by writing:

> We have followed *Eve* in transgression, let us follow her in obedience. When God laid the sorrows of conception, of breeding, of bringing forth, and of bringing up her children upon her, and so upon us in her loins, did she reply any word against (it)? Not a word: so I pray you . . . reply not against the duty of suckling them, when God hath sent you them.[114]

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REFERENCES

1. Thomas Gataker, *A good Wife Gods Gift, A Wife Indeed, Two Marriage Sermons* (London: Iohn Haviland, 1623), pp. 18-19. In a sermon preached by Nicholas Guy at the funeral of Mrs. William Gouge, Guy mentioned she had born twelve children and then became ill with dropsie. She then became pregnant a thirteenth time and after the delivery she seemed to have recovered and was under the care of a Dr. Argent. She lived for about six months more and then died from complications of the delivery and dropsie. This is illustrative of the point made above by Gataker. (Nicholas Guy, *Pieties Pillar: Or, a Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Mistress Elizabeth Gouge*, (London: George Millar, 1626), pp. 49-50.
2. Dorothy Gardiner, (ed.), *The Oxinden Letters 1607-1642, Being the Correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham and His Circle* (London: Constanbe & Co., Ltd., 1933), p. 29.

3. Elizabeth Ioceline, *The Mothers Legacie, To Her unborne Childe* (London: Iohn Hauiland, 1625), fols. A 8 v-r.
4. Jacob Rueff, *The Expert Midwife, Or An Excellent and most necessary Treatise of the generation and birth of Man* (London: E. Griffin, 1637), p. 65a.
5. *Ibid.*, 66a. Guillimeau recommended the only way to determine the sex of an unborn child was to wait until it was born. Yet this was not enough for the eager so he told them if the right side of the belly was larger and firmer, more motion was there, the right eye of the mother was brighter, then it was a boy; if the left then a girl. (James Guillimeau, *Child-Birth or, The Happy Deliverie of Women* (London: A. Hatfield, 1612), p. 9f.
6. Rueff, *The Expert Midwife*, p. 66a.
7. Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford: U. Lichfield & J. Short, 1621), pp. 82-83
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.
9. Rueff, *The Expert Midwife*, p. 181a.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 17b. William Langham recommended "If a woman piss on green Nettles, and they die, she is no maid." He also used red nettle seeds and the flowers of the popular or willow tree in a drink to give to a woman. If she regurgitated as a result of the drink, she was pregnant. (William Langham, *The Garden of Health* (2nd ed., London: Thomas Harper, 1633), p. 431.)
11. Guillimeau, *Child-Birth*, p. 3.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6.
13. William Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties* (London: John Haviland, 1622), p. 505.
14. Guillimeau, *Child Birth*, pp. 19-20.
15. Rueff, *The Expert Midwife*, p. 68a.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Guillimeau, *Child Birth*, p. 31f. Thomas Dekker mentioned that one of the complaints of husbands of expectant wives was their desire for unusual foods. (Thomas Dekker, *The Batchelars Banquet*, (London, T. Creed, 1603), fol. C i v.) An anonymous broadside entitled *The Lamentation of a new Married man, briefely declaring the sorrow and grief that comes by marrying a young wanton wife*, c. 1625, made the complaint that when the wife was pregnant:

    Then must I get her Cherries,
    And dainty Kathern Pears,
    And then longs for Godlings,
    She breedeth Child she swears
    When God knows tis a cushion
    That she about her bears. . .

18. John Makluire, *The Buckler of Bodilie Health* (Edinburgh: Iohn Wreittoun, 1630), p. 107. The same was found in Rueff, *The Expert Midwife*, p. 20 and in Guillimeau, *Child Birth*, p. 68a.
19. Guillimeau, *Child Birth*, p. 25.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
21. Thomas Becon, *The Boke of Matrimonye* (London: J. Day, 1564), fol. XClxv v. When the husband saw that his wife was pregnant and was ". . . greatly accombred with such cares and troubles, with such labors and travails, with such pains and sorrows (as belong unto the duty of a woman) shall unto the uttermost of his power help to ease her of them, and comfort her with most sweet and loving words, putting her in remembrance of the great labor and pains, which the godly ancient matrons . . . suffered in that state of life. . ."
22. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 506.

23. Gardiner, *Oxinden Letters*, p. 24.
24. Maurice Ashley, *The Stuarts in Love with some Reflections on Love and Marriage in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1964), p. 9.
25. John Cordy Jeafferson, *Brides and Bridals* (2nd ed., London: Hurst & Blackett, 1873), p. 43.
26. *Ibid.*,
27. Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1919), p. 269. In the diary of Lady Margaret Hoby there were many notations of instances when she was summoned to either a neighbor's home or to that of a relative to help with a childbirth. (Margaret Hoby, *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605*, ed. Dorothy M. Meads, (New York: Houghton Mifflin, Co., 1910), pp. 63, 192, 195.
28. Havelock Ellis, *The Evolution of Modesty; the Phenomena of Sexual Periodicity & Auto-Eroticism*, 3rd ed. rev. & enlarged (Philadelphia: F. Z. Davis Co., 1910), p. 29.
29. Peter Boaistuau, *The Theatre or Rule of the World*, John Alday, trans., (London: Henry Bynneman, 1574), p. 49.
30. Guillimeau, *Child Birth*, "Translator's Preface." Although the translator of Guillimeau's work is unknown, I suspect that either someone of the Chamberlain family or someone closely connected with them was responsible for the translation. The Chamberlains invented the forceps and were quite secretive about it at first; but later they did try to instruct the midwives in London in better delivery techniques only to stir up the wrath of the midwives by their efforts.
31. Rueff, *The Expert Midwife*, fol. A 4 r.
32. Guillimeau, *Child Birth*, p. 84.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Rueff, *The Expert Midwife*, p. 75 *passim*. The work is replete with illustrations such as the birth stool and the forceps. Rueff relied upon various herbal mixtures to aid in the speeding up of labor or to bring about the expulsion of the afterbirth. He explained how a dead child ought to be extracted from the womb; how to stop bleeding, etc. He wisely in the beginning said that when birth was about to take place, the midwife should be cheerful, encourage the mother, and everyone else ought to pray. Concerning the expulsion of the afterbirth, one prescription given by John XXI to be used for this purpose would certainly be banned from modern medical practice: "A horse turd drunk and suffumigated causes deliverance, as well of the afterbirth as of the child." John XXI, *The Treasury of Health*, (London: W. Coplande, 1550), fol. Q i v.
35. Guillimeau, *Child Birth*, p. 89. The same recommendation appeared later in John Makluire's *The Buckler of Bodily Health*, p. 111. Guillimeau listed the other methods of delivery but said that the best and safest was the supine position in bed. His instructions for normal birth and abnormal birth constitute one hundred pages of material and he constantly referred to his own experiences and his own results so that a reader would have had a good idea as to what to expect. He made interesting observations such as the rationale behind the tieing of the umbilical cord. His idea was that if it was tied long for the male, he would have a long penis and he would be able to speak clearly; by tieing it short for the female, it made her tongue less free and her natural parts more straight. (*Ibid.*, p. 99) He also described a Caesarian section performed on a dead woman; medicine had not yet progressed where it was a safe operation for a live woman.
36. Heinrich Bullinger, *The Christian State of Matrimonye*, trans. Miles Cover-

dale, (London: n.p., 1541), fol. H vii r.

37. Thomas Becon, *A New Catechism set forth Dialogue Wise in familiar Talk Between the Father and the Son*, vol. 3 of the *Parker Society*, ed. John Ayre (Cambridge: The University Press, 1844), p. 336.
38. Boaistuau, *The Theatre or Rule of the World*, pp. 50-51.
39. Henry Smith, *The Sermons of Henry Smith gathered into one volume* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1628), p. 11.
40. Samuel Hieron, *A Help unto Deuotion; Containing Certain Moulds or Forms of Prayer*, 2nd ed. (London: H.L., 1611), pp. 282-284.
41. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, pp. 401-402. Gouge stated the needs thusly: ". . . when the time commeth, if their wife be desirous of a Midwife that requireth somewhat more charges than she that is next, she shall have none if she will not have next. And as for a nurse to tend her, they think their Maid will serve for the turn well enough: they need not be at the charges to bring a Nurse into the house. In regard of convenient lodging some will not stick to say, Cannot my wife be brought to bed in a room without a chimney as well as the Virgin Mary? . . . In the time while their wife is weak in childbed many are loath to allow them any other diet than is for themselves and children provided in the house, not considering that her stomach cannot be like theirs." Gouge went on to write that some husbands in the midst of the labor accuse the wife of having conceived and brought to birth a bastard—a spightful and revengefull act said Gouge.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 399-400.
43. M. W. Knappen, *Two Elizabethan Diearies by Richard Rodgers & Samuel Ward*. Vol. II of *Studies in Church History* ed. Mathew Spinka & Robert H. Nichols, (Chicago: The American Society of Church History, 1933), p. 74-75.
44. Lucy Apsley Hutchinson, *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson* (New York: E. P. Dutton, Inc., 1936), p. 35.
45. Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 619.
46. T. G. Thiselton-Dyer, *Old English Social Life as Told by the Parish Registers* (London: Elliot Stock, 1898), pp. 108-110. The abandoned children were called love-begotten, a merry-begott, a bye-blow, a scape-begotten child, base born, bastard, child of God, creature Christi. The parish in naming the children often gave them names of the parish but in one instance a girl was called Mary Magdalene. Arthur Rackham Cleveland, *Woman Under the English Law from the Time of the Saxons to the Present Time* (London: Hurst & Clackett, Lt., 1896), pp. 177-178. Cleveland referred to a law passed 21 James I c. 27 in 1623 that attempted to prevent concealed births. ". . . it is enacted that if any woman after one month next ensuing the end of this season be delivered of any issue of her body male or female, which being born alive, should by the laws of this realm be a bastard, and that she endeavour privately either by drowning or secret burying thereof, so that it may not come to light whether it was born alive or not, but be concealed, in every such case the mother so offending shall suffer death, as in a case of murder unless such mother can produce at least one witness to prove that the child was born dead."
47. The idea of truth telling during labor was part of Drayton's *Moone-Calfe*, p. 169.

    That in this case when people do desire
    To know the truth, yet doubtfull of the Sire,
    When as the woman most of life doth doubt her
    In grevious throws; to those that are about her;

He that is then at the last cast disclos'd
The natural Father is to be suppos'd
And the law doth faithfull decided,
That for the nursing he is to provide:
Therefore let's see, what in her pangs she'll say,
Lest that this Bastard on the Land we lay.

48. Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *The Commendation of Marriage*, trans. David Clapham, (London: T. Bertheleti, 1534), fol. B viii r.
49. Cleveland, *Women Under the English Law*, pp. 207, 215, 216.
50. Ashley, *The Stuarts in Love*, p. 56.
51. Barnabe Rych, *The Irish Hvbbvb*, (London: August Mathews, 1622), p. 13. In the margin he said: "It is holden a credit, to be a bastard to a great man of fame and note."
52. Hole, *The English Housewife in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 41.
53. Boaistuau, *The Theatre or Rule of the World*, pp. 53-54. "But how many mothers are there at this present, or for to speak the truth, cruel stepmothers, unto whom it suffices only to bring the children into this world, and for that they will not take a little pain to nourish them, they send them to sorrowful villages, for to be nourished of strange unknown Nurses. . ." This quote from Boaistuau was a comment on French practices equally applicable to England.
54. Willystine Goodsell, *A History of Marriage and the Family*, (Rev. ed.), (New York: The Macmillan Col, 1935), p. 294. It was Goodsell's opinion that the wealthy generally disregarded the responsibility of nursing. This opinion was supported by Elizabeth Clinton when she wrote that the lack of nursing was ". . . often the sin of the *Higher*, and the *richer* sort, than of the meaner, and poorer. " (Elizabeth Clinton, *The Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie* (Oxford: J. Lichfield & James Short, 1623), p. 11.
55. Smith, *All the Sermons*, p. 42. He warned that if children later in life proved to be unnatural, the mother ought to be reminded that they follow in her steps in that she was first unnatural in ". . locking up her breasts from thee . . ."
56. Robert Cleaver, *A Godly Forme of Household Government* (London: Thomas Creed, 1603), p. 238. Cleaver continued with his argument for the mother to breast feed her infant by saying: "Experience teachest that GOD converteth the mothers blood into the milk, wherewith the child is nursed in her womb. He bringeth it into the breasts furnished with nipples convenient to minister the warm milk unto the child: whom he endueth with industry, to draw out the milk for his own sustenance." The important point that Cleaver was making was that the whole process was from God, even to the detail of the sucking action of the infant and the nipples to suck from. For identical and supporting views cf (Becon, *New Catechisme*, p. 347; William Perkins, *Christian Oeconomie* (Cambridge: Cantrell Legge, 1618), p. 693.
57. Francis Dillingham, *Christian Oeconomy or Household Government* (London: Iohn Tapp, 1609), fols. 39 v-r. The oft cited example he gave was this: "Memorable is the history of *Graccus*, who gave to his nurse a pearl of great price, but to his mother one of small price; because his mother bare him but nine months, but his nurse gave him milk a long time: a word is enough to a wise man. . ." Examples of those who stated similar arguments were: "The breasts in a woman are for to nourish the infants she bringeth forth." (George Gyffard, *Fifteene Sermons, vpon the Song of Salomon* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1598), p. 138) "In us also, as we know by experience, God provideth milk in our breasts against the time of our childrens birth, and this

he hath done ever since it was said to us also, Increase, and multiply . . ." (Clinton, *Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie*, pp. 9-10.) ". . for to what purpose hath God given them breasts? . . . surely not to milk out on the ground, not to draw it back by medicines and devices, but to give it to the new inhabitant of the world. . ." (William Whately, *Prototypes* (London: G. Miller, 1640), p. 140a.

58. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 508.
59. The following gave Sara as an example: Perkins, *Christian Oeconomie*, p. 693. Cleaver, *A Godly Forme of Household Government*, p. 236. Clinton, *The Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie*, p. 3-4. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 510.
60. The following cite Mary as an example: Perkins, *Christian Oeconomie*, p. 693. Cleaver, *A Godly Forme of Household Government*, p. 236. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 510.
61. Those citing I Timothy were: Perkins, *Christian Oeconomie*, p. 693. Clinton, *The Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie*, p. 6. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 509.
62. Cleaver, *A Godly Forme of Household Government*, pp. 236-237.
63. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 509.
64. Clinton, *The Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie*, pp. 12-13. cf Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 513.
65. Cleaver, *A Godly Forme of Household Government*, p. 237.
66. James Guillimeau, *The Nursing of Children* (London: A. Hatfield, 1612), p. 1. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 512.
67. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, pp. 512-513.
68. Clinton, *The Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie*, p. 18.
69. Becon, *New Catechisme*, pp. 347-348.
70. Smith, *All the Sermons*, p. 42.
71. Clinton, *The Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie*, p. 15f.
72. Smith, *All the Sermons*, p. 43. Gouge gave the same warning, Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 509.
73. Cleaver, *A Godly Forme of Household Government*, p. 239.
74. Dillingham, *Christian Oeconomy or Household Government*, fols. 39 v-r. cf Clinton, *The Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie*, p. 11 and Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 512. Cleaver warned that non-nursing mothers would find that even the breasts would rise up in the last day and judge her guilty of unthankfulness to God and of rejecting her own womb-fruit. "And therefore the bruit breasts lying upon the ground, and granting not one nipple or two, but six or seven to their young ones, shall rise in judgement against these dainty half-mothers, who for fear of wrinkling of their faces, or to avoid some small labor, do refuse this so necessary a duty of a mother due to her children." Cleaver, *A Godly Forme of Household Government*, p. 239.
75. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 518. Becon put it rather simply when he instructed the husband not to interfere with breast feeding. (Becon, *New Catechisme*, p. 348).
76. Ralph Josselin, *The Diary of the Rev. Ralph Josselin 1616-1683*, ed. E. Hockliffe, Vol. XV of *Camden Society* 3rd Series (London: Royal Historical Society, 1908), pp. 12-13.
77. Guy, *Pieties Pillar*, p. 45. Gouge's wife did not allow sore breasts nor nipples to stop her nursing according to Guy.
78. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, pp. 516-517.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
80. *Ibid.*, pp. 516-517. Cleaver, *A Godly Form of Household Government*, p. 238. cf also Smith, *All the Sermons*, p. 43.
81. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 73.

82. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 516ff. cf. Elizabeth Clinton took the same position and for the same reason. Clinton, *The Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie*, pp. 2, 7-8.
83. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 514.
94. *Ibid.*, cf Clinton, *The Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie*, p. 14 for the same position.
85. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 515.
86. *Ibid.*
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 515-516.
88. Clinton, *The Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie*, p. 13.
89. M. Steeven Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation*, trans. George Pettie and Bartholomew Young (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1925), p. 48. Although this objection appeared in many places, Guazzo gave the best summation of it. ". . . women at this day are so curious of the comliness or rather of their vanities that they had rather pervert the nature of their children, than change the form of their firm, hard and round pappes . . ." Guillaume Coquillart wrote this in his *Droits Nouveaux* on whether or not a young mother ought to nurse and in these words expressed the fear of many women:

    She has a very pretty teat,
    And a fair and well-turned rump,
    A bosom tender, soft and sweet,
    And nothing is more plump.
    But she will be a very frump,
    If she becomes a nurse;
    For pheasants make but sorry cocks,
    And well-turned rumpts turn–worse,
    And breasts that once were firm as rocks
    In nurses are but flabby blocks,
    Great open wells of milk,
    As pendulous as two old socks;
    I think you know the ilk.
    Yes, breasts that once were plump and round,
    Firm and of piquant mold,
    Taut as a bow before rebound,
    Those same breasts leave me cold.

    Paul LaCroix (Pierre Dufour), *History of Prostitution*, 3 vol., trans. Samuel Putnam (Chicago: Pascal Covici, 1926), Vol. III, p. 42-43.
90. Clinton, *The Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie*, p. 14.
91. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 515. Interestingly enough, both the objectors to nursing on the basis of lost beauty, and the proponents of it were correct. After lactation, the supporting tissue of the breasts never again attains its virginal firmness. Often after multiple pregnancies, the breasts appear to be withered, slack and due to the unequal involution of the gland nodules that produced the milk, they sometimes appear to be and feel knotty. (Henrich Ploss, Max and Paul Bartels, *Woman, an Historical Gynaecological and Anthropological Compendium*, 3 vols., (St. Louis: C. V. Moxby Co., 1938), Vol. III, p. 178. Thus the complaint presented in Guazzo and Coquillart and others was accurate. On the other hand, both Clinton and Gouge referred to the fact that nursing helped to give a woman a good stomach, one that regained its pre-pregnancy firmness. According to some obstetricians I've consulted, women who nurse normally have a more rapid recovery of the firmness and original shape of the womb. Thus their stomachs appear flatter faster and they tend not to develop a "pot-belly." So the choice seemed to have been between a rotound belly or firm breasts. In light of the fact that

breasts were displayed as part of the high fashion of the day, this might help to explain the higher class's desire for wet nurses–it was a matter of fashion to have firm breasts.

92. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 518
93. Becon, *New Catechisme*, p. 347.
94. Perkins, *Christian Oeconomie*, p. 693.
95. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, p. 516. Elizabeth Clinton would have excused lunatics from nursing. Clinton, *The Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie*, p. 17.
96. Clark, *Working Life of Women*, p. 58. An observation by Elizabeth Clinton seems to support Clark's belief that such nurses were sought out by the gentry and nobility. Clinton wrote: "I am sure we have more helps to perform it (nursing) and have fewer probable reasons to allege against it, then women that live by hard labour, and painful toil." (Clinton, *The Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie*, p. 11.) She wrote this in contrast to women of her class of nobility who usually refused to nurse their young. The implication was that those in the country were more apt to nurse even though they led a harder existence and had less time for it than those of the nobility who could devote more time to it.
97. Rene de Maulde Claviere, *The Women of the Renaissance, A Study of Feminism* trans. George H. Ely, 2nd ed., (New York: G. P. Dutton's Sons, 1901), p. 73.
98. Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, pp. 512-513.
99. Anon., *The Pilgrimage of Man, Wandering in a Wildernesse of Woe, Wherein is shewed the Calamities belonging to man being borne in this worlde, and how all the principall Estates thereof are crossed with Misery* (London: I. B., 1635), fol. A 4 v. cf Boaistuau, *The Theatre or the Rule of the World*, pp. 53-54. The pamphlet might have been taken from Boaistuau.
100. Thiselton-Dyer, *Old English Social Life As Told By the Parish Registers* pp. 116-117.
101. *The Pilgrimage of Man*, fol. a 4 v. In commenting about mothers who used the wet nurses, the author states "Yet for all this they will not be ashamed to hold a little dog in their arms rather than the fruit that was ingendered in their wombs."
102. Clinton, *The Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie*, p. 18. Her opinion expressed in the text was what probably led her to advise her reader to ". . . be not so *unnatural* to thrust away your own children: be not so hardy as to venter a *tender Babe* to a *less tender heart:* be not accessary to that disorder of causing a *poorer mother to banish her own child*, as it were, bidding her *unlove her own to love yours.*"
103. James Ferrand, *Erotomania* (Oxford: L. Lichfield, 1640), p. 144.
104. Guazzo, *Civile Conversation*, p. 47.
105. Boaistuau, *The Theatre or Rule of the World*, pp. 55-57.
106. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58. The identical words were in *The Pilgrimage of Man*, fols. A 4 r-B i v. Burton's opinion was the same as that expressed above. (Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 190.)
107. Stone, *Crises of the Aristocracy*, p. 592.
108. Guillimeau, *Child-Birth*, p. 1.
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-8.
110. *Ibid.*
111. Makluire, *The Bvckler of Bodilie Health*, p. 117.
112. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 191.
113. Anne Newdigate-Newdegate, *Gossip from a Muniment Room* (London: David Nutt in the Strand, 1898), p. 69.
114. Clinton, *The Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie*, p. 19.

MESMER AND HIS FOLLOWERS: THE BEGINNINGS OF SYMPATHETIC TREATMENT OF CHILDHOOD EMOTIONAL DISORDERS

MICHAEL H. STONE

The growth of the faculty of empathy during the eighteenth century led directly to the beginnings of a more humane treatment of childhood mental disorder in the nineteenth. Michael Stone, a psychiatrist with a wide knowledge of the early history of child psychiatry, gives us several fascinating glimpses of how difficult the new empathy was, and how often revolutionary advances in psychology appear clothed in strange new languages.

As a systematic discipline child psychiatry is scarcely a hundred years old. References to the psychiatric or psychological treatment of children prior to the twentieth century are infrequent and sporadic. Prior to the nineteenth century such references are rare indeed, nor are they restricted to medical writers. One looks more to the philosopher (viz., Vives), the theologian (viz., Huarte y Navarro), the educator (viz., Asham), or the essayist (viz., Robert Burton) to reconstruct the approach to childhood emotional or "nervous" disorders before 1800. A number of such references, medical and non-medical, were collected and translated by the author in a recent paper (Stone, 1973). Before 1800 children are depicted, for the most part, in rather mechanical terms, as some kind of anthopomorphic robots, adorable occasionally, bewildering routinely, but insufferable generally. One finds a few

happy exceptions to this rule in the writings of Johann Weyer (1660) and Sir George Baker, physician to King George the IIIrd (1755).

The year 1801 marks a turning point, whereafter the treatment of children's emotional ills is no longer such a dreary chronicle: for this is when Jean-Marc-Gaspard Itard published the fruits of five years' work with the "Wild Boy of Aveyron". Itard's empathic sensitivity and extraordinary devotion to this mute and feral eleven year old, a severely retarded child who had in all likelihood been abandoned by his parents at an early age, set him apart as someone uniquely "tuned in" to the feelings of a child. Itard's enthusiasm must have been in good measure a function of his youth: he was only 26 when his monograph appeared. His achievement is all the more remarkable, when one remembers that Itard was part of the medical-psychological "establishment" of his day. He belonged to the generation and to the set of Pinel's pupils: Esquirol, Falret-père, and the like. Yet many members of this psychiatric generation still showed little sensitivity to the individuality of children; Pinel, himself, tried to discourage Itard from his work with the "Wild Boy", whom the old professor considered an "incurable idiot".

The humanist tradition in the psychotherapy of children, of which Itard is the most celebrated pioneer, was carried forward by other alienists of the Bicêtre and Salpêtrière hospital, such as Ferrus and Voisin. A number of others are alluded to in an article on the history of child psychiatry by Heuyer (1969), where no medical writers before Itard are mentioned, with the exception of the Swiss Pestalozzi, who introduced the spirit of Rousseau to child psychiatry, a generation earlier.

Recently I have come across a number of authors, all writing in French, who give evidence of a humanistic attitude toward emotionally disturbed children. Interestingly none of these authors was in the main medico-psychological establishment, though some had begun within it only to bolt from it later on. I refer to Franz Anton Mesmer and the first generation of his disciples, including such men as Charles D'Eslon, J. P. F. Deleuze, and the three brothers Puységur (of whom the most notable for our purposes was A. M. J. Chastenet, Marquis de Puységur).* Early mesmerists did not, of course, confine their activities to children, applying their curative efforts to people of all ages. Furthermore, they did not restrict themselves to what we would categorize as psychiatric conditions, but rather to a combination of emotional, neurologic, and "psychosomatic" conditions, including certain dermatitides and asthmatic ailments that nowadays would be relegated to the internist. They did, nevertheless, treat a large number of children, and have in addition

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*Mesmer and his earliest followers flourished 2 decades before Itard. The brothers Puységur might more properly be said to belong to Itard's own generation, working as they did at the end of Pinel's epoch, and at the beginning of Esquirol's.

furnished us with a number of interesting accounts of their therapeutic interventions. I have selected a number of illustrative accounts for presentation here, spanning the years 1784 to 1812, and beginning with a description of a cure by Mesmer himself.

Before offering the textual material, however, I would like to digress for a moment in order to provide some historical perspective, for the reader who may not be familiar with the *Zeitgeist* of Mesmer's day and with the curious interrelationships between the Mesmerian therapists and the conventional practitioners of the period.

The humane, empathic treatment of children's emotional disturbances is scarcely to be noted in medical or other scholarly writers of the past millenium, until we come to the works of Juan Louis Vives and Johann Weyer in the middle of the 16th century. Weyer's handling of Barbara Kremers, the (malingering) "fasting girl" from the small German town of Unna, is especially noteworthy (cf. Stone, 1973). But Weyer's sensitivity and intellectual freedom were shared by few of his contemporaries, nor did his approach "catch on" in the learned circles of Europe, to say nothing of the general populace. Europe was instead preoccupied with witchcraft and the Devil, emancipation from which would require another two hundred years.

The 17th century was particularly arid. The maverick geniuses from the 1500's: Vives, Paracelsus, and Weyer, have no counterparts in the medical circles of the 1600's. Toward the end of a century more notable for medical scholarship than innovation, we come across the English physician Richard Mead, the breadth of whose erudition included a particular interest in magnetic forces and heavenly bodies. Magnetism had also fascinated Paracelsus as a force, operating in such a mysterious and invisible way as to commend itself for the role of "bridge" between the natural and the supernatural. Newton's discoveries shortly before the time of Mead gave further impetus within the medical fraternity to a renewed interest in celestial bodies, especially in the magnetic and gravitational forces governing them.

Mead's monograph on the influence of the sun and the moon (reprinted 1746) contains many references, from the earliest medical writers to those of his own day (and includes many personal observations) to physical and mental conditions supposedly affected by the phases of the moon, and by interrelationships between the sun and the earth. Menstrual disorders figured prominently in his discussion, as did the cases of several children with "asthmatic" and "nephritic" ailments.

Despite some renewed interest of late in biologic rhythms, especially in those approximating in length the day, the month, or the year in psychiatric (viz., manic-depressive) as well as bodily conditions, it is still for the most part considered rather quaint to link Luna and lunacy. Mead's work would thus have sunk into irrecoverable oblivion were it

not for one surprising coincidence. His monograph on the heavenly bodies happened to serve as a source for the doctoral thesis of Mesmer following his switch from the Law to Medicine. Mesmer's *Dissertatio* on the influence of the Planets was, in fact, plagiarized extensively from Mead's monograph (Pattie, 1956).

Mead's effort was characterized by rationalism. His interest in the heavenly bodies was scientific and pragmatic in contrast to Paracelsus', whose concern was to show how the celestial forces mirrored directly the powers of the deity. Paracelsus and Weyer throw out (or minimize) only the Devil, and may thus be called "adiabolistic", but by no means atheistic. Mead was a believer, but compared to his 16th century predecessors he deemphasized God's role in the causation of disease; God is, as it were, retained but simply sidelined. God was not formally thrown out of the medical scientific systems until shortly before the French Revolution, and then only by a segment of the western European academic community. The tendency to freethinking amongst the educated classes did not always extend to the poor, who still relied heavily on faith as a buttress against adversity, and who turned to the many faith healers of the day, the Theosophists, the illuminists, the alchemists and also to outright charlatans like the famous Cagliostro, when conventional physicians proved too expensive (cf. Darnton, p. 33). Thus exotic modes of belief, new in appearance but rooted in the medieval past, coexisted with an iconoclastic agnosticism in different segments of European population.

It was into such an epic in the 1770's and 1780's, a time of rapid social change and technological advance, of industrial as well as political revolution, and of uncritical enthusiasm about anything new, that in 1778 Mesmer burst upon the Parisian scene. His novel treatment method, "animal magnetism", was a synthesis of ideas borrowed (to speak euphemistically) from Mead, deistic concretizations about an invisible universal fluid, Germanic rationalism mixed with personal charisma, and all this capped with an unshakable conviction in his own curative powers. What Mesmer had stumbled onto was the discovery of the power of suggestion, and he was to get some inkling just how great this power was. But he did not realize that his curative talent *relied* on this power, ascribing it instead (as we know) to this universal fluid which he called "animal magnetism." Withal, Mesmer was the first innovator of importance in the psychological realm since Johann Weyer. Neither a charlatan nor a madman, though he has often been called both up to the present day, Mesmer was a man in whom Dionysian and Appollonian trends happily commingled. By the time of the French Revolution, revolt against the too strict rationalism of the first part of the eighteenth century had begun to bubble up even in the educated classes. A period of humanism was ushered in, in part helped along by the writing of

Jean Jacques Rousseau. A greater sensitivity to the needs of children and a greater warmth in the handling of children (at least by the Mesmerian physicians) was a feature of this era. Some of Mesmer's very first followers, men like Bergasse and D'Eslon, were even more "Dionysian" in their personalities than Mesmer. They were men, in other words, more of sentiment than of science. Furthermore, they were also intensely political. As such, they attempted to make a sweeping synthesis or syncretism of the philosophy of their time, and of religion, political and social theory, and of medical theory as well embracing everything within their new "system" of Animal Magnetism. There are some striking analogies between Mesmer's day and our own, if one thinks about how the increased technology of the first half of the twentieth century led initially to the belief that a machine-made Utopia was just around the corner. Later, particularly in most recent times, we have witnessed a growing disenchantment with this earlier belief. Similarly there has been a breakdown and a disaffection within the psychiatric "Establishment." And a good deal of what has sprouted up during the past 15 years to take up the void created by the partial collapse of the old order, has been insubstantial, at times grotesque. Here I refer to the revolutionary and eccentric theorists in our field whom we have seen over the past two decades, the Reichians, the Laingians, the followers of Janov and his primal scream therapy, Martin Shepard and the encounter groups, Zaslow and his "tickle-therapy," Esalen, the nihilistic Szasz, to name but a few. Yet, the "conventional" therapy of the twenty-first century—whose form we can only guess at—may prove in retrospect to be the offshoot of one of these strange schools of thought, just as hypnotism and psychoanalysis spent their infancy in the unlikely cradle of mesmerism.

Nature, particularly the manner in which Rousseau had described Nature, was worshipped by Mesmer's followers. They insisted upon achieving happiness through return to the ways and methods of earlier ages and by avoiding the spoiled and decadent customs of the then modern France, the France of 1780. Rousseau stressed the interaction of physical and moral forces upon children's development, but Mesmer's follower Bergasse claimed that Rousseau lacked the key, "animal magnetism", to understanding these forces. According to Bergasse all bodies, including men as well as the planets, influenced each other by setting this animal-magnetic fluid in motion. The social virtue of empathy was seen as the influence among men of this force, analogous to the forces of attraction amongst celestial bodies. We now characterize such concepts as empathy and sympathy in purely psychological terms, but in the nineteenth century the ways in which the Mesmerists thought about these concepts we can now see as distinctly concretistic. Bergasse in other words reified empathy in much the way that some analysts dur-

ing Freud's time reified his concepts of "Ego" and "Id" as representing actual compartments, almost tangible divisions of the brain or the central nervous system, rather than as representing psychological constructs. The psychiatrist of our era will, of course, be struck by the many parallels between Mesmer's system and the system of Wilhelm Reich. A whole table comparing the philosophy of the two men, has, in fact been drawn up by W. Edward Mann in his recent book on Wilhelm Reich and the Orgone (1973). When Reich as a young man of 27 was first elaborating his theories of character analysis and character-armoring he had the faith that careful analysis of a man's character could ultimately resolve the neurotic difficulties which were so often expressed by pathological traits in his everyday behavior. Toward the end of Reich's life, he was to grow disillusioned with his earlier beliefs, and came to feel that one had to go back to the "unspoiled protoplasm of infants or very young children if one was going to be able to work effectively to undo the bad effects of society upon man's psychological development"(1967). It is interesting to note that Mesmer's early followers also began to emphasize the importance of bringing a child's nature into harmony by the use of the animal-magnetic therapy and it is equally interesting to note how the treatment of children took a giant step forward in the 1790's, because of Mesmer's followers, just as child psychiatry has taken a giant step forward now partly because of the influence Reich has exerted—(much of it indirect, to be sure) upon current neurologic and psychologic investigations into the first few weeks in an infant's life. That Mesmer and Reich should both have served, two centuries apart, as stimuli to important research on childhood emotional disorders is strange to contemplate—the more so when one considers that neither had any expertise or direct involvement in such matters. The situation would be paradoxical indeed were it not the history of psychiatry is replete with such paradoxes.

In the section that follows I have selected six passages from works of the early mesmerists, illustrating their method of treatment with children and adolescent patients. Mesmer was very cautious and scrupulous about restricting his efforts to the relief of conditions in which an emotional component was a *major* factor. The same can be said by and large for his followers. To be sure these physicians, or the lay-healers they often trained to assist them, did not speak so much of "emotional" or "psychological" disorders as of "nervous" conditions, amongst which were many "questionable" cases. That it to say, there were certain coughs and skin-rashes ascribed to a "nervous disorder," but whose origins may have been more somatic, strictly speaking, than was realized; in other cases the descriptions they have left us are too scanty to permit finer diagnostic distinctions. And of course there was no real awareness of intrafamilial factors in these "nervous disorders," so we

are seldom given any glimpses in the anamnestic material regarding the parent-child interaction.

Yet it does seem fair to say that the Mesmerists had good intuitions concerning which cases were safe to treat with their method, and which cases were predominantly "organic," requiring more conventional modes of medical or surgical intervention.

A. CURE WORKED BY MESMER ON THE CHILD (AGED 2 YEARS) OF KORNMANN

(In—Recueil des Pieces les Plus Interessantes sur le Magnetisme Animal. 1784)

An acrid humour* had affected the eyes of the 2 year old son of M. Kornmann, and thickened to the point of crust formation. To this was added an inflammation which provoked considerable pain.

The family turned to various physicians and ocultists who felt that in order to make the humour subside one had to administer vesicatories. The latter were applied, accordingly, near the eyes and in the back of the neck. The child was bathed and purged; in a word, treated thoroughly and in keeping with the medical arts of the day.

At first the pain seemed to subside, only to return after a short while, and accompanied by symptoms more severe than the original. A film formed over both eyes, and the child began to suffer an inflammation such that daylight became intolerably painful. In fact any sunlight at all, or even candlelight caused him to shrink away in spasms.

In this unhappy state, the humour grew steadily worse and the boy became sad, irritable and quarrelsome, a burden to himself as well as to those committed to his care. He became "naughty," because he was suffering and because he sensed in himself insuperable obstacles to the natural development of his entire system.

In short order his doctors gave up all hope of his recovery. They informed his father that if the boy managed to survive, he would be sickly, and quite unable to occupy himself in a useful manner. The father was encouraged to prepare himself in advance for the loss of this child, for whom normal growth seemed out of the question in any case. Furthermore, the degeneracy of constitution to which the boy had already succumbed promised only to make him vulnerable to still more depraved habits later on.

It was in this frightful state that Dr. Mesmer was consulted. He saw the boy and concluded that his abnormalities resulted from obstruc-

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*We would speak of a catarrh or rheum. The condition appears to be a conjunctivitis, purulent in nature, and similar to our "pink-eye."

tions of the lower abdominal viscera. He stated that the child could be cured by animal magnetism and that afterwards one would see a mellowing of his character, along with the disappearance of his misbehavior. One could likewise expect his sensibilities to increase *pari passu* with the decrease in his pain and anguish.

While undertaking his treatment, Mesmer first cancelled the vesicatories, and also ordered an end to the purgatives. Soon the boy, who had been exhausted by fever and pain, was in condition to travel for his further treatment.

At this point, the boy experienced some salutary "crises," copious evacuations, and several generalized spasms, elicited by the magnetic forces. Far from weakening him still further, these evacuations revitalized the boy, corrected the troubled organs and dissipated the malign humours that had been preventing from his normal play. Within a few days, rejection of all foodstuffs gave way to restored appetite; his strength returned as did his happy spirits. Only two months were required, in effect, to witness all the improvements which Dr. Mesmer had forecast.

By three months proper reestablishment of the whole internal system had been almost completely accomplished. The child had grown 2 inches, although the filminess of the eyes, of which we had spoken earlier, remained. Dr. Mesmer gave his assurance that treatment would in time make this go away. One has the impression that it takes about twice the time and effort to cure a child who becomes restless and eager to exercise his new found energy–as it does to treat an ordinary child.

You can imagine the difficulty keeping such a restless lad perfectly still, with magnetic rods placed near his eyes, over the course of several hours! Dr. Mesmer showed such patience, nevertheless, and such enthusiasm for the boy's treatment, that eventually he succeeded. The filminess did actually disappear; there was nothing more to see except one tiny fleck on one eye, barely noticeable at all.

We noted that from the moment Monsieur Kornmann's son was entrusted to Dr. Mesmer's care, he took no pills of any kind. He had no other form of treatment save that of animal magnetism.

So it turned out that this pitiable lad, whom physicians had condemned, as it were, to death, or at least to unbearable suffering in what time might remain to him, this youngster whose physical and moral organization was "degenerate even from before birth" is not only the image of health now, but of sweet disposition as well.

The child was tremendously drawn to Dr. Mesmer's method of cure; he always came eagerly to the treatments, and felt it almost as a punishment if he were unable to return for too long a time. . . .*

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*The charismatic Mesmer himself was rather "magnetic" it would seem!

B. EFFECTS OF MAGNETISM ON CHILDREN
(From the "Supplement" of D'Eslon, 1784)

Monsieur de Bruno.

I, the undersigned attest that my son, Adrian-Francois de Bruno, was attacked at the age of eleven with a condition known in medicine under the name of "Chorea Sancti Viti",* as it had been to characterized during consultations with Messrs. Bouvard, Petit & Louis; and that, furthermore, after having tried the various remedies they prescribed for almost six weeks, he was worse off than before, in that instead of having simply spasmodic limb movements and a rather severe weakness of the right hip and leg, he now could neither move arm nor leg; likewise his tongue had become weak and his right eye appeared smaller than the left; and that I had myself grown extremely anxious about his condition, such that I turned for help to—and entrusted my son's care to—Monsieur D'Eslon, in September of 1782. He experienced very pronounced "crises" (under Monsieur D'Eslon's care) in which he danced on his sick leg and moved his affected hand, and seemed now to exhibit no weakness in the areas where he had been weak before: exhaustion followed the "crise" and he fell for a time into a state of paralysis.

I attest further that by the second month of treatment, he was able to walk as far as to the Bois de Boulogne. His "crises" having stopped altogether a short while before, this, I thought I ought to let him undertake another 2 weeks of magnetic treatment. At the end of that period, he was brought back to me in a state of perfect health. He maintained this state without any change right up to the winter of '83-'84, which happened to be unusually severe: in February spasmodic movements recurred in the same hand. I sent him again for treatments and on the way to his uncle Baron Lauriston, who was eager to have his nephew spend the time required for the cure at his estate, this spasm attack persisted and lasted a while even after he arrived at his uncle's. Three months later my son was returned to me in excellent condition. He was in excellent health except for a dry cough, which itself has by now almost disappeared. I should add that his cough occurs only when the air's cold and not at all during the warmer months.

At St. Germain-en-Laye, 27th of Sept. 1784

Signed: De Bruno, Ambassadorial Receptionist of the King's Brother.

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*St. Vitus' Dance

C. MISS DUPONT CANET (AGE 5)
(from D'Eslon (*op. cit.*))

The following testimonial was made by her mother:

"When she was three, my daughter developed a rash* that was quite severe and which made her quite weak. We had as a result to seek a doctor's advice. Dr. Tronchin was in charge of the case for rather a long time. It was nine months before the eruption quieted down and finally went away. But it wasn't long afterwards that my daughter took sick again with violent pains in her side and these got so bad, despite all attempts to get her better, that she couldn't walk any more. We tried the country air,** applying vesicants to her arm (kept up for over a year), lotions, baths, antiscorbutic syrup, but nothing really helped. I asked why she wasn't improving but got no substantial answers. They told me it was a matter of "gas" or "spasms" etc., and that it would "go away" in time. The same humour attacked her bones and she had some injury to the spine of such a remarkable sort that a Dr. Petit said it must have resulted from some fall. He said there was therefore, no cure for her condition.

Desperate over the poor success of all the measures taken up to that point, I simply lost all confidence in any more of such remedies, none of which halted the condition or its aggravation. Nor could I afford to trust Nature herself, who seemed to be letting the condition go on, in spite of the doctors. The only source of hope I seemed to have left was in a new method of treatment, which had not, at least as yet, proved its inefficacy!

I, therefore, arranged a consultation with Monsieur D'Eslon at the home of the Countess de la Blache. I paid careful attention to the results I saw him produce there (on behalf of other patients) and thought perhaps the same method would work to cure my daughter's condition. Monsieur D'Eslon examined her carefully and promising me nothing positively, he at least offered me a likely explanation about the cause of her pain in the side and gave me reassurance that, in time, the pain would subside, that she'd be able to move her body normally again, and that she'd be able to walk with better posture and greater facility. Monsieur D'Eslon was the first person who addressed himself to me in a satisfying manner, a manner that appealed to my common sense; so I felt it was in him I should place my confidence.

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*lit: a humour of a rash.

**A remedy frequently advocated in this epoch, cf Pinel: Nosgraphic II, p. 20, tr. in Stone (1973) p. 282-3.

He worked, I may add, without the iron rod, without the baquet,* nor were any other devices to be seen at the Countess' home. He produced his effects and worked his cures, it appeared, solely by himself.

He placed my daughter on his knees in a simple and unaffected way and began treating her by talking to her about her dolly. I don't know if her reaction to this (treatment) was the cause of the redness that now showed in her face or of the pallor that later followed, or of the profuse sweating that came still later (along with the occasional attacks of sharp pain that made her cry and stretch out her limbs and want to rub the spot where it hurt and above all, keep it warm, for it was in the wintertime that the treatment made her sweat so). I should add that my child was so little involved with what he was doing with her and paid so little attention to it, that she took to calling Monsieur D'Eslon her "Dolly Doctor." According to her child's way of thinking, all that he was doing seemed no more to her than so much monkey-tricks. After several sessions, each conducted along the same lines, we did away with the vesicatories, also with the syrups and my daughter was henceforth cured of an induced illness.

I kept taking my daughter to Monsieur D'Eslon at his home in Montmartre; there the treatment was not quite so entertaining to her as it had been (at the Countess') but the results were still the same.

A number of months afterwards, in connection with a runny ear, the rash reappeared and was more or less severe, but continuous, although she didn't break out into sores.

She had to undergo frequent evacuations, which were helped along by mild infusions of cream of tartar.

For a number of months, she also took expectorants which did not make her chest any the more uncomfortable: usually children cough without bringing anything up; in my daughter's situation, it was the other way around; she produced a lot of sputum but coughed very little.

After 6 months of treatment she came down with measles. She was still under Monsieur D'Eslon's care, and he gave her only almond-water as a remedy. She sweated profusely and had a particularly severe attack of pain in her bones, in addition.

As soon as she could get about again, I took her to Monsieur D'Eslon's place. The motion of the carriage made her side pain worse, as did any forceful movement. But after nine months of treatment, she was completely well, even to the point of being able to make a journey of 400 leagues without re-experiencing the pain in her side.

The injury to her spine underwent a marvellous change for the better, so that one would hardly recognize her. Monsieur D'Eslon himself had

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*The rod and large oaken bucket of "baquet" (in which Mesmer would place his patients) were appurtenances of "Mesmerism" no longer used much by some of Mesmer's followers.

not been optimistic about such an improvement nor had he held out hopes of any. I had commented on the rather frequent outbreaks of little pimples about the affected parts, which also told us the cure was not yet complete.

She continued her treatment under Dr. Mesmer, during the time Monsieur D'Eslon and he were reunited. One or the other would treat her in a like manner; their views on the case were absolutely the same.

All this is an exact testimony of the truth, given out of my gratitude. It was only after my daughter came under the care of Monsieur D'Eslon, and after the treatment he offered her, that I had the pleasure of seeing her become less doleful in her spirits, and of seeing her become strong, active and happy and able once more to jump and skip about.

I owe to Monsieur D'Eslon the inexpressible happiness of a mother who has seen health return to a child she had given up for lost, and who feared her child would actually die. Perhaps one must be a mother to appreciate the depth of my feelings, feelings which have moved me to offer this testimony in public, to which I hereby affix my signature.

Dupont Canet
September 7, 1784, (Paris)

D. ATTACKS OF DIZZINESS, RAGE AND MADNESS HALTED OR SUSPENDED BY THE INFLUENCE OF ANIMAL MAGNETISM, AND HOW THE RECURRENCES OF SAID ATTACKS AS WELL AS THE TIME OF RECOVERY, WERE PREDICTED AND ANNOUNCED BY THE PATIENT HIMSELF WHILE IN THE STATE OF SOMNAMBULISM.

YOUNG BOY OF TWELVE, SUBJECT TO RAGE ATTACKS AND VIOLENT OUTBURSTS.

(from A. M. J. Chastenet, Marquis de Puységur: "Les fous. . . .")

June, 1872. Alexandre Hebert, the son of a Soissons watchmaker, had spent the past 6 months "in pension"* at the home of the curé of Buzancy. His father, who had fostered the boy out in similar fashion a number of times before, including to the mistress-in-charge at the Soissons cathedral, had always found it necessary to remove his son after a while because of the latter's habitual if ill-defined misdeeds.

Since his trip to the country, the curé at Buzancy had often seen the boy cry without apparent cause or groan while striking himself on the head. Because of the general tendency to pay no attention to the

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*i.e., fostered out.

vulnerability of the boy's nervous system, his impulsive actions and his complaints were regularly attributed to a want of intelligence or to a want of proper habits. A particularly violent "crise" resembling an attack of the nerves, occurred in the church at Buzancy, just as mass was letting out; this made the curé more aware of the true nature of his continuous groans, etc., and a few days later, when a second, even more severe attack occurred, the curé began to fear the boy was epileptic. He wrote at once to his father who came immediately to Buzancy. The father admitted that his son had actually experienced similar attacks with regularity at all the places where he had been looked after: that the boy did indeed often cry without apparent cause, that he himself couldn't say why he was crying, though the father said he had no suspicion his son was an epileptic.

Puységur began inducing "mesmeric" trances via "animal magnetism" (i.e., inducing "somnambulistic trance-state") in the boy and these had calming influence. Here is his description of one of his early therapeutic efforts: June 20: The boy had a third attack at 4:00 in the afternoon, last 2 hours; no one having told me about it at first, it wasn't until 7 p.m. that I had the chance to magnetize him. When he was in trance (lit. "asleep"), I took it upon myself to put some questions to him:

'How do you feel?' (no reply)

'Is what I'm doing helping you at all?' (no reply)

And since I didn't yet know his name, I asked it: I then began calling him 'Alexandre'. He appeared to have understood me and as I was about to interject another question, he said, 'Monsieur!'

'Are you all right?' I asked.

'Yes.'

'You're comfortable about being magnetized this way?'

'Yes, I am.'

'And do you think I'll be able to cure you?'

'No!'

'No!? Why not? If I seem to do you some good and if you're happy with the result I've produced so far, how come you think you won't be cured?!'

'No, I'm not going to get better!'

'Well, I must say I think just the opposite: that you *will* get better, that we'll find the right way–you and I will find them together, isn't that so?!

(no reply)

'Tell me, is it that you wouldn't altogether want to get well!?'

'Sure I would, but that's not going to happen!'

I noticed that this young fellow who, in the ordinary working state, had no recollection of his "crises," his tears, headaches or seizures,

could when in the trance state recollect having had them quite well and I could talk about them quite clearly.

Finally, I put the question to him:

'Do you get an idea when your next attack will happen?'

'Yes, I do: in a week from now.'

'And at what time?'

'At 4:00 o'clock.'

— — — —

Wed., August 26th, 1812: Yesterday I took Alexandre with me to see Dr. Pinel; the widespread fame and notable publications of this celebrated physician, about conditions such as my young patient suffered from, made me quite confident that he would be enthusiastic about seeing the boy. Dr. Pinel, to whom I had previously written concerning the object of my visit, thanked me graciously for the efforts I had undertaken to present him with the case whose curious aspects I had for so long wished to see corroborated. "I have read your works with much interest," he told me, "and I find many features of the case worthy, because of their similarity to cases that have come under my observation, of my attention. As for my passing judgment on the methods or new procedures of treatment that you have used, you must, of course, recognize that a physician honored as I am with the public's confidence and entrusted with the direction of a hospital as important as this one (the Salpêtrière, in Paris), cannot–indeed, dare not–express an opinion on a subject of such significance before having acquired the privilege of maintaining and justifying this opinion (i.e., through careful investigation)." "What I respect and praise in you, Dr. Pinel," I replied, "is your circumspection and caution! The truth of which I am the apostle, is not to be appreciated by everyone, except after having been contemplated and for a long time, by observers of special merit."

After I presented the details of young Hebert's case to Dr. Pinel, I introduced the boy to him. Dr. Pinel palpated his head, and noted the scar remaining from the operation he'd undergone. I then magnetized the child, who, the moment he passed into the somnambulistic trance, repeated a number of statements he had often made, including that part of his brain had been removed.

"I do not know," Pinel told me, "to what degree I pay credence to the responses the boy makes while under somnambulism, since I have not really seen enough material of this sort to permit me an opinion I could express with conviction.

"All I can tell you with any assurance is that according to Doctors X and Y (I don't recall the names of certain anatomy professors he mentioned to me), it is now considered a proven fact that a person can survive with a part of his brain removed."

Pinel invited me, for when I'd be returning to Paris in the winter, to then see the mental patients under his care at the hospital, to test whether magnetism could exert any curative powers over any of them. I warned him that, while I was grateful for the invitation he was extending to me, I was reluctant to try my method on patients except those who still showed considerable and persistent nervous irritability:* I was convinced, I told him, that once (mental) illnesses are such that the patient's habits are radically altered, or that the harmony of their organization has been totally deranged, no human force exists that is still capable of correcting them.

E. CONCERNING THE POWER OF ANIMAL MAGNETISM.

(from: Puységur: "Recherches . . . sur l'homme. . . ," 1811.)

First Example (pp. 67 ff):

Madame Li..., who had certainly never heard of Mesmer, much less of his doctrine, had her youngest child still in the cradle when it came down with the smallpox. She did not leave the baby's side from the time this dreadful affliction reached the eruptive stage. At one point nevertheless she was forced to leave the house on important business, and chose a moment when the baby had just fallen asleep. What must have been her surprise and apprehension when she returned to see her whole household in tears! The doctor had been summoned, they told her, but he'd not as yet come. Her maidservants informed her that the infant whom she'd left sleeping so peacefully—had awakened almost immediately upon her departure, and that after having cried and fussed for several minutes on end, the pustules of the smallpox had blanched and flattened to such an extent, that there was no mistaking the dangerous stage to which the illness had progressed. Without saying a word, or voicing the least criticism against her staff, and insensible of all except the maternal impulse to hold the child close to her, Madame Li... rushed over to her baby, picked it up from the cradle, and quite carried away with despair, she placed it on the floor, covering the child with her own clothes and body. There she remained for over half an hour, clutching her baby, and impervious to her surroundings as though lost in the depths of the most somber reflections.

All the while she heard nothing—or at least paid no attention to anything that was going on around her, nor was any human force capable of making her move from that spot, where the attraction of her

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*Corresponds to lack of excessive muscular contraction—of a kind that would cause obstruction to the flow of the Universal Fluid, and therefore analogous to Wilhelm Reich's "unarmored" (more natural, healthy) state, cf. W. E. Mann, p. 91.

feelings held her as if magnetically attached, until at last the infant's cries made her aware once more of its existence, and brought her out of this trance-like state. She rose, uncovered the baby—who meantime had begun to breathe comfortably, his eyes once more glistening with life. From that moment, the illness went on a more regular course, and the child quickly recovered its health.

This effect was the result of maternal love, completely without prior reflection nor premeditation, and was without doubt a phenomenon of instinctive animal magnetism. It is because of this same *love* among animals (which in them we ascribe to instinct) for their young, that many of them partake, just as it is with us, of this same type of magnetic power. All female birds, one might say, magnetise, and do so, furthermore, with all the more energy and efficacy as they are "free" of all reasoning such as might distract or weaken their *emotion* (ital. mine), which is the prime mover of their electromagnetism.

Second Example (pp. 70 ff):

The eldest daughter of Madame P... de Mo..., who was called Honorine, was an infant of 10 to 12 months of age, when she fell into a state of violent convulsions lasting I don't know how many hours without a break. Her very concerned mother, and Madame de Ch..., her aunt, wept disconsolately by her cradle, and gave up all hope for the child's recovery. The various powders and remedies ordinarily effective in such cases were all given without the slightest benefit. The illness resisted the power of all the medicines that were given her. Such was the state of affairs when these two ladies came and begged me to look in on the child in order to see whether magnetism, whose efficacy they had heard me boast of earlier, could do anything beneficial to their young and gravely ill patient. I came at their insistence, as soon as I could.

When I entered the home of Madame de Mo..., I saw, in effect, the very picture of suffering: little Honorine, her eyes open and staring fixedly into space, was rigid and motionless. Her relatives standing around her, dejected and silent, seemed only to be waiting for the moment to register her last dying gasp. Without so much as saying a word to them, or asking their permission, I took little Honorine in my arms along with the pillow upon which she had lain outstretched. I sat down, placing the child in my lap. Then, without paying attention or thinking at all about what was going on around us, I concentrated entirely on touching the child, with the sole wish to produce in her the most salutary effect.

After several minutes I felt I could detect the return of normal breathing, I put a hand over her heart, and could sense definite, if feeble, pulsations. My profound concentration imposed a silence over those in the room that no one was disposed to break, when all at once, the re-

assuring noise of a copious evacuation was heard! I expressed the joy that I felt, and without looking at the child nor removing its coverlet, I went on exercising with all possible force my magnetic powers. Soon a general relaxation of the muscles and the cessation of the convulsive state were the happy results of these efforts. Less than a half hour later, I had the sweet satisfaction of handing the child over into the arms of her delighted mother.

F. REPORT BY PICHER GRANDCHAMP

(from: L'Hermès, Journal du Magnetisme Animal, vol. 1, 1826, pp. 358 ff.)

"One day–it happened to be the 22nd of January, 1785, Mlle. G..., while in a state of somnambulism, suddenly got up from her chair and ran toward the room that housed the free clinic. I followed her and came upon a young girl who had come there in a state of terrible suffering. She was tormented by frightful hysteric colics, stemming from 4 days suppression of menses. Mlle. G... magnetized the girl with great intensity, getting her to drink a glass of lukewarm sweetened water that had been magnetized, placing a hand on the area of the *os sacrum*, the thumb and little finger on both inguinal rings. At first the girl's suffering seemed only to double, but soon she grew calm. She entered the state of transpiration and gradually her pain subsided. Mlle. G... advised the girl to take to her bed for a while, but to be sure and return to the clinic in 2 days, warning her that she would probably still have a good deal of pain over the next 36 hours, by which time her menstrual flow should have finally begun. The latter in turn would bring about a cure of her condition.

"On the 23rd, shortly after noontime, Mlle. G..., who had been in a deep trance, suddenly became very distressed, exhibiting a mixture of agitation and impatience.

" 'What is the matter, Mademoiselle?' I asked her.

" 'That girl we saw yesterday, monsieur, is suffering horribly right at this moment . . . she is unable to come here as I had recommended . . . I must therefore seek her out . . . and magnetize her . . . I absolutely must . . . .'

" 'How can you go see her, mademoiselle, since we know neither her address nor her name?! She didn't write her name in the log-book and the girl who brought her here for treatment yesterday isn't here at the moment.'

" 'Ah, monsieur, she must be at that girl's house . . . I'll go there and find her!' "

Mlle. G... and M. Picher-Grandchamp then hurriedly make their way to the home of the patient's friend; sure enough, the young girl is there, bedridden by her acute pains.

Mlle. G... dashes toward the patient's bedside and:

"magnetizes her the same way as before, over the course of half an hour, comforts her in this way, ultimately relieves her pain entirely, and after having magnetized a vessel of water, takes the girl in her arms and says,

'Drink some of this water later this evening . . . a few drops at a time . . . stay in bed the whole time . . . during the night your period will return and you will be completely well. . . .' "

* * * * * *

Some final comments should be made. First, the power of Mesmer's "cure" depends upon forces ordinarily subsumed, in contemporary psychiatric terminology, under such headings as suggestion, identification and transference. These in turn are complex manifestations of a larger abstraction, "personality." It was difficult for the eighteenth-century mind to picture aspects of one individual's personality as exerting powerful and even visible influences, (viz., the somnambulistic trance) on another individual, unless through the medium of an identifiable and quantifiable physical force: something, in other words, analogous to heat or sound. Mesmer and his followers attributed this power to a subtle, invisible, and (so widespread are the phenomena of "personality") omnipresent force. However much we can now understand their mode of thinking as concrete and magical, it nevertheless represented the highest level of abstraction achievable by many learned persons of that era. "Animal Magnetism" was Mesmer's attempt to reduce something "spooky" to something rational. While his detractors seemed to perceive the unsoundness of his suppositions (because they could not capture or measure it), they fell back onto "explanations" of an even less scientific ring than Mesmer's: they spoke in lay terms of the "imagination," later of "suggestion," remaining nonetheless unable to offer any deeper insights into possible mechanisms for the phenomena in question. Meanwhile another lay term, "harmony," was being pressed into service by the Mesmerists as representing the ideal state of integration of mind, body, and social adaptation. We have seen how Puységur (ex. "D") drew attention to the requirement of a certain minimum of "harmony" in a young patient, to allow for treatability by the "magnetic" method. The analogy of suppleness versus brittleness is preserved in our own phraseology concerning personality deformations (or "character pathology") in the sense that we refer to the healthy character as "flexible," and to the pathological character as suffering from various degrees of "rigidity."

Secondly, formal descriptions of childhood mental disorders by established medical writers have been noted by Kern (1973) to date back at least to the time of William Perfect (1787). He also refers to Esquirol and the American, Benjamin Rush–of the early 19th century. One should mention Haslam, as well, some of whose descriptions of what we would characterize as infantile autism or childhood schizophrenia are presented in my earlier article (1973). None of these authors had anything substantial to suggest regarding the *therapy* of these childhood afflictions. Yet, as we can now appreciate, the Mesmerists were not only describing emotional disorders in children as early as the 1780's, but were also treating them, in a novel manner highly pleasing to many grateful parents, and highly objectionable to the medical establishment of the day, such as those commissioned by Louis XVI in 1784 to investigate the legitimacy of Mesmer's claims. The investigations thus spurred (for there were several) purported to have debunked Mesmer, but, owing to the heated and very public controversy that arose between the two factions, could also be said to have put Mesmer on the map.

It is in Dr. D'Eslon's rebuttal to the findings of the Royal Commission that we found the touching descriptions of his method of treating the ailing children who were brought to him (exx. "B" and "C"). His intuitive method of establishing rapport with a young patient by having him sit upon his lap, while he made a game with a stuffed doll presages the play-therapy of our own day. His originality in bringing to medicine a technique by no means unknown to mothers over the centuries is great indeed, but hard for *us* to appreciate, for whom such techniques have happily become routine!

Similarly one can grasp, in the candor and naive simplicity of Puységur's accounts (exx. "E") how this nonmedical, highly intuitive therapist learned about the "therapeutic" significance of mother-child interaction from direct observation, and then had the courage to transpose what he saw into his own approach to sick children. Like his teacher, he too felt the need to "dress up" the power he had witnessed here (that of a mother's tenderness and ardent devotion to her child) in the to him more rational, hence more acceptable, terms of "animal magnetism," but this in no way diminishes his accomplishments. D'Eslon and Puységur may properly be spoken of as pioneers in a long and noble tradition of humanistic and intuitive French psychotherapists, that in our century include figures like Marguerite Sechèhaye, Sacha Nacht, and P. Racamier.

The quality that unites this two-centuries' long succession of therapists is the capacity for loving–unembarrassedly, and in the most parental, or nonsexual way–another suffering human being. This capacity overlaps, but is not identical, with the set of attributes that go to make up ideal "mothering." Men are often reluctant to display this capacity

lest it reflect adversely upon their male image. All the more remarkable, then, that the early Mesmerists possessed this faculty to such a high degree. D'Eslon and Puységur, in particular, were able to achieve a therapeutically effective rapport with a number of young patients, even while the conventional medical community looked on with disbelief or scorn.

The French, at all events, were several generations ahead of their European or American counterparts in this respect. Between the Parisian Mesmerists and the first non-French child psychotherapists who were to display this kind of empathic skill (of which the English physician Charles West is the first notable example) stretches almost a hundred years.

Until the advent of psychoanalysis, psychiatry tended to confine itself to the severely disturbed, hence hospitalized patients. One can see in the work of the Mesmer school the beginnings of formal "outpatient" psychotherapy: so much of their efforts were directed to the relief of the less severe "ambulatory" psychiatric conditions.* The children whose cases are depicted in the translations were all seen in private homes: those of the therapists themselves (in areas set aside as office or clinic) or of their patrons. Nor were the Mesmerists afraid to venture into the homes of the patients (as in ex. "F"), there to induce the therapeutic sequence of trance, "crisis," and cure.

It is of interest that treatment, although usually a brief affair of a few trances induced at intervals of a few days or a week, occasionally was extended over months or even a few years (exx. "B" and "D"). The patience and devotion of Puységur, for example, to "Alexandre," is strongly reminiscent of the intense and ultra-lengthy hospital treatment, 130 years later, by Sechèhaye of the schizophrenic child "Renée."

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*Puységur's meeting with Pinel represents an early attempt at a rapprochement of the two psychiatric camps, with results about as meagre as seen after Freud's efforts to win acceptance by the leading figures of established hospital psychiatry, Kraepelin and Bleuler.

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FROM THE SOURCES

American Schooling (1790):

> "But unfortunately this spirit of humanity and civilization has not reached our schools. The rod is yet the principal instrument of governing them, and a school-master remains the only despot now known in free countries. . . . I recollect, when a boy, to have lost a schoolmate, who was said to have died in consequence of a severe whipping he received in school. . . . [I've seen] thumping the head, boxing the ears, and pulling the hair . . . feruling, pulling and boxing ears, cudgelling, horsing, etc. and, in boarding-schools, a little starving. . . ."
>
> Benjamin Rush, *The Selected Writings of Benjamin Rush.* (New York, 1947), pp. 110-11.

Ancient Roman schooling, letter written to his grandson upon starting school:

> "You also be not afraid, though the school resound with many a stroke and the old master wear a lowering face . . . let no outcry, nor sound of stripes, nor dread, make you quake as the morning hours come on. That he brandishes the cane for sceptre, that he has a full outfit of birches, that he has a tawse artfully hidden in innocent washleather, that scared confusion sets your benches abuzz, is but the outward show of the place and painted scenery to cause idle fears. Your father and mother went through all this in their day. . . ."
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> Hugh G. E. White, trans., *Ausonius,* Vol. II, (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 20.

ON DEATH AND THE CONTINUITY OF LIFE: A "NEW" PARADIGM

ROBERT JAY LIFTON

One of America's foremost psychohistorians proposes a new paradigm of human behavior, a powerful summation of many themes which have appeared in his previous works.

Serious concern with the way in which people confront death leads one to question the nature of death and the nature of life in the face of death. In my work in Hiroshima I found that studying an extreme situation such as that facing the survivors of the atomic bomb can lead to insights about everyday death, about ordinary people facing what Kurt Vonnegut has called "plain old death." I feel that our psychological ideas about death have been so stereotyped, so limited, so extraordinarily impoverished, that any exposure to a holocaust like Hiroshima, or My Lai, or in fact the entire American involvement in Indochina, forces us to develop new ideas and hypotheses that begin to account for some of the reactions that we observe. I want to suggest a few such principles that are both psychological and historical.

My basic premise is that we understand man through paradigms or models. The choice of the paradigm or model becomes extremely important because it determines what might be called the 'controlling image' or central theme of our psychological theory. Human culture is sufficiently rich that a great variety of paradigms are available to serve as controlling images, including those of 'power', 'being,' 'instinct and

defense', 'social class', 'collective unconscious', 'interpersonal relations', etc. These paradigms are by no means of equal merit, but each can be used to illuminate some aspect of human experience.

At the end of my study of Hiroshima, *Death In Life*, I stated that sexuality and moralism had been the central themes confronted by Freud in developing psychoanalysis, but that now unlimited technological violence and absurd death have become more pressing themes for contemporary man.[1] During the Victorian era, when Freud was evolving his ideas, there was an overwhelming repression of sexuality but a relatively greater openness to the reality of human death. The extent of sexual repression is revealed by the Victorian custom of putting doilies on table legs because these were thought to be suggestive of the human anatomy. There has been a historical shift, and the contemporary situation is one in which we are less overwhelmed by sexual difficulties but more overwhelmed by difficulties around death. One can characterize the shift as from covering the legs of tables with doilies to the display of hotpants; and from the grim reaper as public celebrity to the Forest Lawn syndrome. The fact that Freud's model of libido and repression of instinctual sexual impulses was put forth during the late Victorian era, at a time when society was struggling with these issues, does not invalidate the generalizability of his ideas: their power lies precisely in that generalizability. But it does raise the important point—not only for Freud but for our own work now—of the influence of historical forces on the psychological theories we choose to develop. If we now begin to build psychological theory around death it is because death imposes itself upon us in such unmanageable ways.

In my own psychological work on extreme historical situations involving ultimate violence and massive death, I have preferred to speak of a process of psychic numbing rather than repression. Repression occurs when an idea or experience is forgotten, excluded from consciousness, or relegated to the realm of the unconscious. Repressed childhood memories and repressed instinctual impulses are illustrations of this process. Repression is part of a model or controlling image characterized by drives and defenses and refers to the compensatory effort of the organism to cope with innate or instinctual forces that dominate emotional life. The original idea was to analyze these forces and thereby bring the patient to cure.

Psychoanalysis has been changed significantly by the development of ego psychology, by various neo-Freudian modifications, and by many new influences including ethology. But I think that psychoanalytic theory is still bedeviled by its traditional imagery of instinct, repression, and defense. This imagery yields limited and distorted insight when one approaches the subject of death and the relationship of death to larger contemporary experience. The concept of psychic numbing, in contrast,

suggests the cessation of what I call the formative process, the impairment of man's essential mental function of symbol-formation or symbolization. This point of view is strongly influenced by the symbolic philosophy of Cassirer and Langer.[2] Psychic numbing is a form of desensitization; it refers to an incapacity to feel or to confront certain kinds of experience, due to the blocking or absence of inner forms or imagery that can connect with such experience.

The importance of this kind of phenomenon was impressed upon me very profoundly by my work in Hiroshima. It would appear that the technology of destruction has had a strong impact on the spread of psychic numbing. But my assumption is that psychic numbing is central in everyday experience as well, and may be identified whenever there is interference in the 'formative' mental function, the process of creating viable inner forms. The 'psychoformative' perspective would stress that a human being can never simply *receive* a bit of information nakedly. The process of perception is vitally bound up with the process of inner re-creation, in which one utilizes whatever forms are available in individual psychic existence.

Within this psychoformative perspective the central paradigm I wish to develop is that of *death and the continuity of life.* In elaborating this paradigm I will speak first of a theory of symbolic immortality, then of an accompanying theory of evolving death imagery, and finally discuss the application of this paradigm in clinical work and psychopathology.

I want to emphasize at the beginning that this approach to psychology and history is impelled by a sense of urgency about our present historical predicament, and by a strong desire to evolve psychohistorical theory adequate to the dangerous times in which we live. In this approach it is necessary to make our own subjectivity as investigators clear and conscious, to try to understand it and use it as part of the conceptual process. I have elsewhere suggested possibilities for going even further and making our forms of advocacy clear, forthright and, again, part of the conceptual process.[3] In presenting this paradigm of death and the continuity of life I also assume a sense of urgency in our intellectual and professional lives. A crisis exists in the psychiatric profession, and in other professions as well, that has to do with despair about the adequacy of traditional ideas for coping with new data impinging from all sides.

In his book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*[4] Thomas Kuhn describes a sequence that occurs in the development of scientific thought when the data can no longer be explained by prevailing theories. Kuhn observed that when this happens the usual reaction among scientists is to cling to the old theories all the more persistently. At a certain point the incongruity between the theory and data becomes so glaring–and the anxiety of those defending the theory so great–that

the whole system collapses and the paradigm changes. I think we are at a point something like that now, and that a new depth-psychological paradigm is required. Ironically, the paradigm of death and the continuity of life is actually man's oldest and most fundamental paradigm.

Psychiatrists and psychoanalysts have for the most part left the question of death to philosophers. Freud's theory legitimized this neglect when he said:

> It is indeed impossible to imagine our own death: and whenever we attempt to do so we can perceive that we are in fact still present as spectators. Hence the psychoanalytic school could venture on the assertion that at bottom no one believes in his own death, or, to put the same thing in another way, that in his unconscious, every one of us is convinced of his own immortality.[5]

Freud viewed all interest in immortality as compensatory, as a denial of death and a refusal to face it unflinchingly. Freud insisted that we look at death squarely, that we cannot psychologically afford the consequences of denial. But Freud had no place in his system for the *symbolic* significance of the idea of immortality as an expression of continuity. For this reason I call Freud's approach 'rationalist-iconoclastic'.

Jung's approach was very different; he took the mythological and symbolic aspects of death and immortality very seriously. He emphasized the enormous significance of the idea of immortality on the basis of the map of the human psyche, and especially of the unconscious, provided by mythology. But he also said: "As a physician I am convinced that it is hygienic to discover in death a goal toward which one can strive: and that shrinking away from it is something unhealthy and abnormal": and, "I . . . consider the religious teaching of a life hereafter consonant with the standpoint of psychic hygiene."[6] In such statements it becomes unclear whether Jung is talking about the literal idea of a life after death or a more symbolic one. He surrenders much of the scientific viewpoint, however broadly defined, that man has struggled for so painfully over the last few centuries. We can thus call Jung's approach 'hygienic-mythical'.

Both of these views are important: neither is completely satisfactory. Freud's attitude has the merit of unflinching acceptance of death as a total annihilation of the organism. Jung's view has the merit of stressing the symbolic significance of universal imagery around death and immortality.

A third perspective—which I shall call 'formative-symbolic'—draws upon both Freud and Jung but takes into account the increasing awareness of symbol-formation as a fundamental characteristic of man's psychic life. I should emphasize that I am speaking of an on-going *process of symbolization*, rather than of particular symbols (the flag, the cross, etc.). In classical psychoanalysis the focus tends to be in sym-

bols as specific equivalents—pencil for penis, sea for mother, etc.—and much less upon the more fundamental process of creation and re-creation of images and forms that characterize human mentation.

I would hold, in the context of this psychoformative view, that even in our unconscious lives we are by no means *convinced* of our own immortality. Rather we have what some recent workers have called "middle knowledge"[7] of the idea of death. We both 'know' that we will die, and resist and fail to act upon that knowledge. Nor is the need to transcend death *mere* denial. More essentially, it represents a compelling universal urge to maintain an inner sense of continuous symbolic relationship, over time and space, with the various elements of life. In other words, I am speaking of a *sense* of immortality as in itself neither compensatory nor pathological, but as man's symbolization of his ties with both his biological fellows and his history, past and future. This view is consistent with Otto Rank's stress on man's perpetual need for "an assurance of eternal survival for his self." Rank suggested that "man creates culture by changing natural conditions in order to maintain his spiritual self."[8] But this need for a sense of symbolic immortality, interwoven with man's biology and his history, is for the most part ignored by individually-biased psychological theory.

The sense of immortality can be expressed in five general modes. The first and most obvious is the biological mode, the sense of living on *through* and *in* one's sons and daughters and their sons and daughters. At some level of consciousness we imagine an endless chain of biological attachments. This mode has been a classical expression of symbolic immortality in East Asian culture, especially in traditional China, with its extraordinary emphasis on the family line: In Confucian ethics, the greatest of all unfilial acts is lack of posterity. But this mode never remains purely biological: it becomes simultaneously biosocial, and expresses itself in attachments to one's group, tribe, organization, people, nation or even species. Ultimately one can feel at least glimmerings of a sense of immortality in 'living on' through and in mankind.

A second expression of the sense of immortality is the theological idea of a life after death or, more importantly, the idea of release from profane life to existence on a higher plane. The literal idea of an afterlife is not essential to this mode and such a notion is not present in many religions. More basic is the concept of transcending death through spiritual attainment. The power of spiritual life to in some way overcome death is exemplified in all the great religious leaders around whom religions have been founded: Buddha, Moses, Christ, Mohammed. Within each of the religious traditions there has been a word to convey the spiritual state in which one has transcended death: the Japanese word

kami; the Polynesian term *mana;* the Roman idea of *noumen;* the Eskimo concept of *tungnik* and the Christian doctrine of *grace.* All these words describe a state in which one possesses spiritual power over death, meaning, in a symbolic sense, that one is in harmony with a principle extending beyond the limited biological life span.

The third mode of symbolic immortality is that achieved through 'works': the mode of creativity, the achievement of enduring human impact; the sense that one's writing, one's teaching, one's human influences, great or humble, will live on; that one's contribution will not die. The therapeutic efforts of physicians and psychotherapists are strongly impelled, I believe, by an image of therapeutic impact extending through the patient to others, including the patient's children, in an endless potentially beneficent chain of influence. The "therapeutic despair" described so sensitively by Leslie Farber[9] as an occupational hazard of the psychiatrist treating schizophrenic patients might well result from the perception that one's strenuous therapeutic endeavors are not producing these lasting effects. That one's energies are not animating the life of the patient and cannot therefore symbolically extend the life of the therapist.

A fourth mode is the sense of immortality achieved through being survived by nature itself: the theme of eternal nature. This theme is very vivid among the Japanese, and was one of the most important kinds of imagery for survivors of the atomic bomb. It is strong not only in Shinto belief, but in the European Romantic movement and in the Anglo-Saxon cult of the great outdoors–indeed in every culture in one form or another.

The fifth mode is somewhat different from the others in that it depends solely upon a psychic state. This is the state of 'experiential transcendence', a state so intense that in it time and death disappear. When one achieves ecstasy or rapture, the restrictions of the senses–including the sense of mortality–no longer exist. Poetically and religiously this has been described as 'losing oneself'. It can occur not only in religious or secular mysticism, but also in song, dance, battle, sexual love, childbirth, athletic effort, mechanical flight, or in contemplating works of artistic or intellectual creation.[10] This state is characterized by extraordinary psychic unity and perceptual intensity. But there also occurs, as we hear described in drug experiences, a process of symbolic reordering. One feels oneself to be different after returning from this state. I see experiential transcendence and its aftermath as epitomizing the death-and-rebirth experience. It is central to change or transformation and has great significance for psychotherapy. Experiential transcendence includes a feeling of what Eliade has called "continuous present" that can be equated with eternity or with "mythical time."[11]

This continuous present is perceived as not only 'here and now' but as inseparable from past and future.

The theory of symbolic immortality can be used to illuminate changes in cultural emphasis from one historical period to another. We can think of historical shifts as involving alterations in the stress given to one or another mode or combinations of modes. The Darwinian revolution of the 19th century, for example, can be seen as entailing a shift from a predominantly theological mode to a more natural and biological one. The continuous transformation in China over the last few decades involves a shift from a family-centered biological mode to a revolutionary mode, which I have written about elsewhere as emphasizing man's works but as including also elements of other modes with periodic emphasis upon experiential transcendence.[12]

Following the holocaust of World War II the viability of psychic activity within the modes has undergone something of a collapse, at least in the West. We exist now in a time of doubt about modes of continuity and connection, and I believe this has direct relevance for work with individual patients. Awareness of our historical predicament–of threats posed by nuclear weapons, environmental destruction, and the press of rising population against limited resources–has created extensive imagery of extinction. These threats occur at a time when the rate of historical velocity and the resulting psychohistorical dislocation had already undermined established symbols around the institutions of family, church, government, and education. Combined imagery of extinction and dislocation leave us in doubt about whether we will 'live on' in our children and their children, in our groups and organizations, in our works, in our spirituality, or even in nature, which we now know to be vulnerable to our pollutions and our weaponry. It is the loss of faith, I think, in these four modes of symbolic immortality that leads people, especially the young, to plunge–sometimes desperately and sometimes with considerable self-realization–into the mode of experiential transcendence. This very old and classical form of personal quest has had to be discovered anew in the face of doubts about the other four modes.

In postulating a theory of symbolic immortality on such a grand scale, one must also account for the everyday idea of death, for the sense of *mortality* that develops over the course of a lifetime. Freud's notion of the death instinct is unacceptable, could in fact be viewed as a contradiction in terms in that instinctual forces are in the service of the preservation of life. Nor is death an adequate goal for life. Yet as is generally the case with Freud when we disagree with him, the concept, whatever its confusions around the instinctual idiom, contains an in-

sight we had best retain concerning the fundamental importance of death for psychological life. Hence, the widespread rejection of the death instinct poses the danger not so much of throwing out the baby with the bath water but perhaps the grim reaper with the scythe.

Freud himself faced death heroically and understood well the dangers involved in denying man's mortality. But at the same time Freudian theory, insisting that death has no representation in the unconscious, has relegated fear of death to a derivative of fear of castration. Freud also seemed ambivalent about whether to view death and life within a unitary or dualistic perspective. His ultimate instinctual dualism opposed death and life instincts. Yet the notion of life leading inevitably toward death is a unitary vision, and it is this unitary element that I think we should preserve. This unitary perspective on death would insist upon its overall consistency as an absolute infringement upon the organism (as opposed to certain contemporary efforts to subdivide death into a number of different categories); and as an event anticipated, and therefore influential, from the beginning of the life of the organism.

I believe that the representation of death evolves from dim and vague articulation in the young organism's inchoate imagery to sophisticated symbolization in maturity. I rely partly here on Kenneth Boulding's work on the image,[13] in which he has stressed the presence in the organism from the very beginning of some innate tendency or direction which I call an *inchoate image*. This image is at first simply a direction or physiological 'push'. But inchoate though it may be, the image includes an *interpretative anticipation of interaction with the environment*. Evidence for the existence of innate imagery can be drawn from two sources; one is ethology and the other is observation of rapid eyeball movements (REM) in sleep studies.

Work in ethology has demonstrated through the study of "releasing mechanisms" the existence of what I am here calling an image. The newborn organism is impelled innately toward certain expected behavior on the part of older (nurturing) organisms, which when encountered, acts as a releasing mechanism for a specific action (such as feeding) of its own. Sleep studies also suggest the presence of images in some form from the beginning of life, possibly during prenatal experience, that 'cause' or at least provide some basis for the rapid eyeball movements observed in various species. Rather than demonstrating the presence of pictorial images, these two areas of research suggest the presence at birth of primordial images or precursors to later imagery.

In the human being the sequence of this process is from physiological push (or direction of the organism), to pictures of the world (images in the usual sense) to symbolization. Within this theory of evolving imagery we can understand the elaboration of the inner idea of death from the earliest childhood in terms of three subparadigms or polarities.

These are: çonnection versus separation, integrity versus disintegration, and movement versus stasis. The inchoate imagery of the first polarity is expressed in a seeking of connection, what John Bowlby has described as "attachment behavior" around sucking, clinging, smiling, crying and following.[14] The organism actively seeks connection with the nurturing or mothering person. First this quest is mainly physiological, then is internalized in pictorial image-formation, and finally becomes highly symbolized. The organism's evolution is from simple movement toward the mother to a nurturing relationship with her, and eventually toward connection with other people, with groups, with ideas, with historical forces, etc. Where this striving for connection fails, as it always must in some degree, there is the alternative image of separation, of being cut off. This alternative image of separation forms one precursor for the idea of death.

In a similar way one can look at the idea of integrity versus disintegration. As indicated in the work of Melanie Klein on the infant's fear of annihilation,[15] there is from the beginning some sense of the organism's being threatened with dissolution, disintegration. The terms of this negative image or fear are at first entirely physiological, having to do with physical intactness or deterioration; but over the course of time integrity, without entirely losing its physiological reference, comes to assume primarily ethical-psychological dimensions. At those more symbolized dimensions one 'disintegrates' as one's inner forms and images become inadequate representations of the self-world relationship and inadequate bases for action.

The third mode, that of movement versus stasis, is the most ignored of the three; but it has great clinical significance and is especially vivid to those who deal with children. An infant held tight and unable to move becomes extremely anxious and uncomfortable. The early meaning of movement is the literal, physiological idea of moving the body or a portion of it from one place to another. Later the meaning of movement takes on symbolic qualities having to do with development, progress and change (or with a specific collectivity in some form of motion). The absence of movement becomes a form of stasis, a deathlike experience closely related to psychic numbing.

One could illustrate in detail the evolution of these polarities over the course of the life cycle. But it is clear that rather early, or earlier than is usually assumed, death achieves some kind of conscious meaning. By the age of three, four, and five children are thinking and talking, however confusedly, about death and dying. And over the course of the next few years something in that process consolidates so that the idea of death is more fundamentally learned and understood. At every developmental level all conflicts exacerbate, and are exacerbated by, these three aspects of what later becomes death anxiety—that is, disintegra-

tion, stasis of separation. These death-linked conflicts take on characteristic form for each developmental stage and reach a climax during adolescence. During young adulthood there occurs a process partly described by Kenneth Keniston around the term 'youth',[16] and partly described in my own work around the concept of the "protean style."[17] I see the continuing search characterizing the protean style as a constant process of death and rebirth of inner form. The quest is always for images and forms more malleable and inwardly acceptable at this historical moment than are those available from the past. Sometime in early adulthood one moves more fully into the realm of historical action and one then connects with the modes of symbolic immortality.

Later, in middle adulthood, one becomes impressed that one will indeed die. It becomes apparent that the limitations of physiology and life span will not permit the full accomplishment of all one's projects. But even with this fuller recognition of mortality the issues of integrity, connection and movement remain salient. Old people approaching death look back nostalgically over their whole lives. This "life review" as it is sometimes called, has to do with a process of self-judgment, of examining one's life around issues of integrity, but also of connection and movement; and for evidence of relationship to the modes of symbolic immortality.

How do these principles apply in mental disturbance? I want to suggest the clinical applicability of this paradigm of death and the continuity of life for various categories of psychopathology. Psychiatrists have turned away from death, as has our whole culture, and there has been little appreciation of the importance of death anxiety in the precipitation of psychological disorder.

What I am here calling the sense of immortality is close to what Erik Erikson calls basic trust.[18] Erikson emphasizes the issue of basic trust as the earliest developmental crisis and he sees the legacy of this earliest time as having vital importance for adulthood. But the establishment of trust itself involves confidence in the integrity, connection and movement of life, prerequisites for a viable form of symbolic immortality. Where this confidence collapses psychological impairment ensues.

The principle of impaired death imagery—or more accurately, of impaired imagery of death and the continuity of life—is a unitary theme around which mental illness can be described and in some degree understood. I see this kind of impairment as being involved in the etiology of mental illness but not as causative in the nineteenth century sense of a single cause bringing about one specific effect. Rather, impaired death imagery is at the center of a constellation of forms, each of which is of some importance for the overall process we call mental disturbance. Here

I would point to three relevant issues central to the process of mental illness. The first is death anxiety; which evolves in relation to the three polarities I have described. The second is psychic numbing, which I see as a process of desymbolization and deformation. The image which accompanies psychic numbing is that "if I feel nothing then death does not exist; therefore I need not feel anxious about death either actually or symbolically; I am invulnerable." A third principle is what I call 'suspicion of counterfeit nurturance.' This is the idea that if death exists then life is counterfeit. Ionesco's question—Why was I born if it wasn't forever?—illustrates the relation of this theme to the quest for immortality. But it is a very old question.

Death anxiety can be seen as a signal of threat to the organism, threat now understood as disintegration, stasis or separation. All anxiety relates to these equivalents of death imagery, and guilt too is generated insofar as one makes oneself 'responsible' for these processes. In other writing I have distinguished between static (either numbed or self-lacerating) and animating guilt, and have emphasized the importance of the latter in the process of self-transformation.[19]

One can take as a model for much of neurosis the syndrome which used to be called "traumatic neurosis" or "war neurosis." It is generally described as involving the continuous re-living of the unconscious conflicts aroused by the traumatic situation. More recently emphasis has been placed on imagery of death aroused by the trauma, rather than the trauma *per se.* Thus the syndrome has been called by some observers "death anxiety neurosis."[20] I see this process in terms of the psychology of the survivor as I have elaborated that psychology in my work on Hiroshima and more recently with antiwar veterans. My belief is that survivor conflicts emerge from and apply to everyday psychological experience as well. When one 'outlives' something or someone, and there are of course many large and small survivals in anyone's life, the specter of premature death becomes vivid. Simultaneously one begins to feel what I came to call in my Hiroshima work "guilt over survival priority" —the notion that one's life was purchased at the cost of another's, that one was able to survive *because* someone else died. This is a classical survivor process and is very much involved in traumatic neurosis. In describing traumatic neurosis, earlier observers spoke of "ego contraction."[21] This is close to what I call psychic numbing, also very marked in the survivor syndrome and in neurosis in general.

A great number of writers (including Stekel, Rank, Horney, and Tillich) have emphasized patterns closely resembling psychic numbing as the essence of neurosis. Stekel, in 1908, spoke of neurotics who "die every day" and who "play the game of dying."[22] Otto Rank referred to the neurotic's "constant restriction of life" because "he refuses the loan (life) in order to avoid the payment of the debt (death)."[23] The neurotic thus seeks to defend himself against stimuli in a way Freud described in

a little-known passage in *Civilization and Its Discontents.* Freud observed:

> No matter how much we may shrink with horror from certain situations—of a galley slave in antiquity, of a peasant during the Thirty Years War, of a victim of the Holy Inquisition, of a Jew awaiting a pogrom—it is nevertheless impossible for us to feel our way into such people, to divine the changes which original obtuseness of mind, a gradual stupifying process, the cessation of expectations and cruder or more refined methods of narcotization have produced upon their receptivity to sensations of pleasure and unpleasure. Moreover, in the case of the most extreme possibility of suffering, special mental protective devices are brought into operation.[24]

It is strange that Freud turned away from his own argument at this point and concluded that it was "unprofitable to pursue this aspect of the problem any further." For that argument contained the core of the idea of psychic numbing in extreme situations. The holocausts described by Freud have become almost a norm, a model for our times. But in lesser degree, what Freud called narcotization and I am calling psychic numbing is associated with the individual 'holocausts' and survivals around which neurosis takes shape.

Let me now make some preliminary suggestions about the significance of these struggles around death imagery for the classical psychiatric syndromes. I am exploring these relationships more fully in work in progress,[25] and my hope is that others will as well.

If we view neurosis in general as an expression of psychic numbing—shrinking of the ego and diminished capacity for experience—we can see in depression specific examples of impaired mourning, impaired symbolization, and the impaired formulation of the survivor. Where a known loss triggers the process, as in reactive depression, the depressed person acts very much like a survivor and psychic numbing becomes very prominent. He often expresses the feeling that a part of him has died, and that he 'killed' the other person in some symbolic way by failing to sustain the other's life with needed support, help and nurturance. The idea of either having killed the other person or of having purchased one's own life at the cost of another person's is fundamental. Such feelings are also related to Freud's explanation of guilt, in that earlier ambivalent feelings toward the other person included hate and death wishes, which now become attached to the actual loss. The whole issue of grief and its relation to mental disturbance is too complex to examine fully here. I can only say here that grief is of enormous importance in the experience of survival and in its residuum of mental and physical disturbance related to psychic numbing.

In character disorders, and in the related phenomenon of psychosomatic disorders in which one speaks through the "language of the body,"

there are lifelong characterological patterns of deadening or numbing of various aspects of the psyche. This numbing may involve moral sensitivity or interpersonal capacities. However the numbing is expressed, there is a situation of meaninglessness and unfulfilled life, in which the defensive psychological structures built up to ward off death anxiety also ward off autonomy and self-understanding.

Turning to hysteria, the "psychic anesthesia" emphasized in early literature suggests the centrality of stasis, deadening, or numbing. Freud's case of Anna O., for example, is properly understood as a mourning reaction.[26] The hysteria followed very quickly upon the death of Anna's father and had much to do with her reaction to that death. Her conception of being alive became altered in such a way that merely to *live* and *feel*–to exist as a sexual being–was dangerous, impermissible, and a violation of an unspoken pact with the dead person. Whether or not there is a mourning reaction directly involved, hysteria tends to involve either this form of stasis or its seeming opposite, exaggerated movement or activity that serves as a similar barrier against feeling and living. These patterns again resemble those I encountered among Hiroshima survivors.

In obsessional neurosis and obsessive-compulsive styles of behavior the stress is upon order and control. One tries to 'stop time', to control its flow so as to order existence and block spontaneous expression, which is in turn felt to be threatening and 'deadly'.

Much of Freudian theory of phobia evolved from the case of Little Hans. In this case Freud interpreted castration fears as being displaced and transformed into a fear of horses–the inner danger of being transformed into an external one.[27] But I would say that Little Hans' experience could also be understood in terms of fear of annihilation and separation. His castration fear epitomized but was not the cause of his general death anxiety. Rather than viewing this death anxiety as secondary to castration anxiety, as psychoanalytic literature has done ever since, we do better to reverse our understanding and interpret the castration anxiety as an expression of more general death anxiety.

Finally I want to turn to psychosis and to an application of this theoretical position to schizophrenia. One is appalled by the degree to which death imagery has been observed in schizophrenic persons without being really incorporated into any conceptual scheme. As with more general psychiatric concern with death, the situation is changing. Harold Searles writes at some length about the problems a schizophrenic person has with the "universal factor of mortality." Searles says that the schizophrenic patient doesn't really believe he is living, doesn't feel himself to be alive, feels life passing him by, and feels stalked by death. Thus the patient employs a variety of techniques to defend himself against death anxiety, and yet in another sense feels himself already dead, "having therefore nothing to lose through death."[28] And what

Ronald Laing calls the "false self" is very close to what I am calling a numbed or 'dead self'. Laing goes on to 'translate' from what he calls "schizophrenese" and describes "the desire to be dead, the desire for a non-being" as "perhaps the most dangerous desire that can be pursued"; and the "state of death-in-life" as both a response to "the primary guilt of having no right to life in the first place, and hence of being entitled at most only to a dead life" and "probably the most extreme defensive posture that can be adopted" in which "being dead, one cannot die, and one cannot kill."[29] What Searles and Laing describe in schizophrenics is directly reminiscent of the process I observed among survivors in Hiroshima, and is similar to the *Musselmanner* phenomenon that occurred in Nazi concentration camps: so extreme was the state of psychic numbing that, as one observer put it, "One hesitates to call their death death."[30] These were people who had become robots.

The schizophrenic experiences a pathetic illusion of omnipotence, a despairing mask of pseudo-immortality because he is blocked in the most fundamental way from authentic connection or continuity—from what I have been calling a sense of symbolic immortality.

But the productions of the schizophrenic are infused with death: again like the Hiroshima survivors at the time the bomb fell, he sees himself as dead, other people around him as dead, the world as dead.

Wynne, Lidz, and others who have studied family process in schizophrenia emphasize the transmission of "meaninglessness, pointlessness, and emptiness," of "irrationality," of "schism and skew."[31] Bateson's "double bind" theory of conflicted messages received by the child also stresses the difficulty faced by the child in establishing a coherent field of meaning.[32] All of these theories represent a transmission of 'desymbolized' or 'deformed' images, which cannot cohere for the child and which leave him overwhelmed with death anxiety and suspicion of counterfeit nurturance. In the child's experience nurturance is dangerous: he flees from it into isolation, stasis, a 'safer death' of his own.

It may require several generations to produce a schizophrenic person. But one can say that, however, the inheritance mechanism may operate, whatever the contribution of genetic legacy, the early life of the schizophrenic is flooded with death anxiety, and the result is thought disorder and impairment of reality sense. The schizophrenic's behavior and symptoms represent alternate tendencies of surrender to death anxiety and struggle against it. The near total suspicion of counterfeit nurturance which characterizes the schizophrenic's emotional life renders his psychic numbing more extensive and more enduring than in any other form of psychiatric disturbance. Although one sometimes sees in acute forms of schizophrenia an exaggerated response to stimuli, the general and long-range process is one of profound psychic numbing. To the schizophrenic as to certain survivors of mass holocausts, life is counterfeit, inner death predominant, and biological death unacceptable. Be-

cause the schizophrenic's entire existence has been a series of unabsorbable death immersions and survivals, he ultimately settles for a 'devil's bargain': a lifeless life.

The paradigm of death and continuity of life I have elaborated here–together with psychoformative and psychohistorical perspectives–can help keep psychiatry and psychoanalysis close to their biological origins without imposing on them an instinctual determinism. The paradigm recognizes the scope of man's symbolization and provides a link between his biology and his history, a link essential to make if either is to be sustained.

I close with a few quotations. The first is a slogan from an eighteenth century guild–very simply: "Remember to die." Ostensibly it was a reminder to make advance funeral arrangements through the guild, but, however inadvertently, it conveys much more. The next is from the playwrite Peter Weiss, who said, "Once we thought a few hundred corpses would be enough, then we said thousands were still too few; today we can't even count all the corpses everywhere you look." Finally, Yeats:

> Man is in love and loves what vanishes,
> What more is there to say?

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32. *Ibid.*

BOOK REVIEWS

SOCIOLOGIZING PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY

Psychoanalytic Sociology: An Essay on the Interpretation of Historical Data and the Phenomena of Collective Behavior. Fred Weinstein and Gerald M. Platt. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973. 124 pp. $8.50.

Reviewed by Gerald J. Gargiulo

Is it possible to have a psychoanalytic sociology, or should we be content with just a psychoanalytic psychology? The question is meant to be neither partisan nor academic; it recognizes that psychoanalysis has minimally a threefold identity: it is a theory of the mind, a therapeutic technique, and finally a methodology of investigation. A psychoanalytic methodology of investigation implies understanding the main corpus of theory, its present clinical application, and using whatever insights seem relevant to uncover or to deepen other areas of knowledge which might have lain fallow were it not for the perspective which analysis brings. To cross-breed a discipline, as it were, and to give birth to a psychoanalytic sociology, for example, requires not only a breadth of knowledge, but a fund of originality if violence is not to be done to either of the parenting theories. In the present work, violence has been done, and it is psychoanalysis which is the victim. It falls victim not to an aggressive attack or to a philosophical dispute; the violence is of a more subtle nature. The target that is hit is essentially a straw man, evidenced in such approaches as a primitive reading of libido theory; the line of attack is to foster a false dichotomy between early and later (topographical and structural) theories of the mind and, while doing this, to virtually ignore the other metapsychological assumptions. The purported goal is to establish the autonomy of the historical moment and the independence of cultural currents, particularly in our understanding of revolutions and revolutionaries. The primary casualty here, however, is the family in the life of human beings, with all the import that childhood sexuality and aggression have on the evolving psyche and its interraction with as well as organization of society.

The reason for my prolonging such imagery is that the violence done to psychoanalysis in this work does not come from antagonistic sources. Quite the contrary: the authors seem genuinely dedicated to formulating a psychoanalytic sociology and, to this end, they have read and quoted voluminously in this work of modest size. Nor can one, nor do I wish to, quarrel with some of their conclusions on the breadth of perspectives needed to understand creative individuals who channel revolutionary movements and the danger of reductionistic psychoanalytic readings of such persons. But in pursuing these ends, the authors have written a *tour de force* which, because of the magnitude of their sources and the perceptive formulations of accepted conclusions, can give the impression of being a definitive reading of contemporary psychoanalytic theory. In short, violence from friendly sources, invoking all the native gods, is the most dangerous of all.

We read, for example, of "immutable drives"; further on we are told of the psychoanalytic standpoint explaining man's relationship to the world in terms of "one unchanging psychic reality." And in this same vein we are definitively informed that,

> First *all* (italics mine) behavior examined in the context Freud presents must be interpreted as regressive behavior; and, second, all attacks against authority must appear to be 'illegitimate' attacks, attacks based on the eruption of instinctual forces and not on responses to real events in the external world.

To make an obvious, but needed, point, there are at least three approaches we must keep in mind if we would understand the meaning contained in Freud's thought. First, one should be able to appreciate and evaluate the particular historical context in which a given work may appear; secondly, one should be familiar with the prevailing theoretical concepts which Freud was speaking within; thirdly, one should be familiar with the contemporary reading of Freud's thought. In view of these observations, I wonder where in Freud's thought the ideas alluded to above—and many others throughout the text—are supported? The drives are *not* immutable but constant; they undergo many vicissitudes, as Freud's famous essay indicates, among which alternatives we can list sublimation, a concept not even examined in the present work. Furthermore, there is no such entity as an unchanging psychic reality. The dynamic psychology Freud introduced allows us to look at processes from a variety of perspectives at once. In his early works, Freud wrote about the unconscious being open to influences from conscious sources; later, in his structural theory, he reiterates that id, ego, and superego are ways of approaching and analyzing a given pattern of behavior. Going further, we have to note that Freud prior to 1923 was particularly concerned with uncovering and bringing into conscious focus the genetic aspects of personality. Therefore, all behavior has historical unconscious roots—this is Freud's contention. That *all* behavior is regressive is not only misleading but nonsense. Furthermore, anyone familiar with the thrust of Freud's contribution must know that Freud does not cast himself into the role of referee for those who wish to attack authority, i.e., legitimate vs. illegitimate. The central issue, and

one which the authors continually wish to deny, is that every child has a history with love and authority and his later responses to authority are *rooted* firmly in his childhood. One is embarrassed to remind the authors, particularly in a work with such surface psychoanalytic sophistication, that even classical Freudians know that trees, for example, have more than roots. But if we do not focus on childhood roots first, as it were, and concentrate our attention on the appropriateness of a particular revolutionary movement, for example, we risk losing any appreciation of a dynamic unconscious and its influence even upon the most rational of acts, revolutionary or not. To abandon that perspective is quite simply to abandon psychoanalysis. To claim, as the authors do, that they do not intend to use psychoanalytic propositions in the "established way" is certainly acceptable. Frequently, however, throughout the text we are not exposed to psychoanalytic propositions used in an original way; we are exposed to psychoanalytic words, but the concepts have been done away with. At times, the authors are just superficial; note for example: "But personality is not a static entity and, as ego and superego develop, so too do needs and ambitions, and areas of activity evolve and expand." This sentence, and others of the same calibre, is used to warn us of the dangers of stressing childhood factors in the evolution of the adult personality. The inter/intra-psychic defensive and adaptive structures which affect the processes of internalization and identification, which the authors make so much of, and ultimately which affect the elements in the external world that will be made emotionally real for the individual–all of these primal formative factors, cursorily mentioned here, are all underplayed in the service of an ever evolving rational control.

Early childhood experience is both normative and formative because it not only supplies the child with the rudiments of socialization, as the authors indicate; it not only gives the child a primary model in terms of how his parents dealt with the world, but the interaction between parent and child shapes the child's psyche so that if, for example, massive narcissistic damage is done in the earliest years, very little of later developmental socialization, without therapeutic intervention, will affect the person. Psychic defense systems mean ultimately that consciousness itself, as it were, is shaped and that shape affects the experience and personal meaning of all later experience. To bring a new shape to consciousness is certainly one of the goals of psychoanalysis; to give the impression that somehow this new shape of consciousness is par for the course in the normal process of expanding socialization is certainly an appealing concept, but clinical evidence does not support it.

As indicated above, one does not get the impression throughout the text that the authors are hostile to analytic concepts; rather they fall victim to a surface reading of them combined with some misleading dichotomies. They ultimately, therefore, wind up with something of a parody of analysis. The implications for sociology of a psychoanalytic reading and vice-versa are unquestionably worthwhile; a marriage of necessity, however, does neither party any good–particularly the child. And so we read that,

> . . . we will emphasize those aspects of (psychoanalytic) theory which are either inherently sociological or are more amenable to sociological definition. Thus, we will stress the theory of object relations more heavily than the classical libido theory. This means in particular that, no matter how each person is affected by the internal patterns of impulse, conflict and defense, in the larger sense personality is built up and organized on the basis of identification with and internalization of, patterns of behavior transmitted by emotionally significant figures. These figures have a temporal priority which enables them to impress on the individuals the effective subsequent priority of symbolic codes (i.e., culturally and socially defined standards and expectations).

But, as we have indicated above, the way each person relates to others (object relations) is intimately related to their own patterns of impulse, conflict and defense. Ego psychology, particularly Eriksonian ego psychology, has given us a broader reading of this inter-relationship without having to drop one of the points of reference because it might not fit in with a preconceived theory. Identification and internalization, moreover, are not one-dimensional concepts; they signify related but different processes at different developmental psychic stages. And to try to use these concepts as catchalls because they are more inherently sociological is a disservice to the complexity of the psychoanalytic theory of the mind. Finally, to simplify parental inter-action with children in terms of the parents as cultural ritualizers, a theme again which Erikson has developed with a sophistication not evident in the present work, is to reduce depth psychology to a calm and helpful tributary to the presumed ocean, as it were, of consciousness.

In view of the above criticisms, I do not wish to give the impression that I view culture as if it were a projection of men's psyches, since I quite agree with the authors that man is *par excellence* the symbolic creature which both his mind and his society reflect and that we must consider both society and the individual as somewhat inter-dependent action systems. Thus there is a real need for a psychoanalytic sociology in this furthering quest of finding out who we are. But I must note in conclusion that Erikson has articulated what, in fact, personal analysis enables one to come to terms with: the necessity of accepting the inevitable, given one's individual childhood, in order to achieve any real, growing autonomy in adulthood. It is the apparent lack of awareness of this concept, and all that it entails, which lessens the value, and in fact affects the whole tone, of the present work.

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BRIEF REVIEWS BY LLOYD DEMAUSE

Margaret O'Brien Steinfels, *Who's Minding The Children? The History and Politics of Day Care in America.* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1973) 281 pp. $8.95.

Parents used to send their children to wet-nurses, to other families as servants, to Dame-schools, to monasteries, anywhere to get rid of them, and rationalized their actions as necessary for the child's "character." This book is another in this long line of rationalizations. It takes the viewpoint of the liberation of women from child care, which is understandable due to men's continuing abdication of parenthood and due to women's desire to ape men in being free of parenthood too. It also preaches that day care is beneficial for children, even in the early years, a conclusion certainly not arrived at by asking the children who are thereby abandoned whether they feel "freed from the patriarchal nuclear household." Similarly, Steinfels' brief history of day care is a whitewash of the actual motives of those responsible for its development. From its opening pages, where the experiences of Anna Freud and John Bowlby on the young child's need for consistent maternal affection are brushed off as old-fashioned Freudianism, to the final recommendations for the expansion and "normalization" of day care, this book parallels the flood of identical Russian works extolling the inevitability of "community-centered child-rearing." It goes unmentioned, needless to say, that even Israeli *kibbutzim* parents are now admitting that they hate to turn their kids over to others to rear, and are now busy re-creating the nuclear family.

Stanley Milgram, *Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View.* (New York, Harper & Row, 1974) 224 pp. $10.00.

Strange how we have set up our entire "socialization" procedure for our children based on the central principle of obedience to authority and then are surprised when we succeed and produce adults who obey authority regardless of moral considerations. Stanley Milgram's eye-opening little book on how easy it is to get people to give painful shocks to others has already started the "banality of evil" argument up again. In fact, it might better suggest the "evil of banality", since the turning of a fresh, sensitive young child into a banal adult capable of obeying immoral orders is hardly an inevitable course of human nature, regardless of how widespread it is.

Eric Bermann, *Scapegoat: The Impact of Death-Fear on an American Family.* (Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1973) $10.00.

A very important home study of a boy who was made the scapegoat for the death-fears of his family. Bermann berates the psychological community for their lack of research into death wishes, but cites only those

articles listed in *Psychological Abstracts.* If he had instead consulted that little-known work, Grinstein's *Psychoanalytic Index*, he would have discovered a wealth of psychoanalytic material pertinent to his subject (for instance, all the work of Joseph Rheingold). How psychologists continue to treat patients after having had so little contact with psychoanalysis is incredible.

Ted Clark and Dennis T. Jaffe, *Toward a Radical Therapy: Alternate Services for Personal and Social Change.* (New York, Gordon and Breach, 1974) 287 pp. $12.50.

A naive account of how great the counter-culture is, and how useless traditional psychotherapy is, with frequent statements on the beneficial properties of psychedelic drugs and how they produce real personality improvement. Odd the extent to which the radical therapy movement has become an ancillary to the drug culture. The book centers on a well-intentioned "youth crises center" run by the authors in New Haven, which often sounds suspiciously like a latter-day fraternity house. Depth psychology appears to be abandoned, with individual problems attributed solely to outside "exploitation and oppression" and the "evils" of the system. Manichaean Marxism lives!

Ernest Gellner, *Cause and Meaning in the Social Sciences.* (London and Boston, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973) 228 pp. $10.00.

The trouble with reading a smart-alecky philosopher is that whenever he gets to a crucial point in a line of argument, instead of inventing a viewpoint which will throw new light on the difficulty, he instead sidesteps it with a wisecrack. One reads Ernest Gellner hoping that his combined philosophical and anthropological training would for once produce a reasoned defense of the holistic position of the "social" sciences and perhaps even of functionalism. Instead one gets a slippery attack on Individualism as reductionism which abounds in such snide language as:

> Indisputably, 'history is about chaps'; hence 'historical events must be explained in terms of what chaps do.' Now we all agree that repression is a bad thing: hence it is desirable to diagnose and render harmless the compulsive insight, rather than merely argue against it.

An additional problem is posed by the compilers' habit of printing Gellner's arguments and counter-arguments in complex back-and-forth discussions without even summarizing the arguments of his opponents. The effect is somewhat like listening in on a man arguing with his wife on the phone: you'd love to know what it is all about. Add to this the repetitive nature of the articles and you end up with small potatoes indeed.

Michael B. Katz, Editor, *Education in American History: Readings on the Social Issues.* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1973), 348 pp. $10.00.

Michael Katz is America's finest young historian of education, and here he presents a selection of many of the best articles in this new field. It is an indication of the anti-psychological, sociological orientation of the writings that although every conceivable kind of demographic, bibliographic, economic and social source is drawn upon to convey the facts of American education, there is nary a page which describes what it felt like to be a child in a classroom at any point in American history. Personal documents, which would reveal this information, such as autobiographies, teacher's accounts, parent's letters, school reports, even children's diaries, are carefully avoided. One would never guess, for instance, the predominance of beating and whipping in the average school well into the nineteenth century. nor the variety of strange teaching methods which existed in our schools. It is not that one asks the history of education to be psychohistory; it would be nice though if the best workers in the field didn't so sedulously avoid children in schools.

Vincent J. Fontana, *Somewhere A Child Is Crying.* (New York, Macmillan, 1973) 268 pp. $6.95.

An impassioned account of just how much of a child-abusing nation America continues to be, and why. Destined to join the other books which give evidence for widespread child abuse in a response dominated by indifference and resentment.

Fred I. Greenstein and Michael Lerner, Editors, *A Source Book for the Study of Personality and Politics.* (Chicago, Markham Publishing Company, 1971) 572 pp.

A splendid collection of most of the recent worthwhile articles written on the use of psychology in the study of political behavior. Running through the book is a battle between those who use psychoanalytic insights in their research and those who do no research but spend their energies writing terminology articles and complaining how reductionist psychoanalysis is. What is saddest, however, is how little most personality-and-politics writers know about contemporary psychoanalytic theory and practice, and this includes some of the biggest names in the field. Psychoanalysis continues to pay dearly for its split with academia.

Robert Dreeban, *What is Learned in School.* (Reading, Mass., Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1968), soft cover, $2.95.

It is the current custom of parents to send their children from their homes, where they are generally loved and given individual attention, to schools, where they are neither loved nor given individual attention but are expected to obey orders. Robert Dreeban of Harvard at first flirts with the revolutionary impact of this insight, but ends up, in a fog of Parsonian jargon, precisely reversing the truth by finding that the school is responsible for the learning of "independence, achievement, universalism and specificity."

Michael V. Belok, *Forming The American Minds: Early School-Books and Their Compilers (1783-1837).* (Moti Katra (India), Satish Book Enterprise, 1973), 248 pp.

After reading all the religious, moralizing, useless junk early American schoolchildren were pumped full of, one begins to wonder if the school contributed anything positive at all to the achievements of early America.

Horst von Maltitz, *The Evolution of Hitler's Germany: The Ideology, The Personality, The Moment.* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1973), 479 pp. $12.95.

Described as a "summary of primary source materials, historical writings, psychological studies, and a mass of other material", this book flails about, touching all bases but explaining nothing, mentioning pieces of every theory around from Bettelheim to Lorenz, and once more examining in detail such matters as whether most left-wing Germans really *were* Jews, as if any serious scholar could still care about all these rationalizations. In the end, the only theory he has of why it all happened is that Hitler intensified latent feelings most Germans had. Von Maltitz obviously wants passionately to determine why Nazism happened. Wanting is not enough.

Robert R. Holt and Emanuel Peterfreund, Editors, *Psychoanalysis and Contemporary Science: An Annual of Interpretive and Interdisciplinary Studies.* Volume 1, 1972 and Volume 2, 1973. (New York, The Macmillan Company) 400 pp. each.

Particularly valuable to those who are concerned with whether psychoanalysis is scientifically acceptable or not, this new annual features theoretical, clinical and interdisciplinary articles which are highly technical and of widely varying quality.

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