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HISTORY OF CHILDHOOD QUARTERLY:

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**CHILDHOOD HISTORY
AND DECISIONS OF STATE**

GROWING UP IN NEW CHINA

CHILD-ABUSE AND SELF-ABUSE

CHILDREN IN MILLS

REVIEWS OF PSYCHOHISTORY



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SYMPOSIUM
ARTICLE

Childhood History and Decisions of State: The Case of Louis XIII

ELIZABETH
W. MARVICK

Historians have labeled "early modern" the first half of the seventeenth century in France. In this period between the reigns of Henry IV and Louis XIV political scientists have reason to see a transition from renaissance to modern politics. In the reign of Louis XIII, patterns of bureaucratic, centralized control were established. There was a distinct break with the model of personal rule through traditional institutions that had characterized the reigning style of Henry IV. After Henry's death in 1610 a governmental revolution took place—a monarchical challenge to medieval judicial and aristocratic institutions. This marked a decisive turn toward the absolutism for which the French monarchy was later to be noted.

Louis XIII's son and successor, Louis XIV, would find that he was in large part the creature of a state machine not of his making and not always susceptible to his lead. It was an engine fashioned by the efforts of his father and of his father's prime minister, Richelieu. This paper explores the personality of Louis XIII who was largely responsible for transforming French politics.

CHILDHOOD HISTORY AND POLITICAL HISTORY

The momentous consequences of decisions made by the regime of Louis XIII give it prime significance for political history. Moreover, its

special *tandem* character makes it a period exceptionally well suited for study of the role of personality in political decision making. It provides striking examples of conflicting tendencies in policy formation which do not lend themselves to explanation by looking only at the conscious intentions of the king and those who helped him direct French state machinery.

Recent studies of the regime's administrative history have emphasized its paradoxical nature. New trends were set in motion which threatened destruction of the independent powers of courts and bureaucracy. These, it is argued, were unintended consequences of the policy of Richelieu. Ranum has noted the cardinal's apparent deep respect for the traditional rights of the great nobility.¹ Yet the regime inaugurated the last phase of the *grands'* capacity to muster resistance to an increasingly powerful monarchy. Moote comments on a related point, the centrally-appointed *intendants* who were to replace the older, local, semi-hereditary *officiers*: "It is certain that neither Louis XIII nor Richelieu . . . expected the *intendants* to become permanent replacements for *officiers*, but that was what happened." Again, he writes, "By background, temperament and the influence of those around him, Louis XIII had as many reasons to temporize with his *officiers* as to run roughshod over their privileges and powers. What then explains the attacks which that monarch unleashed against his judicial and financial officials?" As an explanation, Moote proposes that special "conditions of early seventeenth-century France and Europe" forced Louis unwillingly to attack these privileges: "In spite of his desire to reign as Louis *le Juste*, Louis XIII constantly clashed with law courts and taxing bureaus."²

Moote interprets the "governmental revolution" as a product of inadvertence. The king's temperament was unsympathetic to it. It was forced upon him by financial necessity. Richelieu was its involuntary instrument because of loyalty to his master's interests.

A difficulty arises. This notion that the governmental revolution was not a product of the personality of its architect is incompatible with other descriptions of the temperament of the king. Strongwilled and proud, Louis had an intense desire to exercise power and a fierce jealousy of his prerogatives. The impression he made upon the course of public policy was achieved by continual calculation of strategy, consultation, and application of relentless pressure to implement decisions.

Unlike Richelieu, who preferred to manipulate, Louis did not hesitate to use domination for his power objectives. Long before the cardinal entered the scene, the king's "taste for command" had been amply demonstrated. Typical was his tongue-lashing of the Parlement

of Paris: a royal historian noted that the king who had "an impetuous spirit" told this judicial body that "there was no use talking about obedience where the Parlement was concerned and that if he had people to whom he wished to teach that virtue it wouldn't be there he would send them . . . but into his companies of guards where there was an entirely different kind of obedience and that if they gave him a half dozen of these young counselors . . . and mixed them among his musketeers, he'd soon bring them around to that virtue."³ Moote cites another cutting remonstrance of the king to these lawyers who were growing restive under increasing monarchical pressure: appearing suddenly before them the king announced, "You are here solely to judge between Master Peter and Master John and I intend to put you in your place, and if you continue your undertakings I will cut your nails to the quick."

Moote recognizes that such frank exclamations of an intention to dominate are inconsistent with a picture of a responsive, equitable ruler. The "other side of his character" he writes, showed "on many occasions . . . a monarch who considered himself the father of his people and whom it was appropriate to call 'just'."⁴ An earlier historian of the reign went so far as to claim that Louis was "by nature tender and good."⁵

Apologists would apparently contend that a rather kindly, well-intentioned leader was required by circumstances beyond his control to set France on a course toward one of the most feared and efficient despotisms since ancient times. The giant steps toward absolutism were taken independently of the personal dispositions of the one who directed them.

The apparent paradox between character and policy may be resolved by understanding the psychic constitution of the policy maker. The aim here is to help resolve that paradox by the use of information on the childhood of Louis XIII.

A combination of two circumstances makes the rule of Louis XIII particularly suitable for trying to understand the role of personality in political decision making. First is the advantage deriving from the nearly complete documentation on policy formation under the political system. What was known to the political actors is almost fully known to us: few dispatches have been lost; by now most have been decoded when necessary and their authenticity established. Confidential communications recorded in diaries, correspondence and memoirs are confidential no longer. Their abundance makes evaluation for accuracy rather easily possible by cross reference. Thus two major problems in the study of contemporary political decision making are avoided. These are the difficulty in assessing reality as it presented itself *to the actors themselves* and the uncertainty in determining *decision content* due to the undocumented or confidential character of directives.

French seventeenth-century documentation also supplies another kind of information which is particularly scarce in modern contexts where decision makers are not recruited from a hereditary elite: detailed observations on the early history of political figures.

A common and reasonable complaint about contemporary psychobiography is that it is based on meager information about the childhood history of its subjects. Psychoanalytic theory is genetic theory; its insights are linked to the stages in an individual's maturation from child to adult. The analysis of political behavior in terms of such theory requires systematic knowledge of the dynamics of a personality system—knowledge which can only be validated by details of developmental history. Such details are rarely available. However, much information on the earliest history of heirs to kingly thrones is available and often it is abundantly validated by multiple independent sources. But, as often, those "born to rule" do not take office; when they do they may have neither the opportunity nor the will to wield power in fact.

It is a happy accident that the regime of Louis XIII meets conditions both for analysis in terms of childhood history and in terms of political importance. On the one hand there is a detailed record of Louis' infancy and early development. On the other there is plentiful evidence of his close supervision of significant political events throughout his realm from the time he seized power in 1617 until his death in 1643.

The diary of Louis' first physician, a 9,000-entry record kept over a period of twenty-six years, is the basis of most of the statements concerning the king's development in the pages that follow. In this unique journal we find unfolding the clinical history of the future Louis XIII registered day by day with unequalled thoroughness and attention to detail.⁶

But the availability of this diary poses a perhaps unprecedented problem—what to do with overabundant information. For, customarily, sequential data on the childhood experience of important political figures is not only scarce but also gathered with a polemical purpose. These drawbacks usually make it suspect by virtue of its selectivity. The mass of data on Louis XIII, however, is almost overwhelming in quantity and comprehensiveness.

In analyzing the information in Héroard's journal the first task is to sort the data. The sheer volume of the reports requires that they be organized according to some rule that makes them meaningful.

It was such a contingency, among others, that Lasswell helped to meet in adapting Freud's developmental theory of personality to the demands of decision making analysis. Using information from psychoanalytical interviews of political actors he proposed a *classifying* operation. He sought to identify objects of drives (*id* objects toward which

were directed aggressive or libidinal impulses), forces modifying these drives to make them compatible with reality (adaptations of the *ego*), and inhibitions imposed on egoistic striving toward drive satisfaction by the *superego*. In distinguishing these mental functions behind the overt responses of individuals, meaningful interpretation of political behavior is promised.

Thus, when information on childhood history is plentiful, a new approach to political biography is offered by Lasswell's scheme. If the contacts of the individual with the outside world can be scrutinized from infancy onward, each of the various behavior patterns of the adult can be traced back to the point at which it assumed its characteristic psychic functions. The relationship of an actor to persons, institutions, policies, and practices in the political arena "may be examined for the purpose of discerning their appeals to impulse, conscience and reason."⁷

A few examples of apparently paradoxical adult behavior by Louis may serve here as illustrative cases. If the psychic meaning of seeming inconsistencies in this king's mode of relating to persons, practices and policies can be identified, some of the puzzles which his regime has presented to historians may be resolved.

Among these puzzles, most perplexing perhaps is the wide range of personality types in Louis' chosen entourage through the years of his reign. For example, we need to explain the continued presence of such contrasting aides as Richelieu—proud, ascetic, hardworking, passionately orderly and deferential to the king—and Cinq-Mars, the "favorite" of Louis' last years—extravagant, petty, vain, lazy and ungrateful. Concerning Cinq-Mars' "bad temper" the king complained to Richelieu:

I told him, "A man in your position must think of becoming worthy of an army command . . . but laziness is entirely contrary to this occupation." He responded brusquely that he had no such intention . . . and that as for changing his style of life he could live in no other way. And then we came into the courtyard, he picking on me all the while and I on him.⁸

Of the relationship between institutions and personality Lasswell asked, "Do we find that though a given enterprise required great ruthlessness to succeed, the moral scruples of the original founders led to the choice of men incapable of the acts of illegality and brutality necessary to success?"⁹ What personality factors are operative when leaders choose agents to carry out institutional change?

Louis XIII did indeed use illegality and brutality to effect the "governmental revolution" of his reign. But until Richelieu he did not find the suitable mixture of ruthlessness and compliancy that made possible the changes in internal and external policy. His first "right hand man"

was the Duke of Luynes who was timid and had a short memory; though submissive he was also disorderly. He was thought to be not merely indecisive, but somewhat cowardly as well.¹⁰

In applying the triple-appeal principle to person-occasion relationships, Lasswell cited instances in which "popular justice involves the direct gratification of very deep destructive tendencies." One instance he noted was "the ritualistic semi-formal modes of action" of a lynching party.¹¹ The reign of Louis XIII, illustratively, was a time of many executions. The king had frequent opportunities to garner the psychological "gratification" of such occasions. When the Duke of Montmorency was sentenced to death for treason, a delegation of his relatives and partisans, seeking a pardon for him, found Louis at a favorite diversion—chess playing. The whole group threw themselves at the king's feet. Calmly he replied:

No, there will be no clemency; he must die. No one should be disturbed to see someone die who has so richly deserved it. One ought only to pity him because he has been led by his own fault into so great a misfortune.

Go tell him that all the clemency I can allow him is that the executioner will not touch him, that he will not put the rope over his shoulder [to bind him to the scaffold] and that he will do nothing except to chop his head off [*lui couper le cou*].¹²

The triple-appeal principle is also a useful guide to understanding the ways in which political actors respond to social doctrines, myths and legends, Lasswell argues. In seventeenth-century France these exemplifications of national culture were mingled with the beliefs and revered objects of the Roman Catholic church. For example, a basis for the charismatic power of kings was the belief that they possessed the power to heal scrofula by touching the afflicted. Of interest here is the perspective from which the royal thaumaturgic power was exercised—the viewpoint of the king himself.

The duty to perform mass ceremonies wherein hundreds of poor and scabrous subjects received the healing touch of the king was not an inviting one to the fastidious young Louis XIII. Nor was it one which his father took very seriously. As soon as the dauphin was able, these duties were assigned to him while Henry pleaded indisposition. Nevertheless, there is good reason to believe that Louis took the reality of this healing power, residing in himself, quite literally. In his mind it was linked to an idealized conception of himself as a candidate for sainthood, as the true descendant of Saint Louis. Indeed, he allowed his official historian to enlarge his legendary healing power to include a therapeutic influence on kidney trouble—much to the disgust of the more tradition-minded.¹³

In Louis' mind, religious ritual and doctrine played a practical, egoistic role as well as one sometimes contributing to his ideal view of himself. Nowhere was the combination of these two functions of magical practice more evident than on the king's deathbed. His hopes for achievement of sainthood were clear. He was told that the longer his final illness lasted, the closer he would come to the perfection of a martyr-saint. His last malady was prolonged for three months. During his suffering Louis arranged for the minutest details of his death, including the gift of his heart after the event. It was to become a relic in the church of St. Louis, founded by Louis XIII himself. The ritual preliminaries to his death conformed to methodical plans he had laid out over a period of years. Some were matter-of-fact precautions to insure salvation. He counted on getting to heaven

to reign there with my God. . . . Not that I am assured of going there directly after I leave my body. . . . But at least, God willing, I will always have the certain expectation of it.

Although similar to those taken by many contemporary believers, Louis' plans were so exceptionally thorough and extensive that they excited remark from many witnesses. For example, he had made a special breviary for his final hours in which he had marked in advance the passages to be recited at various stages of his agony.¹⁴

Louis' fondness for certain kinds of administrative practices was connected with his passionate desire for order and his concern with the details of rituals. This entailed attention to the "letter" of the law. Ranum points out the influence of this preoccupation, given the anachronistic state of administrative management under the *ancien régime*:

In theory administrative practices were formal and fixed . . . but in reality they were loose and easily adaptable for personal ends by strong officers. . . . Richelieu . . . sometimes took advantage of it.

For Louis, however, codes of rules had a great attraction; in his mind "such documents assumed an importance quite unusual for the time."¹⁵

Historians have been struck by incongruities in the policies and practices of the regime. To resolve apparent paradoxes they have sometimes sought to distinguish policy consequences which were *intended* from those which seemed merely *incidental*. In particular, two issues have been preoccupying concerning Louis' policies. Did he intend a policy of aggrandizement aimed at making France politically hegemonous over territory extending to her "natural" frontiers? Second, was it his intention to combat the power of Empire, Pope and Spanish monarchy to the advantage of a Gallicist French royal policy?

On both these questions evidence is ambiguous. But intentions are not necessarily univalent. In the light of the triple-appeal principle it is

not in point to ask which was the intended aim but rather to explain the psychic function performed by *all* significant behavior.

Again, one of the most puzzling aspects of the reign has been how Louis XIII, fervently pious, mistrustful of Protestants, fiercely jealous of his authority, attentive to and respectful of traditional forms, nevertheless followed, over a period of eighteen years, a policy of alliance with Protestant against Catholic powers, of reconciliation with domestic Huguenots, of denigration of the independent powers of nobility and traditional courts and, above all, of effective collaboration with Richelieu, one of the most ambitious and manipulative figures in political history.

Psychoanalytic theory offers a useful approach to puzzles of this kind. It promises answers to such questions as, which practices served Louis' ego needs? Which policies gratified libidinal or aggressive drives with little regard for the reality principle? Which other and possibly incompatible policies served to emulate his ego ideal or satisfy his conscience demands? More complicated questions which the triple-appeal principle helps answer are: Under *what conditions* did the key decision makers gratify id impulses? *When* was Louis' egoistic adaptation (to internal psychic reality and to external social facts) paramount and possible? The documentary resources available concerning Louis XIII permit tentative applications of the Freudian schema.

THE CHILDHOOD HISTORY OF LOUIS XIII

1. Earliest Vicissitudes of the Id: Impairment and Gratification of Drives

Optimism about life—or pessimism—is a posture established at an early age, Ferenczi claimed. The first months of life determine whether children “preserve the feelings of omnipotence . . . and become Optimists, or whether they go to augment the number of Pessimists who never get reconciled to the renunciation of their unconscious irrational wishes.”¹⁶

Insofar as this dichotomization of humanity is valid, it is clear enough that Louis XIII's first weeks of life—frustrating as they were—help to account for the fact that, as an adult, he was certainly numbered among the world's pessimists.

This first dauphin born to France in eighty years was the son of Henry IV, first king of the Bourbon dynasty, and of Marie de Medicis, descendant both of Habsburgs and of Florentine merchant princes. Louis' delivery on September 27, 1601, was normal and quite swift; he

was a robust neonate with vigorous reflexes, good size and color. His superior natural endowments were to be of great value to him through infancy and childhood. Almost from the beginning, his environment put obstacles in the way of normal development.

A few hours after Louis' birth it was decided that he was having difficulty sucking the breast of the wet nurse assigned to him. A surgeon was called in who cut the membrane under his tongue in three places. This was a common practice of the time. But in his case it may have been applied with more thoroughgoing zeal because of the concentration upon the boy of so much attention from many appointed servants. Spitz's research has suggested the possible effects of comparable surgical measures at such an early age. To flood a neonate's sensory system with so massive a stimulus before any part of his body is libidinated enough to isolate and localize sensation may well have a fundamentally traumatic effect on psychic development.¹⁷

The first three months of the baby's life—that critical time for adjustment of the nursing couple—was a history of cross-purposes and failures for Louis.

A good part of Louis' infantile problems can be traced to the characters and aims of his appointive household. Foremost among these in his earliest weeks was his doctor, Jean Héroard, whose diary is the source of most of the clinical information available to us on his early development. Héroard's supervision of his infant patient's care was minute and total.

From the context, it would seem that Héroard had had little experience with infants. He attributed a strong sucking drive to the persistence of hunger in the baby: from the first he pictured Louis as unsatisfied by the quantity of his nurse's milk. Supervising the suckling process with intense attention he immediately concluded that the wet nurse chosen by the queen was unsuited to his precious charge. He judged that Louis was not sucking properly. The nurse responded nervously, possibly to Héroard watching over her as well as to the baby. On one occasion she nearly allowed Louis to fall to the floor from a velvet cushion on which she held him as the king awkwardly tried to pick him up.

Héroard promptly decided that nurse's insufficiency of milk required auxiliary feedings from supplementary wet nurses and the administration of boiled pap. That she actually lacked milk seems doubtful; in the well-founded fear of losing her job she overate so much one night that she vomited. During the night, after she had fed him, Louis himself "vomited great quantities of milk".

The baby's doctor also deprecated the quality of the nurse's milk: "He has never suckled Hotman without its disagreeing with him," he said later. Possibly responding to overfeeding, or uncertain handling, or both, the baby was "racked by cramps" after feedings and broke out in

a rash soon after birth. In his third week Héroard noted "angry hives between his legs, fomented by his nurse's milk." Again, "suckled avidly and for a long while; manifest inadequacy of milk in his nurse who has small breasts and hot, light-colored milk."

Héroard had his own candidate for the post of wet nurse to the dauphin, but the queen, from a distance, overrode his suggestions. Eventually, however, he was successful in getting Hotman replaced, for, not surprisingly, the baby failed to thrive. At the age of three months "his body was getting thinner" and a week later the doctor observed that the deep folds at the back of his neck and the base of his fingers had disappeared. His stomach was like a "skinned rabbit" and his body was red all over.¹⁸ The new nurse sent by the queen was Antoinette Joron and she was to remain in Louis' service from the end of December, 1601 into his adulthood.

From the journal it would seem that Héroard's ambition was to control completely the physical inputs and outputs of his infant charge. Before Louis was two weeks old the physician had started to regulate the baby's stools by the use of suppositories. We are not told how much evacuation was "enough" but the standard was clear to Héroard himself. Clinical observations have prompted the generalization that premature stimulation of the anal region in this way may importantly alter the normal course of the phase of oral primacy.¹⁹ It seems likely that the fact that the nursing relationship was inevitably *not* completely controllable by Héroard intensified his focus on this zone. In any case Louis' excretory processes were a lifelong preoccupation for the doctor, whose attention to them evoked corresponding responses from the child over the years.

Although the nurse the queen approved to be Hotman's successor was not of Héroard's choosing, a short trial of her convinced him she would do. The difference seems to have been one of rapport between the physician and nurse since her supposed supply of milk was not different from her predecessor's:

He nursed with such big gulps, as he had always done, that he swallowed more in one than another might have done in three, and with just a few mouthful he got a breast completely flat. This nurse [Joron] was astounded by it and said she didn't know how she'd be able to feed him, but since she was docile and timid we figured that the lack of milk would turn out all right, seeing that she had had enough of it before.

No small part of the credit for Louis' successful adaptation to this new nurse may have been due to the fact that, soon after her arrival, Héroard absented himself from his little patient for the first time since the dauphin's birth. The doctor was gone for several weeks and when

he returned Louis' and Antoinette's mutual adjustment was well established. Héroard delightedly reported that Louis had fixed him with his gaze and "smiled at me for a quarter of an hour without being distracted."²⁰

By May of 1602 the dauphin had regained his reputation for precocity, even if it was a bit exaggerated in this report from his mother, the queen, an infrequent visitor:

As for my son, it's hardly credible how big and fat and strong he is. . . . Already he recognizes the king and me very well. . . . and understands what is said to him and makes his desires understood by all around him. . . . Already one can see that he has exceptional judgment for his age.²¹

During the first two years of his life, Louis' doctor and nurse were unquestionably his primary, symbiotic family. Héroard was omnipresent and his physical contact with the baby was extensive and intimate. He felt his pulse every morning ("found the little bird" as the child was later to say), handled his head and body for temperature and other signs of health or illness, administered the suppositories and the lotions, potions, unguents and compresses which he continually prescribed. When the baby had a night of teething difficulties it was the first physician who stood, with elbow on his cradle, throughout the ordeal "holding his right hand in mine".²²

Louis' relationship with Doundoun, as he was to call his nurse, seems to have given scope for complete gratification of oral drives—so far as this was still possible—and for satisfying tactile experience. "Within a period of seven or eight hours she changed the breast she offered him fifteen or twenty times" an account of the time related, "suckling him the better part of each day."²³ The nurse had no duties but this and was therefore available on demand.

In other ways too, the dauphin's privileged status meant that his opportunities for exploration of self and environment were probably greater than those of less important babies. For example, constant access to sources of warmth and a "dresser" assigned to him alone meant that he was left free of swaddling clothes at least a good part of the day, even in his earliest months. At five months Héroard reported he put his hands in his mouth "all the time", indicating arms free of restraint.²⁴

While Doundoun was a source of drive satisfaction, Héroard's function was more complex. Before Louis was eight months old he could direct oral aggression toward the doctor: "I put my little finger in his mouth," Héroard noted, in order to take "out of him" a piece of bread he was chewing that stayed underneath his palate. "He bit me, clenching his teeth firmly on my finger twice."²⁵

Louis' stutter, first noted by the doctor when the child was fifteen months old, could be interpreted as a symptomatic response to Héroard's handling. Growing resistance by the child to Héroard's constant intrusion with suppositories is suggested by the fact that, at fifteen months, the physician reported the use of the "first laxative medicine."²⁶ This seems to have been one of the first silent demonstrations of the dauphin's stubbornness which was to become such a notable personality trait.

Unfortunately, the contemporary abridgment of Héroard's diary does not permit us to follow what was apparently a prolonged struggle with Louis over toilet habits. The child insisted on using a shallow potty for defecating until he was six years old, refusing to perform on the "pierced chair" which was available to him and obliging his entourage to produce the "*bassin*" at a moment's notice at all times. During his first year he had apparently been kept seated on the chair for prolonged periods without result. In his fifth year he "promised to go caca on his chair" if his nurse would give him some chestnuts and "laughingly asked for it in order to get them." Nevertheless, the hoped for performance was postponed. In fact, it was three years before Héroard emphasized in a marginal note, "makes caca seated on his chair for the first time."²⁷

This tenacious anal mode of responding was to be reflected again and again in his unwillingness to surrender his belongings ("*les siens*")—people as well as things—and an exceptional lack of pliability. The interplay between doctor and child reveals how Héroard reinforced the tendency to anal regression by interpreting Louis' childish resistances to "bad humors" inside him and redoubling his efforts to extract them. For example, the three-year-old had been peevish and surly ("*hargneux*"), talking back to his governess, denying his "fault": "It's not I who's stubborn—it's the '*borgne*' [the one-eyed mason who was brought in to frighten the child into compliance.]" Then, Héroard reported, "makes caca—tannish, light-colored, much. Peevish, short-tempered as he always was when he retains such 'humors'."²⁸

2. Early Ego Development: Hatching from the Symbiotic Shell²⁹

Louis' weaning at the age of two took place long after he had learned to walk and had acquired other motor skills facilitating his development of the capacity for autonomous reality testing. In today's clinical literature, successful weaning from the breast or bottle is seen as stimulating the differentiation of the self from the nursing figure. The nurse begins to be perceived as a separate object. But in Louis this discrimination was slow to develop and in some respects remained more than usually incomplete through his childhood and into his early youth. For his

nurse continued to be his private possession in a physical sense—a “transitional” or *part* object—which impeded her becoming a “true” object separate from himself. Both before and after weaning he habitually fell asleep in her arms; in cases of stress during the day he cried, “Take me, take me, Doundoun!” and as she held him in her lap he was instantly calmed, in the same way that a child is soothed as he pops his thumb in his mouth or goes into a trance with a “security blanket”. On awakening he often had himself put in his nurse’s bed where he merged himself with her in a trouble-free state equivalent to remaining asleep. As he began to “open doors by himself” and run more freely about in the garden at the age of three, he flew into a rage if he discovered his nurse had not followed him closely. Héroard thought it noteworthy that on one occasion he was so eager that “he even left his nurse behind—that being one of his greatest passions, to have her with him.”³⁰

To be further understood, Louis’ ego development in the first two years must be put in a wider family context. After the early months, other figures in his surround besides the primary symbiotic ones of doctor and nurse began to be important for the dauphin. In his immediate environment were a number of siblings who bore an interesting relationship to him—both as childhood intimates and as possible political threats in later life. There were two older half-brothers and two half-sisters attached to the royal nursery. There was an almost exact age-mate—a half-brother who was the son of Henry’s ambitious mistress, the Marquise de Verneuil. Before Louis was three, two full sisters were added to his household.

The “maternal” role was played chiefly by Héroard and the wet nurse. The earliest significance of Louis’ generative mother, Marie de Medicis, in the psychic life of her first-born was not as a nurturing, intimate figure—she was never to be this nor indeed to give any sign of a physical attachment to her son. As Louis grew able to understand the meaning of the word “mother” he showed his grasp of the usual connection between the biological and the emotional ties. At three and a half he remarked, “It’s not in Mother’s stomach that I used to be, it’s in the stomach of Maman Doundoun—*she’s* my mother.” Then he said to a half-brother, “Get away from there! I don’t want you to be next to my mother.” Héroard added, “It was of his nurse that he was speaking.”³¹

Although their relationship was not intimate, Louis’ and Marie’s contacts were mostly good-humored and informal. This may have been due to the fact that, politically, interests of mother and son were inseparable. She was the basis of his claims to succeed to the throne. Those who joined their fates to those of the dauphin—and Héroard was prominent among them—were politically allied with the queen, whatever their awe and fear of the king may have been. Henry had already divorced one wife who had failed to produce an heir and his illegitimate

male offspring gave at least two living mistresses hopes of usurping Marie de Medicis' place should her procreative powers fail.

Louis had been made very early to understand by servants that his claims to precedence were based on the status of his mother. At the age of two he was shown his parents' marriage bed and told, "That's where you were made." He understood enough of the meaning of this fact to respond, "with Mother." As a three-year-old he was explicit about "his team" and the "opposition": "I love my little sister more than my [half-] brother because he has not been in Mama's stomach with me as she was." Of a mistress whom he was told his father loved, "But if I don't love her she's only a whore."³²

More than siblings and mother, the outstanding figure in this "extended" family circle was the great Henry IV himself. Freud wrote, "The child's first years are governed by grandiose overestimation of his father. Kings and queens in dreams and fairy tales always represent, accordingly, the parents."³³ But Henry *was* a hero king. The adulation shown him by personal servants and public alike must have increased the awe in which paternal figures in any case are likely to be held by their little sons.

The charismatic qualities of Henry IV's leadership were owed to the circumstance that he had, by brave deeds and personal renunciation of his Protestant faith, brought peace to his subjects after half a century of civil war. This basis of his authority in popular gratitude was enhanced by an earthy charm and informal manner characteristic of modern democratic leaders. In his intimate life, too, Henry showed the diffuse but strong demands for affection and admiration which often typify self-recruited democratic politicians with a populist appeal. His heterosexual libidinal drives were entirely uninhibited and his appetite was omnivorous. His wish for reconciliation among those who supplied affection to him included his various mistresses, wives and children. The king insisted that the proud Marie welcome his mistresses to the royal court. He frequently insisted also that Louis' prerogatives be laid aside so that the king's bastards might be on a footing of equality with the dauphin in the nursery. To Louis himself he was by turns affectionately demonstrative and brusquely imperious, awesomely dignified and childishly spiteful.

This brief account does not include the entire cast of characters important in Louis' early ego development. It includes enough of the critical cast, however, to continue with the dauphin's history.

As a one-year-old, Louis had already been subjected to the oral trauma of the first week and had suffered a crisis of nurture in his third month. During his first year he had been subjected to continual anal stimulation and intrusive controls by Héroard. He was also gratified by the total indulgence of his nurse. His progress in hatching from the

symbiotic shell may have been progressing exceptionally slowly; nevertheless he had regained his physical sturdiness and showed better than average motor development. However, in addition to the continued manipulative policies and intrusions of Héroard, another special feature of his affective environment created unusual problems for the little boy's strivings towards psychic and physical autonomy. An outstanding feature of what may be called his political position in the royal household contributed to these problems: this was the exaggerated importance given by those in his entourage to his phallic development.

The survival of the new Bourbon dynasty and those whose fortunes were linked to it depended on Louis' future generative capacity. This was largely responsible for the fact that from infancy Louis' genital interests were prematurely stimulated.

Héroard's journal records courtiers' efforts to prepare the dauphin for the performance of future marital duties. The Spanish infanta, whom Louis was actually to marry at the age of fourteen, was the fantasized partner. Before he was a year old, Héroard reported, he was "listening to stories that a lady-in-waiting told him about the infanta, that he will sleep with her. He laughs at that." A few months later he was more knowledgeable: "Where is the infanta's darling?" Héroard asked the fourteen-month-old. "He puts his hand on his cock."³⁴

Around this time, near his first birthday, there was a sudden upsurge of genital exhibitionism and excitement:

September 15: A page has arrived with a message; "as he was turning around the dauphin calls, 'Hey!' and pulls up his skirt, showing him his cock."

September 16: "He shows his cock to M. d'Elbenne; carried to the queen he sees an Italian lady-in-waiting; is afraid of her because of her coiffure."

September 30: A gentleman arrives with his young daughter to see the dauphin who is in his cradle. "He laughed hard at her, pulled up his dress, showed him his cock but especially to his daughter, while holding it and laughing . . . he shook his whole body. People said he understood the suggestiveness of this. . . . He showed her his cock with such ardor that he was altogether beside himself. He lay on his back in order to show it to her."³⁵

The encouragement by all around him of genital interests resulted in a ritual in which obeisance was actually paid to the one-year-old's phallus as a joke. Courtiers must have shown him how to convert a hand-kissing ceremony into one in which "he has everyone kiss his cock." Héroard himself participated in this little ritual. He reported, "He has us kiss his cock."³⁶

During this period of pre-oedipal genital excitation, around Louis' year-old mark, he was increasingly exposed to intensely stimulating sex-

ual experiences. Henry began to be with him for considerable periods and to show much interest in and affection for the child. This was the beginning of Louis' passionate attachment that would link his genital strivings and anxieties to passive desires with respect to that dangerous object, his father.

Henry's approach to the child was openly sensual; the baby responded ardently. The ten-month-old Louis was taken to look for the king in the queen's bed. "Not finding him there," Héroard writes, "he gets very angry. He goes in the king's bedroom, who puts him to bed with him with untold caresses." Arriving after an absence the king "kisses him, kisses his breast." During the same winter he was put in bed to play with the king and queen. The abridgment does not tell us of what this play consisted, but it was typical of Henry that a little later "he threatens him with the whip." In the following summer the king goes to bed, has Louis' clothes taken off and "has him put in bed next to him. He gambols freely."³⁷

As a visitor to the royal household, the king's mistress engaged in seductive behavior that Héroard described more explicitly: "The marquise often put her hand up under his dress; he had himself put on his nurse's bed where she played with him often, putting her hand under his dress."³⁸

The age and stage of development at which Louis experienced these exciting advances insured that several erotic zones at once would be involved in his response. First, of course, he was still at the breast. Héroard noted:

While nursing he scratches his 'merchandise', erect and hard as wood. He often took great pleasure in handling it and in playing with the tip of it with his fingers.³⁹

Then, apparently, he was in the early stages of a long struggle over toilet habits. One of the rare instances in which the abridgment relays the information which we know to have been so important to Héroard is the entry on September 8, 1602: "Does his business squatting on the rug." The genital and anal enjoyments are mixed in the same month when Héroard observed, "Plays with his cock and at hitting with his hand on the buttock of his [three-year-old] brother. Grinds his teeth." We are told the meaning of the teeth-gnashing on an occasion later when the dauphin's powers of speech were more advanced:

He was gnashing his teeth and grimacing. I scold him for it. He says, "It's because I want to make caca."⁴⁰

The multiplicity of stimuli is illustrated in a scene which shows the transports of infantile sexuality. Louis was sixteen months old and beginning to run about freely:

The dauphin chases [a Mlle. Mercier] who was yelping because M. de Montglat had put his hand on her buttocks. . . . Montglat chases her into the corner and wants to smack her rump; she cries out very loud. The dauphin hears it, starts to yelp too, delighted, and jumping up and down with his feet and whole body with joy . . . pointing them out to everyone with his finger.

Later, the baby was playing with a little girl. He

kisses her, puts his arms around her, drags her down, throwing himself on her, jumping with his whole body and gnashing his teeth.

Still later,

He tries to whip Mlle. Mercier on the buttocks with a bundle of switches. A courtier asks him, 'Monsieur, what did M. de Montglat do to Mercier?' He starts to clap his hands . . . and got warmed up to such an extent that he was transported with delight having been a good quarter of an hour laughing and clapping his hands and flinging himself on her like a person who understood the joke.⁴¹

Recent psychoanalytical research has shown that the kind of early genital arousal which Louis experienced is quite common. However, one clinician has concluded, strong castration anxieties are not likely at this age unless two additional conditions are present. The first is earlier subjection of the child to experiences which produced an instability in self and object representations. We have seen how Louis' experience with Héroard might have sufficed to impede such conceptualization of himself, even if the oral trauma and other nurturing impediments had not occurred. There is also the likelihood that the prolonged, total availability and indulgence of the nurse further served to imperil normal development of this critical aspect of ego capacity.

The second condition likely to arouse intense castration fears at this early genital phase is the observation of the anatomical difference between the sexes.⁴² And it was perhaps fateful that Louis' excitement as a one-year-old coincided with the arrival of a newborn baby sister. Ceremonial treatment of children as well as adults meant that he was regularly taken to "Madame's" bedroom to see her dressed. The anatomical difference between him and his sister was certainly emphasized by many in the entourage at the time, but since Louis lacked the power of speech Héroard can give only ancillary information on the dauphin's response. By the time he possessed this power, at the age of three, he responded to quizzing on the subject by denial: "He says his cock is not like Madame's: 'Mine is pointed,' he says," Héroard recorded in March of 1605. The courtiers did not accept this defense against the dangerous truth and continued to press the boy to articulate the observation he

must have made as a one-year-old. Thus, two months later he admitted, Héroard wrote, "that the infanta has a little vagina like Madame's," said in a whisper . . . ashamed to say it out loud."⁴³

Without either of these aggravating conditions it is likely that Louis' oedipal anxieties and conflicts would have been exceptionally severe. As it was, however, he left earliest babyhood with impaired capacity to cope with the demands his environment was to make on him in his remaining years of childhood.

3. Oedipal Crises and the Superego

The dauphin's weaning coincided approximately with his first whipping at the age of twenty-three months. Psychoanalytic research suggests that this form of discipline may strengthen the anal component of the libidinal life of the victim and intensify castration fears. This was certainly the case with Louis. Sadistic and masochistic fantasies associated with whippings were to have an unusually large place in his mental life. Anally fixated aggression explains, as will be seen, what seems to have been the motive power in the many cruel acts and petty rituals in which the adult king persevered.

But the *actual* whippings to which the dauphin was subjected were not the only source of, nor were they the principal material of his habitual regression to the anal mode of coping with reality. For, as has been seen here, this was a tendency long before whippings began to be applied.

Whatever the weight that should be given to the various impediments to Louis' normal development, together they would seem to have overdetermined the events of the oedipal phase "proper". To bracket this period loosely, we will include developments from the end of his second year to the end of his fifth. It is important to notice that the scenes cited are not so much *critical* as they are *typical*. They are selected because they show *patterns* of Louis' responses to stimuli. If they, or something like them, had each happened only once, we should have little confidence in their determining power. The fact that a child with normal natural endowment and minimum conditions for development (and Louis' were far above minimal) is resilient and adaptable means that for a pathological outcome to result, similar encounters with similar outcomes had to occur again and again.

About the time of the dauphin's second birthday his anxieties took a quantum jump. Certainly the whippings activated anal fantasies and intense castration fears. A few nights after the first one he was awakened by a nightmare, "dreaming that a beast was biting him on the right buttock." During the winter he developed a pattern of avoidance of his little sister and his sleep began to be disturbed. "He didn't sleep at all

during the night having drummed continually on his breast and called out the French and Swiss rolls. . . . On awakening [sic], asked for his tambourine."⁴⁴

During the winter and spring of Louis' third year the recalcitrance and rages for which he was beginning to be noted were followed by whippings, usually with a bundle of switches—the *verges*—applied to bare or covered buttocks. Although these were usually administered at the insistence of the king, the child's passion for his father was unabated. "The king comes to see him and plays with him gaily," Héroard recorded. But a little later, "He almost burst from screaming so loudly and all was so confused all afternoon that I didn't have the courage to note what he did, except that he wanted to beat up the whole world, screaming beyond belief, afterwards whipped a long time." The dauphin was beginning to talk and Héroard increasingly noticed his stutter. Interestingly, he attributed its onset (forgetting he had made a note of it several months before) to an exciting episode of play "when the king, in bed, took pleasure in having him banter with little Frontenac, who stuttered. He gets irritated when he can't pronounce readily."⁴⁵ The dauphin was to feel very irritated very often in the months to come.

In February, 1604 Héroard first noticed the fatigue which was frequently to be the aftermath of contests of will between the boy and the king:

He wanted to leave the room against the king's wishes. The king threatens him with the whip but he is stubborn. . . . Continues. The king commands that he be whipped.

In a rage, "having wanted to hit and scratch," he was led back by the king who again "handled him roughly." Afterwards, he "falls asleep in the arms of his nurse" although his supper was untouched on the table. This lassitude was apparently associated with passive fantasies. For example, the two-and-a-half-year-old Louis "gets into a bad humor" soon after waking, "screams, is whipped, puts his hand on his back end, saying, 'Tickle me, Tickle me!'"⁴⁶

By the time the dauphin was about six the pattern of inviting whippings was set. At chapel he "is peevish" to Mme. de Montglat, who prevented his leaving to go watch the changing of the guard. "He thumbs his nose at her, [*lui fait les cornes*] and says, 'Fie, how ugly you are!' He gets on her back, tries to make her fall, throws his book at her head." The next day he was whipped for these and a whole list of other offenses but he "doesn't weep at all, only screams, 'That's enough, that's enough.'"⁴⁷

However, from the first Louis had also taken the active, sadistic side of the whipping experience. As a five-year-old the pattern was clear. Playing war games with his age mates, "He plays at whipping Roger de

Frontenac on the hand. Warming up to the game, asks for the switches, they don't bring them. . . . He throws himself on his valet to beat him up, in a rage, chewing his tongue in the usual way."⁴⁸

In fact, however, whippings were infrequently applied during most of Louis' early childhood. When they occurred it was usually at the explicit direction of his father, whose "whipping orders" countermanded the clemency instructions of the queen. She believed, apparently at the suggestion of Héroard, that the rages and depressions brought on by corporal punishment were dangerous to her son's health.⁴⁹ The servants who had to administer them, especially Mme. de Montglat, the governess, and the chambermaids, no doubt thought the dauphin's response was dangerous to themselves. Often more striking than the whipping occasions were those on which the child, though ungovernable, was *not* whipped:

Made caca next to Mme. de Montglat's chair. . . . Won't allow her to clean his behind with her handkerchief. . . . On his way to his room he meets her coming out of the dressing room, gets into a peevish humor. "Go through by the other door!" Mme. de M. is reluctant and goes as far as the table with him pulling her by the dress, crying and screaming, bursting with rage. She is obliged to give in and does so. He conducts her as far as the door. She scolds him and leads him into the room, screaming all the while and beside himself. Does his best to bite her finger with extreme fury. Approaches the table, threatening her, "I'll kill you if you go through by way of the dressing room again. . . . Get to your knees, Mamanga!" Then, when she's done this, "Put your face down on the ground!" She rises angrily not having done that.

Instead of whipping him, they brought in Bongars, the great mason, with his dangerous-looking tools, of whom Louis was afraid. "He is calmed down, with difficulty," Héroard concluded.

This reluctance to whip meant that other methods were systematically and continually used to attempt to control the little prince. His fears were exploited in order to manipulate him into tractability. These fears were myriad: he was afraid of the rain and the thunder, of the sound of gunfire, of the evening dew, the masons, wood carrier, locksmith, etc. etc. and of course, of losing his penis. Héroard, who never administered corporal punishment, was most adept at manipulating the boy by such fears: "Monsieur," he told him, "your cock is gone." "What? Isn't it there?" Louis answered anxiously, "showing me the place for it. He was leaning against the croquet stick," Héroard continued, and "I wanted to scare him about it."⁵⁰

It is little wonder that the four-year-old boy needed to ward off a host of dangers at bedtime. Saying his prayers he pleaded, "and guard me from all my enemies, visible and invisible," and added, "on his own,"

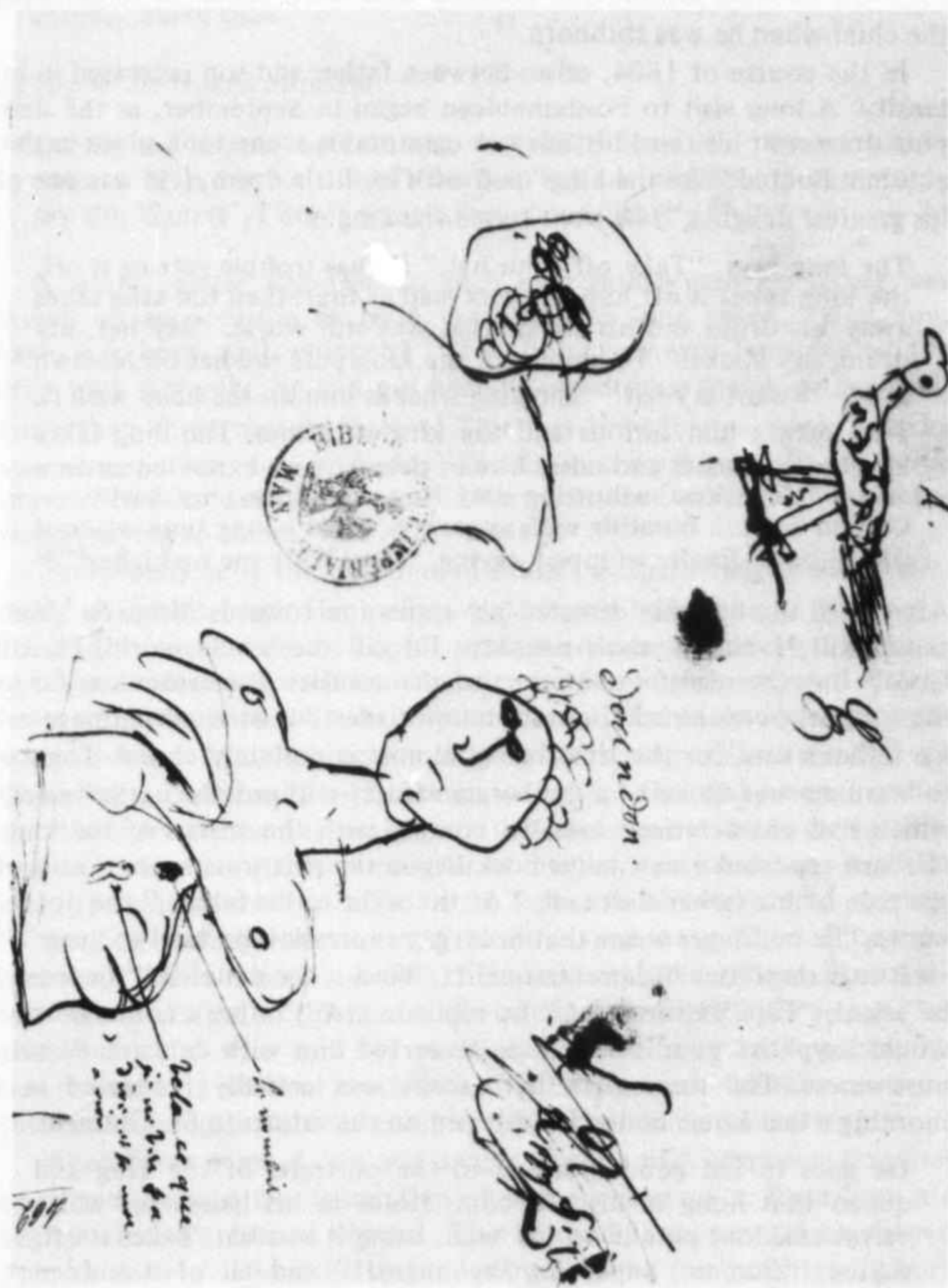


Illustration 1. A drawing by the dauphin when he was nearly six. Héroard wrote "starts to make the bird, marked 'A'. Afterwards to make Doundoun, his nurse. Finishing the navel he sketches what is lower down and having made it says, 'And there's what I don't want to say,' [and starts to laugh]. Started his faces with the two eyes, then nose, mouth, and afterwards the outline of the head, and follows sketching below." (Ms. Fr. 4022, fols. 462, 463.) Photo of the Bibiothèque Nationale, Paris.

Héroard said admiringly, "and from Bongars and Thomas [the masons] . . . from the one-eyed one, from the hunchback, from the *charbonnier*. . . ."—all servants around the château who were called in to threaten the child when he was stubborn.⁵¹

In the course of 1604, crises between father and son increased in intensity. A long visit to Fontainebleau began in September, as the dauphin drew near his third birthday. A memorable scene took place in that autumn. Booted "like the king" and with his little drum, ("it was one of his greatest delights,") he went to see the king:

The king says, "Take off your hat." He has trouble getting it off, the king takes it off him. He gets mad at that; then the king takes away his drum and his sticks; that was still worse. "My hat, my drum, my sticks!" To spite him the king puts the hat on his own head. "I want my hat!" The king whacks him on the head with it. That makes him furious and the king with him. The king takes him by the wrists and raises him in the air, arms extended as on a cross. "Hey! You're hurting me! Hey, my drum, my hat!" . . . Carried off . . . bursting with anger. . . . Cried a long time without subsiding . . . finally whipped, crying, "Hey! Whip me up higher!"⁵²

After this, the dauphin directed his aggression towards Mme. de Montglat: "Kill Mamanga, she's naughty; I'll kill the whole world, I'll kill God!" But the manifest outcome of the conflict was evident as far as the king was concerned. Louis' attempt to test his own strength against his father's was, for the time being, almost completely ended. Thenceforward he was to make a deliberate effort—without the earlier gaiety which had characterized him—to comply with the wishes of the king. Héroard reported a new pained docility in the performance by Louis of the role of his father's servant. "At the sight of his father," the doctor wrote, "he no longer wears that bold, gay expression he used to have."⁵³

Ritual responses became frequent: "Who is the dauphin?" he would be asked, "Papa's little valet," he replied. To his father's commands he would say, "At your service," as he served him with determined submissiveness. The traumatic "hat" scene was actually reenacted in a morning ritual Louis himself developed on the return to St. Germain:

He goes to bid good morning to the portraits of the king and queen that hung in his bedroom. Holds in his hands his white velvet cushion; puts it on his head, using it as a hat. Takes it off, saying, "*Bonjou'* papa, *Bonjou'* mama!" and all of a sudden throws the cushion to the floor.⁵⁴

Again and again we see the emotional cost of Louis' submission to his father, the king. "Very compliant with the king," Héroard noted in the margin. The child relayed the king's order that his own dinner be brought into the room with the king. "Papa said so," he said:

asked for nothing at the king's table . . . at dinner's conclusion the king gave him a quarter of a candied dried pear. Very nice, obedient, timid and respectful. Immediately after the king left, asked, "Make caca."

At supper he lacked appetite:

During the supper he told me, "My cock hurts me." Pissed. . . . pulse a little fast. . . . didn't want to say his prayers. "I want to say the '*Sancta*'; I don't want to say, 'Our father'." ⁵⁵

A more passive response to such encounters with his father was shown on an occasion in 1606. Arriving, the king asked, "Well, son, have you been well whipped?" "No, not every day," responded the little boy. Actually, he had not been whipped since the king's last visit, more than three months before. This was remedied: a week later he was whipped for "being naughty" in chapel. His passive response to the experience was demonstrated: "Afterwards, he wanted to keep the verges, saying to them, 'You're my darling.'" ⁵⁶

Interpretation of the outcome of Louis' oedipal struggles seems relatively straightforward. His earliest experiences had made probable a regression to anal modes of coping with the dangers of the phallic phase. Louis' relations to himself and capacity for forming object relations had been seriously impaired. His stutter showed that some of his energies were diverted from maturational tasks to coping with inward stress. The effects of Héroard's intrusions, of massive genital arousal and of the discovery of the anatomical sex difference were visible in the little boy of twelve to eighteen months in a violent castration anxiety. His early, passionate libidinization of his father linked his genital strivings to the king—a dangerous object. Courtiers asked the toddler of fourteen months, "Where is papa's darling?" Héroard reported, "He slapped himself on the stomach." "Where is the infant's darling?" "He slapped his cock." A child who had had particular difficulty in relinquishing his bowel contents without anxiety had been plunged, without resolving this earlier struggle, into an exceptionally threatening genital stage. ⁵⁷

When crises came, Louis was unable to cope with aggressive impulses so dangerous and the frustration of love so passionate. Both love and aggression were turned inward. The beloved little boy of his father, "papa's darling" whom he had longed to be, and the naughty stubborn boy who deserved and received chastisement from an all-powerful and terrifying king were erected intra-psychically as objects, respectively, for libido and reprisals. The struggle for self-mastery continued within Louis' personality. His object relationships were always to bear the mark of their narcissistic function. In the chastened boy of five were discernible the basic patterns of behavior of the adult king.

A fantasy about the dauphin and his father that Héroard and Louis shared illustrates the little boy's yearning and ambition:

- D.: I'll go hunting, I'll kill a wild boar with my sword . . . then I'll chop its head off.
 H.: You'll catch a deer, have its foot cut off. You'll bring it to papa, who'll caress you, call you his darling, take you into his beautiful hall at the Louvre.
 D.: M. de Verneuil [his half-brother] won't get in—*He's stubborn*. . . . Then papa will give me a little pistol. What will he tell me?
 H.: He'll tell you, Monsieur, "My son, I give you this pistol. Go out to war against my enemies. . . ."
 D.: (Getting animated.) I'll kill them all, *ratatatat*. (He was getting warmed up as though he were in the thick of battle.)
 H.: When you return, papa will kiss you, call you his darling.

Even in fantasy the dauphin needed external support:

- D.: Salignac [his favorite soldier] will be with me. . . . When papa goes away, Salignac will stay with me.

Doctor and child told each other this story again and again.⁵⁸

Both the narcissistic regression and its anal mode seemed foreseeable from the time of the little boy's desperate struggle for self-mastery. With that struggle still raging the child had found his ego too weak to conquer the dangerous aggression stimulated by the new relations with the king. The king offered little ego support to his child; on the contrary, Henry rarely lost an opportunity to impress on Louis the helplessness of the son's condition in comparison with himself. "Returning from the hunt," Héroard related, the king "kisses him, embraces him." At the same time Henry compounded the effects of his seductiveness with the following threat:

While they were eating the king asked if he didn't want to have him sleep with him and told him, "If you won't have me sleep with you, I'll go sleep with Mama Doundoun."⁵⁹

To the little boy who sought to emulate his great father:

The king said . . . "My son, you're a little calf."

D.: "And you too, papa," because he thought he was the same as the king.

K.: *I'm a bull!*⁶⁰

Normally, resolution of oedipal conflicts is achieved through identification with the father. His chastening aspect is established within the psyche as a superego where it directs libidinal and aggressive impulses, harnessed by the ego, onto acceptable objects in the outside world.

But Louis' ego was not equal to these tasks. His attacks of rage continued to be murderous and beyond his control. He needed Héroard, his

alter ego, to disguise their destructiveness and prevent his being carried away.

The doctor tried to present Louis' punitiveness in a form which rationalized it in public terms. In a fury, the five-year-old boy threatened, as he often did, to put someone in "p'ison". Héroard makes a marginal note: "Administrator of justice [*justicier*]; hates to see wrong done."⁶¹

By the time Louis reached adolescence, he himself had learned to provide the "marginal notes" rationalizing his actions. Héroard was at his side to record them. One time Louis was playing a war game and one of the dogs he was having pull cannons up a plank balked:

He beats it roughly, in a rage. Then he tries it again. The dog goes over without trouble, whereupon he says, sternly and coldly, "That's how stubborn, bad people have to be treated," and, giving it a biscuit, "and recompense the good . . . men as well as dogs."

"And thus," Héroard concluded, "the excess to which his anger had brought him in front of everyone present was concealed."⁶²

If the history which has here brought Louis to the age of about five seems one of pathology, this should not imply that a pathological outcome was inevitable. Many, though fewer, examples of "normal" oedipal trends were visible in the same five-year-old. In particular, rapport between father and son was real, despite its complications. If Henry had lived into Louis' young adulthood those conflicts we have followed through the oral, anal and oedipal phases might have been resolved in the prince's adolescence. This possibility was obviated by Henry's murder when Louis was eight. However, it is neither justified nor necessary to make a judgment here on the degree to which the dauphin's development was irremediably perverted during his childhood. Psychohistory does not aim at diagnoses of its subjects but at understanding their social and political behavior. In Louis' case it is possible to observe that behavior and trace it back to his childhood experience. In this way can be understood what were his resources for adapting to external reality and what were his models for moral conduct.

POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES

1. Id Appeals: Narcissistic Objects for Love and Hate

Along Louis XIII's path toward maturation the struggle in the anal phase had permanently captured a good part of the energy which might otherwise have flowed towards real persons in the outer world. The mode which drives assume at that early stage of development—the sado-masochistic mode—permanently colored Louis' style of relating to per-

sons around him. The adult king was to earn the title of Louis the Just. An apter designation might have been Louis the Merciless.

In Henry IV's reign, forgiveness of evil designs against the state had been the rule. In the reign of Louis XIV, too, executions of political enemies were to be exceptions, acts of mercy the dominant pattern. A courtier's paean to the young king Louis XIII, however, had to admit that clemency was no virtue of his monarch:

One sees his edicts more religiously observed than those of his father in whom softness was a safeguard against . . . severity.

Louis, on the contrary,

leaves ordinary justice to run its course, having learned that the best cement of the laws is the blood of those who flout them.⁶³

Long before Richelieu's reputation was joined to the king's, Louis' harshness revealed his lack of capacity to regard others as true objects. Instead, his tendency was to treat them as expendable, inanimate objects to be discarded and abused without pity once they had been cast out.

As a four-year-old he could "joke" with a lackey by remarking "I'll chop off your head with a larding fork and lard your ass and your nose with it." But at twenty-one he was in command of his armies besieging a town held by Protestants. Editors of Héroard's diary remarked on the "painful impression" created by his account:

He goes to camp at ten in the morning, up above a battery where there were two cannon. He aims one of them twice, fires on the peasants who were barricading themselves. The second time he kills two of them.⁶⁴

This was a casual gratification of aggressive impulses; more often the victims were selected with care. The little boy who frequently threatened and fantasized chopping off the head or other member of those around him had, as an adult, numerous opportunities to gratify his sadistic aims.

Not only the objects of Louis' aggression but also of his libido had the character of part objects rather than true ones. They represented narcissistic relationships whose meaning can be understood with the help of the information available on his childhood development.

Each crisis with his father had been a further turning point in the capacity of the little boy to direct his affect onto realistically individuated persons. Evidence that this affect was withdrawn from the outside world and redirected inward was manifested by his silent reveries and evident, melancholy lassitude. Libido was directed toward the little boy his father had loved and to figures in the outer world who represented this lovable boy—"papa's little valet"—as he felt himself to be. In loving himself in these narcissistic objects he assumed the role of his

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En 30. a l'âge de six ans le dauphin,

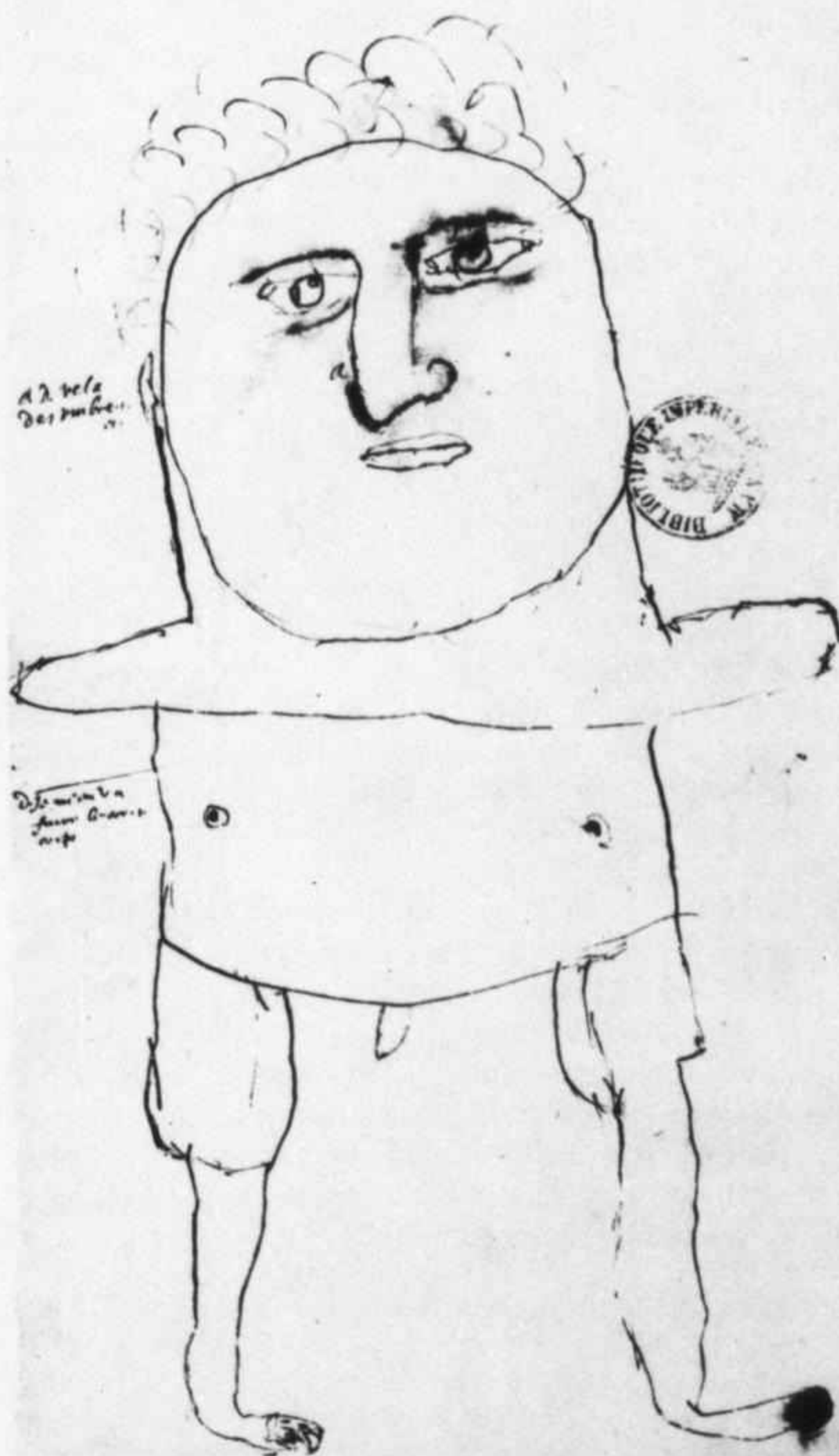


Illustration 2. A year later, Louis' skill and objectivity have increased in this sketch of his governor, Giles de Souvré. The dauphin is now six years old and has left the nursery. (Ms. Fr. 4022, fol. 495 Vo.) Photo of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

loving, exciting—but at the same time chastising and damaging—parent. This was the ambivalent role Henry had played in Louis' early life. Thus these love objects were also destined for cruel treatment.

One character-type cast for this role bore the ineffaceable stamp of the anal-sadistic point to which Louis' emotional development tended to regress: the soldier. From early babyhood, soldiers and substitute soldiers had played a part in Louis' imagination as treasured and loved parts of himself—faeces in fact—and also as discarded, expelled, "cut off" objects to be ranged, collected and expended at will. Throughout childhood he had periodically developed an infatuation for one or another of his personal guards; as a pre-toddler Héroard observed him to look anxiously behind him to make sure that his precious soldiers were still there.⁶⁵ He persisted in play with toy soldiers long past the time this occupation was thought appropriate to his age. In later life, as commander of the army, the scope of his powers to provide for the welfare as well as of the deaths of his troops was a passionate and absorbing interest.

Of the many executions of the reign one of the most astonishing to contemporary witnesses was that of a high military officer of the realm, the Maréchal de Marillac. Unlike his brother's, Louis de Marillac's political influence had been very slight and his participation in a conspiracy was doubtful indeed. Accused of financial procurement practices which, even if they had been followed, were not necessarily criminal, he was nevertheless prosecuted before two courts and finally found guilty by the second. Guy Patin, a shrewd observer of the time, reported, "No one expects he will die."⁶⁶ When he was, on the contrary, condemned by a small margin of the court and beheaded soon after, the events were interpreted by the public as the work of Cardinal Richelieu's malevolence. This was only one of the many occasions on which Richelieu was to suffer obloquy for the puzzling, covert, but inexorable determination of the king for vengeance. In fact, the case against the marshal had been gingerly undertaken by Richelieu and he had no enthusiasm for the court's verdict. Louis, on the contrary, pursued his soldier's doom with singleminded intensity. On the day of the execution he proclaimed the order to be followed with fastidious relish:

Louis XIII personally prepared the details of Marillac's execution. . . . The day after the sentence the king commanded the commandant to leave with the prisoner the next day at 6 a.m. in order to conduct him to Paris. The order and route of the cortège, the number of men comprising it, the troupes preceding it as reinforcement—everything without exception was fixed and written in the hand of Louis XIII. Thus he alone regulated with particular care—one might almost say with loving care—this execution which he had desired with all his strength.⁶⁷

Soldiers and military figures were not the only objects of Louis' narcissistic love-hate impulses. These were also directed at other figures, both male and female, who showed no martial tendencies whatever. Of the young men to whom Louis became attached, one of the earliest had great political importance. This was Charles Albert, created Duke of Luynes by the king's favor. As a soldier-hero, Luynes would have been miscast; he was far different from the stalwart soldiers so proudly displayed, arranged, and sent to their deaths. Luynes was sweet, indecisive, adulatory, and weak. Louis treated him indulgently, occasionally propitiated him, sometimes contemptuously. The woman whom he selected for the duke's wife was one of the very few with whom the king himself had been able to engage in lighthearted flirtation with erotic overtones.

Louis felt the need to explain his attachment to one who patently lacked those qualities he himself most admired: boldness, physical courage, tireless energy, orderliness, self-discipline. "I love him because he loves me," he suggested once. Clearly, Luynes represented tendencies repressed by Louis in himself: laziness, fear of battle, failure of discipline, genital gratification.

Needless to say, the young king's indulgence of Luynes had a reverse side—sadistic gratification. The side of himself which he had repressed was rediscovered in the former falconer. Louis' ambivalence towards Luynes was soon evident. He continued to lavish gifts of power, goods and prestige on his favorite, yet he whispered in contemptuous asides to others his distaste for Luynes' consequent delusions of grandeur, overweening bearing and pretensions to wield royal authority. In conversations with intimates,

The king began to tear down the constable and to utter everything that he had been imagining against him. . . . Every time that the king could speak in private it was to make incessant complaints of the constable.

It seems clear that Louis wished to chastise Luynes as the naughty young boy he once had been had been chastised by a powerful father. The ultimate renunciation of Luynes impended when, as Bassompierre reported, Louis could no longer get vicarious pleasure from the marriage of Luynes to Marie de Montbazon, so that

suddenly the extreme devotion he had had for *Mme. la Connétable* changed into such a hatred that he warned her husband that the Duke of Chevreuse was in love with her. . . . He told me, "May God forgive me, but I had such great pleasure in revenging myself on him and in giving him this pain."⁶⁸

Luynes' premature death from natural causes prevented him from meeting the fate that seemed to be in store for him: ruthless rejection by his monarch.

After Luynes, Louis did not again load his narcissistic love-hate objects with political authority. Peter Paul Rubens, then an observer in the court of Louis and his mother, wrote of a new favorite, François Barradas,

This man enjoys such preference that the entire Court is astonished and even the Cardinal has become . . . jealous. . . . With all that, the King has told Barradas that he is not . . . to think of taking part in matters of state.⁶⁹

Richelieu had made it possible for the king to separate his need for ego support from his attachments to objects representing in fantasy his father's darling little boy. But Luynes' death did not end Louis' periodic infatuations with favorites who played this role.

Towards the end of the king's life Richelieu, with his uncanny intuition, selected Cinq-Mars, Marquis of Effiat, as a likely figure to win the king's affection. Beautiful, self-indulgent, extravagant and lazy, the young marquis was the woman-chasing lascivious son Henry IV might well have wished Louis to be. With one hand, Louis fed Cinq-Mars' decadent impulses and appeared utterly enslaved to his whims. With the other, he complained of him and railed against his extravagances, his heedlessness, his lack of gratitude towards his benefactor. And finally, on discovery of his favorite's complicity in a plot against Richelieu, Louis sent his *mignon* to his death. Richelieu was apprehensive of the aftermath of such a sacrifice by the king of one of his few apparent libidinal attachments. He need not have been. A royal counselor observed Louis carefully the day after Effiat had been executed. He reported to the cardinal:

His majesty did not seem to me at all afflicted when I told him the news of the deaths. . . . He merely indicated impatience to learn if they had died in a Christian way.⁷⁰

Louis had unhesitatingly sacrificed his libidinal object to his egoistic need for the cardinal's support—with all the more satisfaction, we may suppose, because his sadistic aims toward Cinq-Mars could simultaneously be gratified.

Louis XIII died in May of 1643 when his elder son was four-and-a-half. This premature demise was perhaps a fortunate event for the mental health of the future Louis XIV, for in his last years "Louis the Just" had begun to show signs that his son might be the next person cast in the role he himself had once played vis-à-vis his own father. Returning to St. Germain in 1640, the king wrote to Richelieu concerning the two-year old boy:

I found my son much handsomer than before but very stubborn. I am by no means prepared to suffer these bad traits [humeurs] in him.⁷¹

Fate prevented the recapitulation of Louis XIII's poignant history. Louis XIV was to grow up without any of the blows to his childish narcissism that his father had suffered. The "Sun King" was the apple of an indulgent mother's eye.

2. Ego Appeals: Resources and Handicaps in Meeting Reality

We have indicated in tracing Louis' childhood history that his ego development was impeded by assaults on his bodily integrity through the persistent intrusive control imposed by Héroard, the unnaturally prolonged "total immersion" in his nurse's protective arms, and the massive and premature genital stimulation to which he was subjected. All these patterns seem to have insured impaired representation of the body image and overintensification of castration anxieties, making regression to the anal phase very likely. Louis was never to lose his fear of being robbed of his precious possessions, deprived of external support. Without Héroard or some substitute for him the king was capable of acting sporadically, occasionally mercilessly, but he was incapable of sustaining a sense of mastery for any length of time. Fatigues, depression or somatic disturbances overcame him when external ego support failed.

The stable *alter ego* he needed for the conduct of state affairs he finally found in Richelieu. It is clear that the cardinal's performance made him a psychological substitute for the first physician who had been a necessary ego support for the young king. The symbiotic nature of their collaboration is illustrated by Richelieu's intuitive understanding of the king's psychosomatic suffering:

Your majesty's mind so completely dominates your body that the slightest emotional upset affects your whole being. Many occurrences of this have made me so certain of the truth of my diagnosis that I am convinced that I have never seen you ill in any other way.

On many occasions, Richelieu played "doctor" to Louis as Héroard had done before him. Richelieu saw his duties to the king to include taking his "temperature" and "feeling his pulse." For example, war had to be avoided because Louis

being by nature delicate, with a weak constitution and a restless impatient disposition . . . cannot, without endangering your health, commit yourself to a program of long duration⁷²

For Richelieu's "medicine" to be acceptable for Louis, two conditions had to be met. First, the cardinal had to respect the king's autonomy, keep his distance, and defer to the royal position of mastery. For, while an *alter ego* was necessary in order for the king to sustain political con-

trol, any person who filled this role was likely also to be the object of hostility and fear. Louis had resisted Heroard's efforts to control and extract his body's precious contents. Despite everything, he had achieved partial physical integrity and a rudimentary concept of himself as separate from others. To this extent it was necessary to prevent the reabsorption of the self by the other—always an impending, dangerous possibility.

Louis' long association with Héroard had been one in which the two came to learn to keep a bearable distance between them. When Louis was a child, experiments took place: the doctor would threaten to withdraw his support; the four-year-old would respond anxiously, "But who will cure me?"⁷³ Similar patterns for establishing satisfaction of needs were worked out between Louis and his minister. At various times Richelieu offered (or threatened) to withdraw as the king's councillor. On the Day of Dupes—that occasion on which Louis renounced his mother and her party in favor of the cardinal—he was actually packed and ready to leave when he was called to the king's lodge at Versailles and admitted to a fuller trust than he had until then enjoyed.

Not surprisingly, Richelieu's correspondence with his aides shows he was not overly confident of the stability of the delicate balance. Continued assurances of the king's affection were necessary because, side by side with Louis' need for his *alter ego* was his hostility to and mistrust of the person who filled this role. On occasion Louis would lash out with suspicious criticism of the cardinal. Then those "creatures" of Richelieu whose task it was to keep the minister informed on the king's state of mind would report Louis' anxiety that the cardinal had taken offense. "What keeps his majesty downcast," wrote Bouthillier, "is that he now fears that your eminence may be angry about what he wrote you yesterday." So great was the king's worry on this point that Bouthillier wrote, "In the name of God, sir, if you have already made some response which might give him such an impression, let me keep it from him when it arrives here."⁷⁴

At the same time Armand needed to avoid all evidence of sycophancy, maintain the impression of independence of judgment and represent himself as an objective critic of the king's intentions. For Louis' real dependence on his minister by no means meant that he abdicated independent reality testing. His profound pessimism made him impervious to flattery and suspicious of rosy predictions. His deep mistrust of anyone on whom he was dependent meant that he was always open to advice contrary to the minister's judgment. This agonizing fact was known to Richelieu who also knew that it was useless to attempt to prevent advice from other sources from reaching the king's policymaking councils, since Louis deliberately encouraged "multiple advocacy." The king became enraged when "matters affecting the good of

my service" were not reported to him.⁷⁵ Louis' official historian was well aware of the kinds of judgment on which his master prided himself. He wrote, "This was one of the qualities of this great prince, that he always chose the best opinion from among those which were diverse."⁷⁶

Like his fundamental mistrust, other pathological components of Louis' personality had consequences both functional and dysfunctional for decisive, realistic leadership. He was obsessively attentive to detail. This contributed, of course, to careful organization and analysis of problems and a strong sense of responsibility: "The king declared that he would not leave the scene of an impending battle until he saw that everything was entirely perfect. He assembled his council to deliberate on what had to be done before he went away."⁷⁷

But such attention to minutiae meant that he was often seduced by petty concerns, especially those to do with military preparations and the security of positions and prisoners. Richelieu tactfully warned his master against this preoccupation:

God has seen fit to give your majesty the force of character necessary to act with firmness when confronted with business of the greatest importance. But as a balance to this noble quality he has often allowed you to be sensitive to matters so small that no one in advance would suspect they might trouble you. . . .⁷⁸

The king's tenacity, another manifestation of his anal fixation, was demonstrated in excessive secrecy and periodic bouts of obstinacy which showed inflexibility in adjusting to reality. From the first, Hérouard had noted the little boy's retentive memory and capacity for silence. Louis was not yet five when the doctor recorded that he had memorized the proverb, "He who holds his tongue is wise," and added "of his own accord, 'Therefore, he who lets it go is mad.'"⁷⁹ Bellemaure observed that it was owing to the king's "wise holding of his silence" that he had been able to seize the reins of power from his mother's minister.⁸⁰ On the other hand, Richelieu admonished the king that in some matters he must learn to "let go":

. . . I have reminded you many times that there is no prince in a worse position than he who, not always able to do those things by himself which it is nevertheless his duty to perform finds it even harder to let others do them for him.⁸¹

As for stubbornness, Bellemaure wrote, "He undertakes nothing . . . which he does not pursue to the very end."⁸² It is noteworthy that despite Louis' ambivalence towards Richelieu, as towards everyone else, he remained "stubbornly" supportive of the cardinal to the very end.

Of all the issues during the reign in which Louis was able to mobilize his ego resources for decisive and realistic action, certainly one of the

most important was his commitment to Richelieu. Special qualities possessed by the cardinal seem to have made his offered support at once useful and tolerable.

It was as a preacher that Richelieu first entered the young king's purview in 1612. The future cardinal's power over words, both written and spoken, was the most manifest of his skills. His eloquence had become evident to Louis with a spectacular oratorical display before the king at the meeting of the Estates General in 1614. Again in 1625 he gave a dazzling exhibition of oratory before the king and the Assembly of Notables at Fontainebleau. A few months later he was admitted to a greater degree of the king's confidence.

Louis' handicap with words was two-faceted: on one side was his stutter—an impediment apparent even in his use of the written word. Letters in his own rather gross and childish hand show occasional repetitions of words and a marked lack of fluency. In his oral delivery "he was so extreme a stutterer that he would sometimes hold his tongue out of his mouth a good while, before he could speak so much as one word."⁸³ The other side of the king's handicap also reflected the function his oral inhibition had served in his development. This was his tendency to use words recklessly, as "cutting weapons." The cardinal warned him against this danger:

The blows from a sword are easily healed. But it is not the same with blows of the tongue, especially if they be from the tongue of a king.⁸⁴

For both these tendencies to undermine his own political needs, Richelieu's supple tongue and pen supplied an antidote and a substitute.

Another consideration recommending Richelieu as an ego support was his position as Marie de Medicis' minister. Since childhood, Louis' political interests vis à vis his half-sibling rivals were identified with those of the queen. Héroard, his indispensable *alter ego*, had likewise been her ally. When Henry was murdered in 1610 the queen became sole guardian of the eight-year-old king's political interests. In the years that followed she proved a weak reed to lean on. Her bad judgment led her more and more to turn over affairs to Concino Concini, husband of her intimate childhood friend, Leonora Galigai. Increasingly, Concini's disastrous policies seemed inimical to the interests of the young king himself.

In spite of Marie's failure as an ego supplement, Louis found it very difficult to renounce her collaboration. Richelieu had been *her* councillor, however, and in increasingly accepting the counsel of his mother's minister he was able to reject the woman who had commissioned him. In the years of Marie's forced exile which continued to her death, the

presence and support of Richelieu strengthened Louis in his refusal to permit his mother's return. With Marie's creature at his side he had no further need for the queen herself.

3. Superego Appeals: Conscience and Models

Normal resolution of the oedipal crisis in little boys results in establishment of an unconscious internal monitor within the ego—a conscience—which censors the dangerous aggressive and libidinal drives formerly directed towards real father and mother figures. The result is to allow the ego to channel drives onto acceptable objects and bring its energies to the tasks of latency—acquiring the skills to cope with the outside world. We have seen that Louis' oedipal conflicts were not fully resolved in this way. He had entered the genital phase of development already handicapped in achieving ego maturity. He found himself unable successfully to cope with the threatening and capricious behavior of an exceptionally dangerous and seductive father. Instead of introjecting a representation of the paternal figure as an unconscious moral guide and censor, he continued unconsciously to reenact the struggle between boy and parent, discharging drives first towards one, then towards the other, narcissistically in a form characteristic of that earlier stage of development at which his emotional energies had been diverted and captured.

Thus the grown king's "conscience" was always rudimentary and archaic. There is little to show that he suffered from conscious guilt. Sometimes his outbursts of aggression and cruelty were followed by somatic symptoms which showed their narcissistic meaning in his unconscious. Like a pre-oedipal child he feared retaliation rather than loss of self-esteem. He feared Richelieu's retributive anger at his disloyalty and occasional hostility. He reenacted scenes in which he competed with hated siblings for his father's capricious favor. On one occasion he went so far as to represent to Richelieu that a military leader who had had great successes had had far more men than was actually the case. This he did, he admitted, for fear that Richelieu would compare the king unfavorably with this commander.⁸⁵ His conscience was *externalized*: on his deathbed, his confessor testified, he had a real encounter with the devil.⁸⁶

While Louis had a reputation for extreme piety, his devotional practices were ritualistic and lacked moral content. One of those who had both the opportunity and the detachment to consider Louis over a prolonged period was a former tutor, Nicolas de Vauquelin. Long after Louis' death he was asked to write a memorandum advising the queen on the upbringing of Louis XIV. He advised her to choose a preceptor

Octobre 1604.
Fontainebleau.

Quatrieme année.

Desjume demand. S'il pleust, il craignoit la pluie mené
chez le Roy & la Reine, a la chapelle, ramené en sa
salle a onze heures, A midy disné, mené chez le Roy.
qui alloit a la chasse, fort gentil, se veut bouter comme le
Roy et veut aller en bas a sa garde robe & non ailleurs, y
Voit son petit tambour de la femme qui alloit par ressorts,
le veut, c'estoit un de ses plus grands plaisirs, Va ainsi
trouver le Roy contre son gré, y est comme forcé. le
Roy lui dit Otez votre chapeau, il se trouve embarrassé
pour l'oter, le Roy le luy oste. Il s'en fache, puis luy oste
son tambour & ses baguettes, Ce fut encore pis mon chape
peau mon tambour me baguettes. le Roy pour luy faire
despit met le chapeau sur la teste, ie Veux mon chapeau,
le Roy l'en frappe sur la teste, le Voila en cholere & le Roy
contre luy, le prend par les poignets & le soustieue en l'air
comme entendant ses petits bras en croix, C Vou me faite
mal le mon tambour le mon chapeau. la Reine luy
rend son chapeau puis ses baguettes, Ce fut une petite tragedie.
Il est emporté par Mad^e. de Monglat, il creue de cholere: —
porté a la chambre de M^e. la nourrice ou il erie encore long
temps sans se pouvoir appaiser, ne Veut ne baisser ne accoler
Mad^e. de Monglat ne luy erier mercey sinon quand il se
sentoit recroussir, en fin fouete non chastele criant & —
fouete moy la haulte, esgratigne au Visage, frappe des pieds —
des mains Mad^e. de Monglat, en fin appaise luy estant
parlé de faire collation: gousté, rostie a l'accoustumée, beu.
semble qu'il ne y paroisse plus; sa nourrice le met a part &
seule luy dit Monsieur, Vous avez bien esté spirituaistre, il
ne faut pas, il faut obeir a Papa. souspirant gros tuc ma =
manga cle e mechante, ie tuerai tout le monde ie
tuerai D. A Non, dit la nourrice Monsieur Vous beuvez
tous les Jours son sang quand Vous beuvez du Vin. s'arreste,
boi ie son sang du bon D. Ouy Monsieur: i ne fault
pa don le tuc, et s'appaise ainsi, souspirant par fois Jus
ques aux sanglots. Mené a la poterie sy Tous long temps.

mal mené
du Roy.

cholere extreme.

Illustration 3. A comparison of Courtaud's version of Héroard's diary for Louis' first three and one-third years (above, Ms. N. A. Fr., 13008, fol. 142) with original entries for February 2 and 3, 1605 (opposite, Ms. Fr. 4022, fol. 30 Vo). Courtaud's abridgment is of the "hat" scene in which Louis was "roughly handled" by the king. "It was a little tragedy", the text concluded. The greater complexity of the original text is exemplified by the marginal entries: "loves dogs", "Nota: Discretion for [showing] his nature towards the king". The third note describes Louis' little sister's reaction to her weaning. The body of the text concerns the dauphin's own part in that dramatic event. Photo of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Il meurt grand poids de se voir et faire mal en quelque sorte que le fils s'en
s'amusse a luy. L'abbé d'Asfeld Indispole. te te, te te te le muni. le patron
l'ingst volentiers au balle. Il aime fort les chies, muni a sept heures en la ch
de la R. M. s'amusse a voir des parlonges a la tapillie. Il y avait des poies en
la 2^e et luy dit mon fil je vous que vo^s faitis un poie a fait a l'ingst
hore non papa, remonte. L.R. je vous que vo^s les faitis un poie d'ant
comme vous. Je vous non pa. Si vous plai papa muni la main au chapeau
faitis la remonte. M^r de Montglat luy dit M^r d'ides a papa qu'il faitis
des loquets muni aux ardeles qui vo^s gredite comme une ardele. D. hore non dit
si vous muni muni, et luy fait son plus liens lors la parallie muni. L'abbé
pouvoit persuader de le faire muni a huit heures et demie en sa chambre, a luy
de muni. L'abbé muni au sac au lit, ou il se fait muni de la berge et a muni et
demie l'indant jusques a sept heures trois quarts apres muni.

Le ^m^{me} Aloudy. Esuallé a sept heures trois quarts après minuit. Voulut
le jour de mesme, fait parler son petit doigt, demandant, fait demander et respo
ndre mesme a ^{plus, plus} huit heures. Lard, bon village, guay, Veldt, wiffé, vin, a
l'heure et demie. De siune bouillon, hime, peu, pain, bœuf, d'ours, et
fuit guay. L'in anlet de la guerre, la nouvelle va dire, min. Dieu que je crains
la guerre D. Ne e moi je ne la crains pas, hechant la tige, mais chet.

Je n'ai pas de temps à perdre
à écrire à Louis R.
elle te dira, puis la ma-
nière d'y dire me donne
un air de sérieux plus de
sérieux, que de la loi
sérieux, son être de
sérieux, les autres de
sérieux, je me tais
peu, et d'ailleurs ne
veux-je plus te dire.

qui commande que Madame fust servie par les mêmes de M. de M. au
par la table de la salle. Dit qu'elle ne valait plus rien que Pasque est venue.
L. D. vint de la messe fonde dans une lancière, s'en va dire tout bas au vic
madame vint de la messe fonde pour mettre main à vote teteron. amuse
à l'œuvre de la chambre, à l'œuvre d'œuvre. Rache et panade en pa
nouvelle de ven au du pain. O. Deux chapon beaulty pour poulet
roty, pain d'une asse, poire au frotte, une avec pain d'œuvre. Belle deux fois
amuse notre grache à dieu amen. mais le pain une tache, la donne à la
se va adieu. tout en table, et s'amuse. Mais deux fois avec les pains pour
d'argent qui les avait donné au de l'œuvre au même jusqu'à trois heures et
avec les pains frotte à la f. la table pour pas au de l'œuvre machine. pour
poire au frotte avec pain d'œuvre. belle mais le pain une tache. amuse jus
à cinq heures. mais au d'œuvre au cabinet de la d. s'amuse à tromper chaf
avec du miel d'Autriche qui venait au de la même d'œuvre à six heures
en la chambre. Soupe: panade et rache de chapon beaulty et tache de
nouvelle de ven d. chapon beaulty, des pains, la soupe, mig pain du d.
beu: poulet roty mig pain d'une asse: poire au frotte: une avec pain d'œuvre
belle, vasi. mig pain de son beaulty. pour pas au d. et che qu'il y en au
gan grache. beaucoup: amuse notre grache à dieu amen. mais le pain

Rein. G.

who would lead the king to a religious feeling different from Louis' XIII's piety:

It is to be wished that this could be achieved by a devotion other than that of his father who adopted it more through convention—as he did everything else—than by express intention and without the practice of good deeds which true devotion has the effect of inspiring. For his piety was really great . . . in appearance but . . . very sterile in its effects.⁸⁷

Nevertheless, even if the king's moral sense lacked the automatic, unconscious and regulatory character of a fully developed conscience, moral standards or guides were perceptible in his behavior which derived from a model of conduct with consistent referents in the outside world. To the extent that his drives were regulated by this model and his ego guided by it, it is appropriate to consider superego appeals in his decision making patterns. These are best discussed under the term "ego ideal", as Jones has used it, to describe "our conscious ideals in a positive sense; the superego, or at least its unconscious part, being more concerned with . . . condemning."⁸⁸ In this positive sense of the term it is possible to trace the formation and characteristics of Louis' ego ideals and the significance they had for his later policy objectives.

From infancy, the image of Louis' father, the great king, savior of the nation and founder of the dynasty, was clearly a powerful model for Louis. Henry was the object of emulation; his enemies were the little boy's enemies. From a very early age, Héroard's diary shows "papa's enemies" meant the Habsburg Spanish power. In a diary entry Héroard attributed hostility to the Escorial menace to his three-year-old patient. Henry went off to war in February, 1605, and the doctor asked the child: "To whom will he give battle?" "To his enemies," Louis replied. "Who are these enemies?" Héroard pursued, and relates

He was in the act of naming the Spaniards and had pronounced the first syllable of the word—"Against the Span..." then, catching himself, he said coolly, "Turks."⁸⁹

As heretics, the Turks were acceptable to "cover" for the Spanish threat.

In one other respect Henry's model was a decisive one for his heir. The father's procreative capacity was a power held up to the little boy as an obligatory standard for performance. We have seen the consequences of premature genital stimulation for the personality formation of the child. But he clearly incorporated among his more urgent duties the example set by Henry to become a "Sire" in the familial as well as the political sense.

There was an aspect of Henry's behavior which was a negative model for Louis' own: his promiscuity. Louis' egoistic interests were, as we have seen, intimately bound up with his position as the first legitimate

heir to the throne and with the solidity of his mother's position as the legal consort. The king's mistresses and their many offspring were menaces to the position of Louis and Marie. Before the dauphin was three Héroard reported that he responded "coolly, having thought about it," to the court fool's inquiry as to whether he would follow the sexual morals of his father when he grew up. "Will you be as bawdy as your father?" was the daring question, "No!" was Louis' emphatic reply.⁹⁰

The salience of a model is noticeably affirmed in choosing the name of the emulated one for one's own. When Louis was to be baptized, just before his fifth birthday, he was desolated to learn that he was not to be given his father's name. Insult was heaped on injury: his envied half-brother had received the magic name of their great sire. Héroard pointed out to the little boy the virtues of his own namesake, Saint Louis. One objective in this seemed to be to offer an alternative model of sexual conduct. Marital fidelity had been a conspicuous attribute of that hallowed king. As a four-year-old Louis was reciting the proverb "which I love so much: 'Happy is the man who finds a virtuous woman.'"⁹¹ The incompatibility between the two models was obvious to many observers.

PERSONALITY AND DECISION MAKING: THREE IMPLEMENTATIONS OF POLICY OBJECTIVES

We have seen how the triple-appeal principle helps to explain the long range objectives of Louis XIII's policies: to strengthen his ego sufficiently to gratify his aggressive aims on objects compatible with his ego ideals. During his long reign three projects were successfully executed which stand out as critical implementations of this design. One was the result of a decision made at the beginning of the reign—to assume power personally by seizing it from his mother's minister, Concini, Maréchal of Ancre. The second was formalized in the middle of the reign: this was to make a permanent commitment to Richelieu, implemented explicitly on the Day of Dupes. The third was a program adopted soon after the beginning of active rule and pursued until its successful result near the end of the reign—the siring of sons to carry on the legitimate line. The accomplishment of each project may be considered in the light of the tri-partite principle.

Soon after Henry IV's murder, Marie de Medicis began to devolve more and more authority on Concini until he became the arrogant wielder of all royal power. As such he became vainglorious and heedless of the legitimate source of his authority, the adolescent boy king. Louis' official coronation had taken place soon after his majority was proclaimed in 1614. By 1616 he seems to have conceived the plan of killing Ancre in order to seize power in fact.

No task could have had a more powerful *triple* appeal to the young king than one putting this obstacle to his control of the throne out of the way. The gratification promised the id must have been a powerful temptation: Ancre was vulgar, lewd, self-indulgent and extravagant—a very naughty boy indeed—in many respects the prototype of all the *mignons* whom Louis was alternately to indulge and to chastise.

Moreover, Louis' ego and superego interests were in harmony with the objective chosen by the impulses: to free himself from internal threats and external control he had to act against the marshall. Ancre's insidious domination at once tempted Louis to relapse into passivity and deprived him of his most precious possessions—his royal prerogatives. Further, what could be more syntonetic with the ego ideal so powerfully modelled by his father than to assassinate the foreign interloper who had usurped Henry's place at the side of his wife and at the head of the realm?

The king's capacity for secrecy and biding his time never showed to better advantage. The marshall, taken unaware, was shot dead by the captain of Louis' guard outside the Louvre on April 24, 1617. Luynes had rather reluctantly given his support to the plot. Héroard, still very much an influence in 1617, may have given more active encouragement than his journal reveals. He gave no hint of it beforehand but, after recording the deed blandly, left two pages of his diary blank to celebrate the triumph of his protégé. Louis' euphoria at coming into his rightful legacy was greater than any he was to have again.⁹²

The second landmark of the reign was the confirmation of Richelieu as the king's chief councillor and minister. The decision to make it was forced upon Louis by the queen mother. As we have seen, Marie was in part an ego extension for her son. Her growing hostility to Richelieu came to a climax in 1630 when she finally refused to be part of the royal council unless Richelieu was dismissed from it. Until then, Louis had used both his mother's and his minister's support. His mistrustful nature had allowed him to use one against the other. Now forced to choose between them, he found Richelieu not only more necessary to his ego but also more attuned to his ego ideals. Since Richelieu's return to the court with Marie he had gradually drawn away from the ultramontanist zealots of the queen's party and adapted to policies more in keeping with the "great designs of Henry IV".

By 1625, Richelieu's enemies had become the powers Louis long ago had identified as "Papa's enemies". In that year the cardinal addressed to the king a memoir which commenced with the gratifying news: "All things are now combining to strike down the pride of Spain."⁹³ In sustaining the cardinal's influence against Marie's, Louis obtained not only a powerful ego supplement but one which could be used to implement those aggressive drives which were morally validated by

the example of his great father. This time therefore, with characteristic secrecy, the king concealed his intention to "cut off" Marie completely until he could identify her co-conspirators at court—a stratagem which allowed him to engage in the "great purge" which followed her departure. From the day that Marie was repudiated Louis kept his promise to Richelieu to use him as his instrument. In fact, his stalwart defense of Richelieu against virulent enemies over the years can be attributed to the fact that he explicitly identified Richelieu as one of "*les siens*"—a precious belonging that was in some respects a part of himself.

Third of Louis' triumphs was the procreation, twenty years after the consummation of his marriage, of two sons to inherit the throne and secure the future of the line. Of the three successes this one may have cost the greatest effort.

As an object of Louis' drives Anne of Austria, the Spanish infanta, had handicaps and advantages. For a few months in 1620 the court witnessed a romantic infatuation of the king with the queen. She had become a narcissistic object. This role, more usually assumed by males in Louis' entourage, was no doubt partly advanced by a comparable earlier role performed by his sister Elisabeth. This sister had literally changed places with Anne when their two marriages were formalized in 1615. Moreover, for years Louis had "rehearsed" his relations with Anne using Elisabeth as partner in childhood play. Louis' official historian remarked on the resemblance between Louis himself and the new queen of France at the time of their marriage: "so much alike that one would have taken them for brother and sister."⁹⁴

The king's letters to Anne during their brief romance bear the peculiarly narcissistic stamp of those to Elisabeth: to his wife he followed professions of devotion by solicitude for the "distress you certainly have at my absence". "If the trip tires you it will only be on account of your impatience to see me—which is always a pleasure to me." To Elisabeth: "the affection I bear you will never change because I know that you will always love me." To another sister, bidding her come for a visit, "the inconvenience to you will actually be a pleasure since it will bring you close to him you love best in the world [himself]."⁹⁵

Based on such unstable foundations, the romance was shortlived. After a miscarriage which was blamed on the queen's imprudence, there was ill-feeling between them. Although Louis continued to perform his marital duties without impairment though with little enjoyment for the rest of their married life, the partners were otherwise to be "at arm's length".

Anne had always been suspect by Louis on account of her Spanish origin. In 1632 the king discovered a possibly innocent correspondence between her and her brother, the king of Spain. One of Louis' tests of Richelieu was to use him as his own ally against the queen's suspected

subversion. Richelieu was equal to this demand, although it seems that he was sympathetic with the hapless Anne, whose almoner he had officially been. After the queen had been exposed and denounced, a formal document of forgiveness was presented by Richelieu on behalf of the king and negotiated in exchange was a promise from the queen for future good behavior.⁹⁶

In view of the coolness between man and wife and Louis' lack of enthusiasm for using his conjugal rights, the birth of two sons after twenty-three years was regarded as near-miraculous. As the achievement of a political objective it had great significance: its effect was to stabilize royal policy. By producing male progeny the king had vitiated the aspirations of his brother, the Duke of Orleans, to succeed him. These hopes had been at the root of the conspiracies of past years. In 1640 a second son was born to solidify still further the Bourbon hold on the throne.

Soon after these triumphs of policy the cardinal fell ill. He died in 1642. With Louis' chief support gone, and, one may speculate, his chief objectives accomplished, his energies seemed to fail and his chronic ailments gained the upper hand. Long a sufferer from what was apparently ulcerative colitis, he took to his bed in February, 1643 and died on May fourteenth, the anniversary of his father's assassination thirty-two years before.

* * *

By reviewing details of Louis XIII's childhood history we are able to explain some of the apparent paradoxes in the political behavior of the adult king. As for the chief objective of state policy, little had changed for Louis since Héroard had said of him as a baby, "He has a strong taste for everything which has to do with war—as much men as instruments."⁹⁷ In the prosecution of the most destructive war in the history of Europe to that time, Richelieu supplied his intellect as a support for the king's insufficient ego so that Louis was able to gratify his aggressive drives by manipulating populations and resources as though they were of no more importance or value than the chessmen which had so absorbed his attention as a child.

The characterization of Louis' personality system that has been made here is necessarily stereotypic, and it is well to emphasize in concluding the complexity of real psychic life in comparison with all attempts to understand it. Héroard has presented us with more information on the early history of an individual child than has perhaps ever been made available in written form. Confrontation with so much data is sobering.

In dealing with it, the limitations of psychoanalytic theory—as of any disciplined method of organizing data—should be borne in mind.

It seems undeniable that Richelieu was Louis' Héroard, but he was also sometimes, and in some respects, his father and/or mother, nurse . . . and so forth. Yet above all he was a supremely efficient, obedient and loyal prime minister—and an agent the most rational and democratically oriented modern chief of state might wish to have as his chief executive. And Louis himself, despite his character defects, his physical symptoms, his cruelty deeply rooted in his childhood experience, his projective mistrust, was also a witty, gifted, and shrewdly realistic monarch. He was a slave to defensive strategies and in some important respects conscienceless; at the same time he could be called a moral man, in the sense that he strove to do "right" and the justice thus commanded was consonant with some of the highest morality of his day. Freud wrote, "A hero is a man who stands up manfully against his father and in the end victoriously overcomes him."⁹⁸ By this standard it is not certain that Louis was no hero.

In the final analysis we are reduced to "mere" probabilities: it seems probable that Louis' interaction with Richelieu at a given time reflected the partial symbiosis with Héroard from which the king was never freed; it was likely that his relations with "loved" ones would show the ambivalence which arose from his competition for the love of a father who was at once endearing and fearsome, manly and infantile. But even with all the information on Louis' childhood, our ability to predict his behavior in specific situations is less than complete. In acknowledging that his complexity of character prevents putting full confidence in our ability to anticipate the political choices he made, we are reminded of the limitations of psychohistory, as of any theoretical apparatus, in predicting human behavior. Louis XIII may have been no more complex than other important men of his time; we simply know more about him. Is there good reason to suppose that, as far as the complexity of political actors goes, the situation is different today?

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COMMENT BY OREST RANUM

The world as depicted by the medical diary—like that which a mother keeps during the first year in the life of her first-born child—tends to record the typical as unique in human behavior. In this Héroard's great journal of the early life of Louis XIII is no exception. It is a superb source for how the prince was raised; and yet to what extent was Louis's childhood typical or commonplace for royal children, indeed for all children whose parents could afford medical attention? Héroard naturally did not record the cacophony of contrary opinions and advice about how to care for this very special child which echoed through the royal nursery. Yet other physicians may have made their opinions known, and women around the prince who had already raised children doubtlessly put in their word of advice. It is perhaps just as well that these other opinions were not extensively recorded, though one aspect of what is essentially a methodological question is consequently left unanswered. How much opposition was there, either covert or overt, to Héroard's treatment of the child? To what extent did that treatment seem conventional and acceptable to those who had an opportunity to observe it?

The traditional histories of the reign do not assert that Louis's upbringing was either peculiar or special for a prince. They comment upon his poor education, a not disinterested remark from historians educated by humanists to believe that Latin, Latin, and more Latin was what education was all about. Then too, the mysterious silence which very early fell over some aspects of Louis's private life may have extended to his upbringing, and we are unable to learn if Héroard's treatment was regarded as exceptional. The point is obvious. Héroard's preoccupation with Louis XIII's bowels may have contributed to warp him permanently as a person, but the purgings and enemas which formed so great a part of seventeenth-century medical treatment may also have been inflicted upon the children of great nobles, the royal bastards, or any child whose parents could afford intensive medical care. Lacking a clearly defined sense of the difference between childhood and adulthood (Ariès), doctors prescribed what may well have been virtually similar treatments for all age groups. Did not other children endure the same medical upbringing?

The problem of uniqueness in the life of Louis XIII is less crucial in regard to the question of his early sexual arousal. On this everyone in the nursery appears to have participated, including Henry IV himself. The combination of early sexual arousal and medical treatment (not the breast-feeding, which was certainly even more typical) could well have exerted devastating influences on the prince; but Héroard seems not to have found the early sexual arousal particularly strange. Further-

more, there seems not to have been sufficient opposition to Héroard's administrations to result in his dismissal as physician to the prince. The balance between uniqueness and typicality is always difficult to establish in the history of childhood, and also, as we shall see, in the history of royal justice and administration. To us, Louis's childhood seems not only atypical but extremely significant as a special mode of historically explaining the king's adult behavior. And yet if contemporaries perceived of that childhood as typical or not out of the ordinary for a prince, our mode of explanation is challenged.

When we begin to use our sense of childhood and of personal development as a point of departure in the study of a seventeenth-century person, we must realize that the dangers of anachronism are extremely great. Marvick is very aware of these dangers, and she is especially impressive in her awareness of how much a child can take before sustaining some kind of ineluctable, life-constraining damage. Poor Louis seems to have had nothing going for him, and yet how many other children in his age suffered similar upbringings and yet grew up to function quite effectively as adults? Perhaps none. Perhaps the greater number of the sons of the upper aristocracy. I do not know the answer, but I am prepared to explore the second alternative and to begin to contemplate the general effects of disastrous childhoods for the entire elite of French society. The great nobles of the seventeenth century are *not* an impressive governing elite!

Yet the question of the typicality of Louis's childhood extends beyond governing elites on the matter of early sexual arousal and the methods of social control used to rear children. On these points Marvick's work illuminates the entire French society—and perhaps “pre-modern” European societies in general. Indeed, one of the avenues which ought to be explored in the history of childhood is the relationship between “discipline” or social control, criminal justice, and revolt.

Space limitations here permit only two illustrations, one leading to some understanding of the relationship—at least symbolically—between members of a family and discipline or social control. Louis as king and as an adult compelled all the elected officials of a rebellious city which a royal army had just subdued to line up on their knees before him in the central square, before the populace, to beg his forgiveness for their rebellion. Though such political punishment seems “childish” to us, in a certain sense it reveals something typical about pre-modern societies. In this case the king is the “father” of his subjects, and he exercised paternal rights over them regardless of their age. His subjects evidently found this behavior to be typical for a king whose subjects had rebelled. Put another way, when adults misbehaved they were punished as if they were children. The links between the temper tantrum in the nursery of Louis XIII and his subsequent responses to rebellion extend far beyond

Louis's own upbringing to include the fabric of behavior in an entire society. The most rudimentary forms of exemplary punishment for offenses against the social order—head-shaving, stocks, and other public humiliations—were combined with executions. Social control rested overtly on paternity and physical force. Thus when rebellions occurred, Louis behaved as his father had back in the nursery, and in a certain sense his justice was unlimited. There were few interstices, either administrative or judicial, to protect the adult from being punished like a child for a minor offense.

The second illustration involves family discipline in its totality. Abraham Bosse's pair of powerful engravings depicting two families reveals what were thought to be ideal patterns of order and family behavior. These engravings from the 1640's help us control the dangers of anachronism. In one instance the family depicted has a "hen-pecked" head, a husband who takes orders from his wife (my allusion to the hen is deliberate; it is a kind of linguistic survival in our own culture from a social psychology in pre-modern societies which drew analogies between animal and human behavior). In this household the children are fighting, and even the family pets are battling each other. Total anarchy reigns. The moralizing quatrain makes it clear that anarchy results when a *pater familias* does not maintain his authority. In Bosse's companion engraving, the husband is depicted as beating his wife for some transgression of his authority. The wife pleads for forgiveness. Instead of fighting, the children are shown as respectful of their father and imploring him to cease punishing their mother. In this household even the family pets live in peace. Whether found in such pictorial sources, in absolutist political thought, the legal system, or the social psychology, the "discipline" of the seventeenth-century French family contained within it the extreme weapons of social control which were used upon Louis in the nursery and subsequently used upon rebellious subjects when Louis became king. Family, monarchy, justice, and punishment were linked as different dimensions of the same phenomena.

Thus Louis earned the sobriquet "Just." This should not be interpreted as entirely honorable or commendatory. A virtue carried to excess may become a vice, and Tallemant des Réaux, author of the *Historiettes* and almost a contemporary of Louis XIII, emphasized the king's cruel justice. According to Tallemant, the attribute "Just" was given when Louis refused to pardon Mme. de Guermaduac's husband, despite her weeping and lamentations in the king's presence. Then Tallemant adds: "encore qu'elle fust fort belle. [Even though she was very beautiful.]" This mixture of justice, anguish, and the allusion to Louis's failure to pardon because of the woman's sexual attractiveness, suggests once again how careful we must be in applying contemporary theories to pre-modern societies. To the seventeenth-century mind, justice, sexu-

ality, and even politics and the state had meanings to which we must be attentive, even if they undermine the universality of explanation provided by any theory, including Freud's. This does not mean, of course, that Marvick's conclusions are incorrect; they may be the tip of the iceberg, but solid and irrefutable nevertheless.

In many ways Louis's justice was typical when he ordered the deaths of Chalais, Marillac, Montmorency, and Cinq Mars. They had broken the *fidelités*, those bonds linking a subject with his sovereign; their deaths would serve as examples for the living. Such executions had been very numerous in the fifteenth century: cf. A. Bossuat, "The Re-Establishment of Peace in Society during the Reign of Charles VII," in *The Recovery of France in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by P. S. Lewis (New York, Harper Torchbook, 1971), pp. 60-81. Periods of monarchical consolidation, like periods of revolt, resemble each other. Louis XIII's reign is an explosive mixture of both. And the way in which Louis's own father, Henry IV, dispatched his former close friend, Biron, to the block suggests a continuity in Louis's conduct rather than a uniqueness in these aspects of nascent absolutism. To be sure, the fact that Louis watched Concini's death from a window suggests a strong sadistic trait in his character. But only a few years before, Henry III had been in the very room during Guise's assassination. The incidents of sadism in Louis's life, so brilliantly illuminated by Marvick's general interpretation of the reign, suggest to me that a very powerful element of physically manifested sadism was present in pre-modern European societies, less spectatorial and less concerned with "play" than in our age of vicarious violence and verbal innuendo.

Beyond these considerations of Louis's influence upon the development of the modern state, there remains the almost primordial problem of weighing Richelieu's and Louis XIII's responsibilities for crucial decisions. Marvick tends to depict Louis as a bit more decisive than he was, even in the administration of justice. Louis's general behavior is characterized by inertia and attention to minute details. In the decisions to order someone like Montmorency executed, it is always possible to see Richelieu's influence, partial but significant. The important thing to stress is the collaboration in decision-making, and Louis's assumption of the responsibility for the decision. Richelieu could be extremely cruel, even when uninfluenced by Louis; and yet what we know about the Cardinal's childhood indicates that he remained relatively free from doctoring. In one instance Richelieu had pensioned a man on the promise that he would turn base metal into gold. Informed of several failures, the Cardinal decided to allow the man a few more days, after which he should be hanged if he failed. The poor fellow probably carried on his last experiments in the knowledge that he would be hanged. The brutal treatment of Soyecourt after the defeat at Corbie in 1636

was Richelieu's doing; Soyecourt's flight reduced Richelieu to having him executed in effigy. In a pre-modern society possessed of a precarious government, a general who loses a battle almost always jeopardizes his life. In this instance Richelieu behaved with the proper severity. More important, as prelate and supreme advisor, Richelieu could have tempered Louis's sadistic tendencies in the decisions to execute such important figures as Montmorency if he had perceived them as contrary to *raison d'état*. Richelieu's manner of advising Louis bore the appearance of a certain balance and even detachment; but when the "*pours et contres*" were weighed, Louis was always left but one choice, losing royal dignity or following Richelieu's advice. The king would choose the latter, though occasionally with reluctance. Richelieu's letters to the king very rarely include pleas for mercy on behalf of someone. We are confronted with a very complex, interlocking series of conjectures about political initiative and decision-making. Marvick has rightly insisted on the importance of Louis's role in these decisions and on the kind of character he must have had in order to carry out that role. However, the fact that Louis relied so heavily on Richelieu and on Richelieu's general acceptance of Louis's actions, suggests that we must look beyond the personality and childhood of one man and beyond Richelieu. We must define and establish the social and psychological dimensions of politics in general for Early-Modern France before we can assess the significance of one childhood, be it that of a king.

Louis's childhood interests us in its own right. Other evidence—though not developed in detail or illuminated by modern theory—confirms Marvick's assessment of Louis's development. Again take as an example Tallemant des Réaux, whose gossipy, salacious, and perhaps prevaricating *historiette* about Louis XIII confirms Marvick's picture. Tallemant, like Marvick, possessed the gift of detaching himself from moralizing sentiments. Louis's homosexuality is recorded but not criticized, yet it is significant to observe what surprises Tallemant. These surprises are clues to the puzzle of determining what was considered typical behavior in the seventeenth century. For example, in the matter of Louis's efforts to have intercourse with Anne on his wedding night (Tallemant was not a contemporary to the incident, but he knew people who were), he remarks: "En effet, on dit qu'il n'y fit que de l'eau toute claire. [Indeed, they say all he produced was clear water]." (ed. by A. Adam, Paris, 1960, I, p. 333). Then Tallemant expresses astonishment, because Louis was "en cette jeunesse là où l'on est toujours en état." Neither Louis's marriage at age fourteen nor the fact that he performed at all on his wedding night surprises Tallemant, but only the possibility that he ejaculated urine instead of semen. Or take another incident. Blainville, Master of the Robe, who had recently returned to

the court from England, one day encountered the king coming from his bath with an erection:

Quoy, Sire, luy dit-il, estes-vous souvent incommodé de cela? O, je m'en vais vous apprendre une recepte que j'a veû pratiquer en Angleterre. Et il se mit à luy donner quelques coups de poignet. Sa Majesté continua, et trouva la recepte fort bonne. [What, Sir, are you often inconvenienced by that? Oh, then I'll teach you a remedy which I've seen applied in England. And he proceeded to give him a few turns of the wrist. His majesty went on with it and found the remedy very good indeed.] (*Ibid.*, p. 333.)

Such anecdotes from sources not relied on by Marvick (and probably rightly so) both tend to confirm the Héroard material about Louis's childhood and to make us aware of how "strange" life in a seventeenth-century nursery seems to us. It also raises doubts about the validity of applying theories from a remote time and culture to a single life in the seventeenth century. Just what was unique about the childhood of Louis XIII?

And yet Tallemant was *also* disturbed by Louis XIII's behavior. He remarks that Richelieu feared that the king would go down in history as Louis the Stutterer rather than as Louis the Just. Finding Louis's personality elusive, Tallemant states emphatically, "Il estoit un peu cruel [He was a bit cruel];" and again, "Il n'estoit pas humain [He was not humane]." These are very telling observations, and I believe this usage of the word "*humain*" to have been an infrequent one for the seventeenth century. Tallemant always supports his contention that Louis was cruel by citing the king's failure to relieve human misery after personal contact with it. Louis's refusal to give charity to peasants suffering silently but loyally before him upset Tallemant. For him such harshness was abnormal. In the nursery Louis had on too many occasions been made to obey after being frightened by masons and other commoners; he could not be generous to individuals whom he encountered in misery.¹

Let me conclude with a remark about the possible effects of psycho-biography on Western historiography in general. After centuries of classicistic and humanistic history which emphasized the conduct and decisions of great men in determining the destinies of entire societies, the historians of the early twentieth century turned away from "great men" and political history in an attempt to understand society in its totality. The inevitable result was a certain loss of emphasis upon the individual, but now with the rise of psycho-biography, the historians of the latter twentieth century, armed with new methods, may be turning back to the study of "great men." The interstices between political and

social history, and psycho-biography are, of course, social psychology and family history. Marvick's very original and important contribution to our knowledge about Louis XIII should stimulate further studies, both of individuals and of social and political systems in general, from the perspective of the critical experiences occurring in childhood. For is it not safe to conclude that the keys to understanding the workings of a society as a whole lie in the manner in which a society "raises" its children?

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1. Attempts to control child behavior through fear have unfortunately not disappeared. In June 1974 this author heard one of his neighbors in a small French village say to her four-year-old: "Si tu ne touches pas la main de M. Ranum, les gendarmes vont t'enfermer en prison. [If you don't shake hands with M. Ranum, the police will lock you up in jail.]" This child may well grow up to be a father, farmer, and solid citizen of the French Republic, just as his father is, but will not his perception of the *gendarmes* always be somewhat influenced by the terror which his mother attempted to instill in him at the age of four?

REPLY

It is probably right to maintain, as Orest Ranum does, that Louis XIII's behavior was within the range of kingly behavior expected by his subjects. These undoubtedly accepted their dependent status as God-given, just as they did the sacred immunity of their king. Insight into the attitudes of citizens in traditional societies is given by such modern studies as Daniel Lerner's. But within the context of general fatalistic acceptance of authority, which Almond and Verba have called a "subject political culture", there were important and acknowledged differences between monarchs.¹ Louis XIII was *not*, but Henry IV was, humane. The latter was mourned unprecedentedly, as l'Estoile tells us,

by Frenchmen when he died. No report of the time suggests that Louis XIII's subjects grieved comparably when he died at a far younger age.

Which behavior patterns were more "typical" of great noblemen and those raised in royal nurseries—Louis' or those of his more moderate contemporaries? The execution of Biron by Henry IV stands out in his reign because it was so exceptional. Moreover, it was a last resort for the king, arrived at after agonized attempts at conciliation. It is an exception, and it points up the contrasting personalities of the two monarchs. Bassompierre, another great hero and nobleman of the time, reports his heartsickness on learning of a decision to execute three hundred prisoners of war in a campaign on the Danube. Such a "necessity" would not have upset his master, Louis XIII, in the least. Later, Louis XIV proved to be far more like his grandfather than his father.

Certainly, too, the public expected and participated in a great deal of cruelty. In mass public executions in today's Iraq—for one example—we gain a picture of what the mob was like that tore apart the murdered Concini and made off with so much of his remains that there was little left to inter. The crowd that exulted in the sight of the drawing and quartering of Ravaillac, Henry IV's assassin, could hardly be restrained from a like desecration. Was it typical of crowds of the time to be blood-thirsty? For princes to be indifferent to human misery?

For weighing evidence on what were dominant behavior patterns and what were aberrant ones, those considerations systematically treated in a classic article by Leites are in point.² However, for the propositions in the paper presently under discussion it seems unnecessary to determine how typical Louis' upbringing was, nor to assess the extent to which Héroard's techniques were unusual. It is enough to establish the effects of the king's rearing on his behavior. Whether the adult product was unique or whether it was ever so typical of the whole royal *genre*, its consequences would be equally interesting.

Nevertheless, in an earlier article on Héroard's influence in shaping the character of Louis XIII reasons are given for believing that in certain critical respects the doctor's handling of his patient was atypical of the medical practice of the time. A number of contemporary observers besides Tallemant are shown to have regarded Héroard as extremely peculiar. He was a dominating figure, whose influence on the young dauphin was personal as well as pervasive.³ In fact, his rearing practices were eccentric. But even if those practices had been commonplace they would have acquired a personalized significance for Louis XIII, by coming from Héroard. No one can read the manuscript diary kept by the first physician without becoming aware of his outstanding gifts as well as his pathological traits. Contemporary eulogies show that some of his colleagues and acquaintances held him in awed respect. Others despised him. But there is no doubt he was an exceptional man—a powerful per-

sonality and an unusual physician. In ways foreshadowing the future, Louis XIII became dependent on Héroard.

Thus, when we turn to Louis' interaction with Richelieu, another powerful character comes into play. Each of their joint decisions represented a precarious balance point between their personalities; their collaboration was fused in a dynamic sequence of events. What intimate experiences and personal privations contributed to the persistent shaping of their personalities and the historical course of their tandem rule? The insight and skillful documentation of Ranum's pioneering work in the field make it easier for later inquiries to hope for success in answering these basic questions.

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2. Nathan Leites, "Psycho-Cultural Hypotheses about Political Acts", *World Politics*, I (1948), 102-119. His remarks were prepared in order to improve the methods of anthropologists who were using innovative approaches to modern western cultures. The paradigm he developed is now well suited to the needs of historians for more rigor in characterizing the cultures of the past.
3. See above, p. 178, n. 6.

COMMENT BY EDWARD D. JOSEPH

Historians and political scientists have in recent years added an additional dimension to their studies of past events and past individuals through their consideration of important psychological factors in determining the decisions that mold history. Unfortunately, necessary data is often lacking to provide a sound in-depth analysis of the personality of a decision maker, so that historians and others have to speculate, utilizing whatever information may be available. These speculations are derived from dynamic studies of human mental functioning based upon clinical and observational studies which serve to give some validity to the inferences drawn from the scanty data available. The problem, of course, is the lack of detailed information about the inner life of important figures and detailed information of the early, very important, developmental years.

Fortunately, as Dr. Marvick demonstrates, such information is available about a key figure in French history, Louis XIII, through the very lengthy, carefully kept, detailed diaries maintained by his personal physician, Dr. Jean Héroard. That such a record has not previously been

mined by historians and political scientists is their loss, but our gain insofar as Dr. Marvick has now brought this to our attention in the article attached. In reading the excerpts that she includes from these diaries, one obtains a picture of Louis XIII that is alive in its detail and warmth so that the reader feels involved in living history as he learns of the infancy and childhood of the future king.

Particularly striking is the variety of interrelationships, difficulties and traumata, which beset the prince as he grows and develops. Dr. Marvick also gives sufficient background concerning his relationship with his parents. Particularly poignant is the account of his disappointment at not being named after his father. Equally effective is the account of the events leading to a personality change after his attempt at defying his father. One feels the living history since it correlates with so many developing children for whom similar traumata casts a shadow on their development leading to profound personality and/or characterologic change.

Of value to any student of infantile development is the account from Héroard's diary of the failure at nurturing in the first year of life of the future king, and the heroic measures undertaken to preserve his life. That a satisfactory wet nurse was eventually found perhaps accounts for a more "benign" later development rather than the possible occurrence of a psychosis. The intense concentration upon bowel functions, the vigorous measures used to stimulate and regulate excretion reflect the culture of the times producing, no doubt, the stuttering which marked his later life making him the butt of ridicule. The gross phallic and sexual stimulation that was his lot from early years, coupled with the blow to his narcissism and masculinity imposed by his powerful father found their echoes in his essential inability to have a close sexual relationship with his wife, and his ability to father a successor.

There seems to be sufficient data contained in the paper to suggest a failure of the rapprochement phase of the separation-individuation stages as described by Mahler accounting for, among other things, his need to have a close, almost symbiotic tie to a powerful male figure, of Cardinal Richelieu. That the relationship with Richelieu was a complex one and complicated with many roots in the reality world of politics and state affairs is of importance. But more important is the role it played in maintaining Louis' psychic balance enabling him to function as well and adequately as he did.

All of this and more are suggested by the rich clinical data presented and derived from the diaries researched by Dr. Marvick. She has attempted to organize her material following the model suggested by Lasswell and it is here that I feel that the paper fails to exploit its possibilities to the fullest. The personality subdivisions Lasswell suggested have not kept pace with the changing aspects of psychoanalytic knowl-

edge. Rather there is a too rigid attempt at compartmentalization so that one loses the dynamic interplay between various aspects of mental functioning that make for the richness of a human being. I am perhaps unfair to Dr. Marvick when I say this since it is difficult in an exposition to describe the dynamic interrelationships occurring simultaneously between various portions of the mind.

It is to Dr. Marvick's credit that she has accomplished much. My criticism reflects a wish that more were done. It is my hope and expectation, of course, that she will do this perhaps in a monograph that will allow for the indepth exploration that her rich clinical material calls for. But at this point, even the glimpse of the potentiality of a detailed study of an important historical figure is exciting.

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REPLY

The comments of a practicing psychoanalyst and teacher of psychiatry are especially welcome because they promise a wider and more productive dialogue between social scientists and medical specialists.

For American students of politics, this dialogue was inaugurated in 1930 with the publication of Lasswell's *Psychopathology and Politics*, a work that showed sensitivity to the complex interrelations of personality mechanisms and their etiology.¹ Later, Lasswell has gone still further in suggesting means for applying the concepts of dynamic psychology to political research.² By pointing out the limitations of the triple appeal principle for describing personality dynamics, Dr. Joseph has given me the opportunity to exonerate Lasswell from responsibility for the narrowness of my paper's schematic approach.

However, if Lasswell should be absolved from any charge that he has not taken into account the complexities of personality, it may also be said that the triple appeal approach, even alone, has not exhausted its promise for explaining social behavior. Redl's "Group Emotion and Leadership", for example, extended the concept to a wide range of relations between central figures and members in a group.³ Similarly, Kris and Leites showed, in 1947, how the triple appeal principle could identify and explain the transformations, through time, of the symbolic content of official appeals.⁴ The possibilities of these approaches have by no means been fully exploited.

Dr. Joseph is well within his rights to wish that more had been done in my paper. But if turnabout is fair play, perhaps this space may be used to suggest how professional analysts, by directing their attention to certain problems of their discipline, may help improve psychohistorical studies. These problems may be illustrated by questions which have arisen in research into the psychic history of Louis XIII.

Some readers of an earlier article on Louis' first experiences have asked whether I thought the surgical tongue "untying" Louis suffered as a two-day-old might have fixated in the oral zone the later regression to an anal stage. Of course, this seems plausible. After all, not all children who manifest symptoms of an anal fixation are stutterers. Nor do they endow words with such remarkable powers. But very little ongoing theoretical and experimental work in psychoanalysis aims at testing the propositions on which such a conclusion would depend. René Spitz's work, some of which I have cited, is a notable exception.

In a second area too, psychoanalytic research has not yet "delivered" to psychohistory. So far it has failed to develop adequate models of the dynamics of adult political behavior in relation to environmental stimuli. In Louis' case, for example, it is apparent that some reality situations were met by his appropriation of Richelieu or another as an ego-supplement—a necessary part of himself. Others, on the contrary, caused him to cast Richelieu in the role of a potential victim of his destructive tendencies. Still others caused him to court the cardinal as he had courted his father. What factors determined which feelings would be evoked? Needed is a systematic description of the variables governing the reaction of the personality to its environment. Too often psychoanalysis is satisfied with explaining discrete responses, where its theoretical system calls for a fuller accounting—explanations of behaviors rejected as well as those adopted.

I have taken undue advantage of the last word given me by the *History of Childhood Quarterly*. Dr. Joseph has delicately put his finger on inadequacies of my paper and in return I have asked for the moon. This is not because the buck should be passed back to the psychoanalysts, but only because the power and subtlety of their tool gives rise to extravagant hopes in the historian's mind.

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COMMENT BY A. LLOYD MOOTE

It is a pleasure to comment on Elizabeth Marvick's study of the relationship between Louis XIII's childhood and his political acts as monarch of the model absolutist state of early modern times. Dr. Marvick is to be commended first of all for breaking with a long tradition that attributed the substance and tone of political developments in Louis XIII's France to everyone and everything except the king himself. To stand in the face of that tradition is doubly difficult, since Louis XIII was a very weak figure to all appearances, in contrast to the potent and fascinating elements that seemed to control his politics: the larger-than-life chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu; the imperious military and fiscal demands on the state; and even d'Artagnan and the Three Musketeers. Yet Dr. Marvick has told us something we should have known long ago—that this was the "Age of Louis XIII" as well as the reign of Louis XIII.

There have been a few hints in this direction before Marvick, including the title of the best book on the reign, V.-L. Tapié's *La France de Louis XIII et de Richelieu*, an acknowledgment by many scholars that Louis did at least choose and uphold his great minister Richelieu against unrelenting pressures of state, society, and family, and the more daring thesis of Charles Romain's biography that Louis's bravery, sense of duty, and steadying encouragement whenever his chief minister's spirits sagged made the king central to his own reign. But always these factors have been fitted into the stereotype of "Louis the Lucky," a smaller-than-life figure who had just enough sense to take advantage of the ready-made persons and forces that could make his reign a major turning point in French and European history.

Even Romain's challenge* for historians to overcome their lack of "psychological sense" and explore the underlying "mentality" and "character" of what he termed "a great misunderstood king" was ignored. Nor was this surprising, since the supposedly crucial but unknown traits of bravery, duty, and steadfastness could not of themselves explain the vast political changes during the reign. Moreover, those characteristics could not easily be reconciled with the timidity of a king who merely wrote "good" as a commentary on Richelieu's policy recommendations, and who took almost a quarter-century of marriage to provide his attractive and outgoing bride with a family heir.

Romain's unsuccessful foray into the realm of Louis's psyche stands in marked contrast to Dr. Marvick's second major contribution. For she has given us an intelligible portrait of the emerging young monarch, drawing together Romain's "Man of Duty" with the traditional, weak Louis in a remarkably cohesive synthesis. We learn that Louis was secretive, obstinate, inflexible, and obsessed with minutiae

and forms; that he treated persons as objects, displayed excessive suspiciousness, and mixed cruelty with a morally tinged insistence on doing "justice" or the right thing; that despite being a "slave to defensive strategies" he had the heroic quality of standing his ground.

Whether one wishes to label this synthesis as sadomasochistic and to call the king "Louis the Merciless" are questions to which I will return. But it is clear that Louis emerged from childhood with a bruised and weak ego; and Marvick is correct in implying that without his childhood experiences he might have reigned with far stronger, healthier and more positive traits.

For all the impressiveness of these contributions, I find her method of penetrating Louis's character more tenuous and inferential than is desirable in a study of personality, and I have nagging doubts about the way she connects Louis's character and background to his political decision-making.

It would be blasphemous to suggest in a journal devoted to the history of childhood that we abolish that study. My reservations are more in the category of heresy. I believe that one can understand Louis's personality, but contend that the surest method is to examine his acts, moods, and thoughts as an adolescent and young adult. For all Marvick's interesting details on the relationship between the child Louis and his entourage of doctor, nurse, father, and mother, we still have to infer that Louis's childish behavior was actually in response to the supposedly dominant influences of punishment, overprotectiveness, and manipulation. And we must take it almost on blind faith that there was a close, detailed, causal relationship between that dialectic and the character of Louis as he entered adulthood. It would be preferable to avoid detailed psychoanalysis of childhood experiences, simply accepting the general and sound inference that Louis developed a weak ego, and going immediately to a careful examination of the defense mechanisms and other modes of operating, neurotic or otherwise, that he manifested as an adult. There is probably more reliable information for such a study than through the distortions of Dr. Héroard for his childhood: the intimate letters of Louis to family, relations of slain soldiers, etc.; official and semi-official contemporary histories; accounts of his actions at sieges and at public ceremonies. Moreover, if one really wishes to understand Louis as king, it would seem most plausible to examine the fledgling political period under the important influence of his first favorite Luynes (1617-1621) and the immediately succeeding period when he had no favorite (1621-1624). Such an approach would correct some of the strong impressions of masochism from his childhood, and help temper the traditional attribution of the later reign's sadism to Louis and its ideas to Richelieu. (Louis opposed duelling before Richelieu, for example.) It would also show that following the death of

Luynes, at least, Louis handled his wrathful, demanding, domineering mother rather well, both before Richelieu, during the first years of the Cardinal's ministry, and after the Day of Dupes.

What I am suggesting is that Louis really was Louis the Just, as he and his contemporaries viewed himself, and not Louis the Merciless, as his bruised childhood would suggest. Of course, this is the interpretation of one person, and is as open to modification and criticism as Dr. Marvick's Louis the Merciless. But I think it accords better with the facts. I have learned much about Louis by applying Marvick's test of sado-masochism to his outward acts; but in the end I have returned to "Louis the Just" in its complex, broad meaning. That sobriquet connotes judgmentalism, paternalism, and punishment, as well as benevolence, clemency, and justice, but seems to exclude vindictive, sadistic, or morbid elements. One can read into Louis's attitude toward the execution of political criminals something that is not sadistic, and one can question whether the meager sources tell us anything about his alleged plans for the assassination of Concini. (The traditional view of a would-be arrest turned into a scuffle and opportunistic killing of the hapless braggart by his foes remains a plausible thesis.) In addition, one could learn much from Louis's excessive pride in being a pleasure-forsaking, workhorse king as well as his thoughtless punishment of mere messengers from ungrateful, rebellious subjects, without painting these acts in sado-masochistic colors.

There is another dimension to conceptualizing Louis as king which psychoanalysis of his childhood, or even of his adult years, falls short of penetrating. Louis the Just was part of the mythology of the reign. Local dignitaries at royal entries far from Paris gave him that image in their welcoming speeches—where did they get the idea? Official historians saw him in this light, as did pamphleteers who opposed his policies but appealed to his "justness"—what were the sources for this approach? The idealized picture held by faraway subjects, the image-building of his "employees", and the preprogrammed fact that he was born under the sign of the scales (as Dr. Marvick has generously brought to my attention) all merged with the real character of a "just" if complex monarch. The public Louis, the mythical Louis, and the real Louis are equally important in understanding his reign.

Clio is not kind to the intruding psychoanalyst. This holds especially true for Dr. Marvick's connecting of Louis's character traits with his specific, major acts as king. My reservations about the Concini assassination have already been noted, though I might add that Marvick's interpretation does make sense of an inexplicable sequence of events that is especially baffling if one accepts the traditional picture of a timid, weak ruler. The aftermath remains unclear in any case, and Marvick's generalizations are not based on any study of the complex and virtually un-

known personality of Luynes, nor do they clarify the still mysterious relationship between Luynes and Louis. We must, above all, come to grips with the fact that, regardless of Louis's personality, Luynes was the only available supporter—Concini had seen to that; we should not read too much into Louis's choosing of Luynes as an alter ego.

Nor should we accept Marvick's dogmatic assertions about the relationship between Louis and Richelieu, the complexity of which she merely touches on, and the chronology of which becomes so compressed that 1624 to 1630 (maybe 1635) takes on the appearance of a long day—the Day of Dupes—when Marie was openly discarded in favor of Richelieu. Yet we should keep in mind the correctness of the underlying thesis that Louis himself, for whatever reasons and psychological needs, had much to do with retaining Richelieu and with the establishing of their basic policies. Whether king and minister came to an agreement on policies, or sensed common aims, or even if Richelieu strengthened Louis's already strong feelings, the fact remains that the monarch had much to do with meting out justice to rebel subjects, pushing back the Habsburg encircling menace, and creating the political climate conducive to a moderate treatment of the rebel-turned-penitent Huguenot subjects.

Marvick also lists Louis's siring of an heir as a great personal act, particularly in view of its emotional cost to the king. It certainly was important politically in maintaining the post-civil war dynasty and internal order. But far greater than the three specific acts of overthrowing Concini, supporting Richelieu, and providing dynastic continuity were the broader policies—judicial, religious, and foreign—that were largely products of the king's personality. In turn, those policies established the overall tone of the reign, a tone of "law, order, and justice" that must be associated with Louis XIII as much as if not more than with Richelieu and the Three Musketeers.

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REPLY

I am grateful to A. Lloyd Moote for his comments—based as they are on a broad and deep knowledge of the legal and political history of the reign of Louis XIII—on a paper which is certainly an entirely different kettle of fish. To a certain extent, therefore, he and I are discussing two

different things. He emphasizes the consequences or "tone" of the reign—"law, order and justice"—and I emphasize the personal meaning of these policies for the king's mental functioning. Often, we could both be right. Where we could not, this is sometimes because our different readings of the documentary evidence have led us to differing conclusions.

It is necessary to interpret private, personal, secret documents with care, but at least as much caution should be taken in interpreting official or public communications of the king—even to his family—as actual products of his personality. For example, almost none of Louis' letters to his mother during her first exile were actually written by him; moreover, Arnauld d'Andilly takes entire credit for having written the first one to have affected her favorably, though it did not change her conduct. These facts are known to Moote and me, but my conclusion from them and other evidence is different from his. I don't think the king could manage his mother at all except by completely separating himself from her. When she was "handled" by him it was by his total avoidance of her. His fastidiousness made her fishwife style unbearable to him but he could not trust himself to stand up to her. I believe the multiple witnesses who claim that Louis agreed to sacrifice Richelieu to her when he was ill in Lyon in 1630 and couldn't avoid her attentions. When he reaffirmed his loyalty to Richelieu on the Day of Dupes he did so by escaping from his mother and sneaking off to Versailles. He managed never to have to see her again.

Another such difference arises from the different sets of documents we pay attention to. I cannot agree that, as Moote seems to suggest, Luynes was a choice more or less forced upon Louis by Concini. There were other candidates for the king's favor—for examples, Montpouillan, Fontenay-Mareuil—and he could have chosen them. I think it will be possible to show convincingly that there were profound reasons why Louis chose Luynes as a favorite. These reasons are clear from his subsequent treatment of the constable.

Again, I do agree that the post-Luynes period was particularly interesting—in part because it was the time when Louis seemed most "normal"—i.e., most autonomous and attractive, and libidinally attached to his wife. However, a new favorite, Barradas, was on the scene by 1620; Richelieu (I do not consider him a "favorite") was very much on the scene by 1622, and in the meantime Louis had toyed with a number of potential ego supports, e.g., Condé and Bassompierre.

A third difference in how we read the same documents is the following: in my view Louis did intend for Concini to be killed and he did communicate this intention to the murderers. Detailed analysis of the documentary evidence necessary to establish this assertion (like others I have made here) will have to wait for a forum less focussed on childhood history.

On two points I may have been misinterpreted by Professor Moote. First, the phrase may have slipped by me but on rereading I cannot see where I have described Louis' ego as "weak". In any case, if the word was used, it was not the right one. For certain tasks, Louis' ego was inadequate; for certain others it was oversupplied with energy. For still others it needed a supplement—both to control destructive rages and to gratify instinctual needs. Moote suggests that one should "avoid detailed psychoanalysis of childhood experiences, simply accepting the general and sound inference that Louis developed a weak ego." But then we would not be able to understand his task-specific ego needs. Instead, by saying so little, we would find ourselves with scarcely more than the stereotype of an indecisive, *fainéant* king, a stereotype that both Moote and I reject.

Nor would I in any way suggest that the "ideas of the reign" should be attributed primarily to Richelieu. Moote's apparent view is that Louis was more likely than his minister to be the force behind the policies adopted. This is also my view. I hope sometime to say more about Richelieu's "ideas"; for the moment I would only suggest that he "learned" Louis very well. As for Louis' opposition to duelling, like so many of his policies which antedated Richelieu's arrival, it was a continuation of the policy of Henry the Great—and of Saint Louis!

To one criticism by Moote I plead not guilty. My description of Louis' personality as sadomasochistic is not a "label". I am aware that such terms are sometimes mere jargon. My conscious attempt has been to show the source in Louis' personal history of this patterned mode of coping with reality. I believe that many present-day psychohistorians *do* jargonize and affix labels without the barest attempt to demonstrate etiology. Too often, a leader's manipulation of violence may nowadays be labeled as sadistic without any data on the psychic meaning of the acts referred to. The connections I have made may be insufficiently convincing when examined point by point, but that is a different matter.

Moote finds my method of penetrating Louis' character more tenuous and inferential "than is desirable" in a study of personality. How can I disagree? Shall we ever penetrate a human character without leaving much knowledge to be desired? The doubts that nag him nag me too. He is certainly justified in disregarding the string of caveats in my concluding paragraphs, if only on the grounds that the bulk of the paper shows I did try to do what I admit I have not been wholly successful in doing.

There is a question of importance for historiography implicit in Moote's criticism. Does not history seek insight into cause by the use of explanatory theory? Why then should Clio be inhospitable to the psychoanalyst? Psychoanalysis is par excellence a historical approach.

Psychoanalytical theory aims to interpret events as governed by dynamic relationships whose patterns are understood by penetration of their origins. Is a critical understanding of psychoanalytic theory "blind faith"? If there was no "close, detailed, causal relationship between that dialectic"—i.e., Louis' response to his handling as a child and his adult character—where *was* the causal relationship? I am ready to entertain an alternative explanation of this character, but surely it ought to be related to some theoretical model capable of providing at least as detailed an account of the dynamics in question. I believe it was John Dollard (no "blind" Freudian) who once wrote, reviewing a book that attacked the very notion of an Oedipus complex, that until some other explanation came along, the theory was still "the only thing of its kind."

I once assumed that everyone with a long history of interest in the regime of Louis XIII had also been a devotee of Alexandre Dumas' *Three Musketeers* and its many sequels. I have learned better: scorn for the novelist among early modern historians is widespread. Yet many of the adventures of d'Artagnan, his colleagues and his enemies depended on a use of eye-witness documentary accounts, culled from scholarly editions of these documents that were published for the first time in the nineteenth century.

In any event, I found the documents themselves were even more interesting than the novels and of course my interpretation of the characters of Louis and Richelieu is quite different from that of Dumas. It is not at all clear, however, that this prolific and imaginative writer in his characterizations of the king and the cardinal has been less successful than either Tapié or Romain.

FROM THE SOURCES

USE OF CHILDREN IN RELIGIOUS PROCESSIONS:

Florence (1513):

"... after these came the cart representing the triumph of the golden age. From the middle of the cart rose a great sphere in the form of a globe upon which lay the figure of a prostrate man armed with rusty weapons. Emerging from a fissure in the man's back was a young boy, completely nude and gilded, who symbolized the return of the golden age and the end of the age of iron ... I will not omit saying that the little gilded angel, who was a baker's son, died a short time later from the discomfort he suffered earning a few coins."

Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' Piu Eccellenti Pittori Scultori e Architettori* (Novara, 1967), Vol. 6, p. 152. Translated and submitted by Bruce F. Morrison.

continued

Messina (1830s):

"A colossal car is dragged by a long team of buffaloes through the irregular and ill-paved streets. Upon this are erected a great variety of objects, such as the sun, moon, and principal planets, set in rotary motion, and diminishing proportionately in size as they approach the summit of the structure.

This erection is in itself really imposing; sumptuously decorated, and put in movement in honour of her who gave birth to the God of Charity. But its functions recall to mind the famed car of Juggernaut, or the nefarious hecatombs of the Druids. The heart sickens at sight of it, and it is difficult to refrain from crying shame upon the horrible barbarity; for, to the rays of sun and moon, to the circles forming the spheres of the various planets, are infants yet unweaned, whose mothers, for the gain of a few ducats, thus expose their offspring, to represent the cherub escort which is supposed to accompany the Virgin to heaven.

When this huge machine has made its jolting round, these helpless creatures, guiltless of every reproach but that of being the offspring of brutal mothers, having been whirled round and found for a period of seven hours, are taken down from this fatal machine, already dead or dying. Then ensues a scene impossible to describe—the mothers struggling with each other, screaming, and trampling each other down. It not being possible, on account of the number, for each mother to recognize her own child among the survivors, one disputes with the other the identity of her infant, amid a storm of imprecations and the lamentations of the more afflicted, joined to the deafening derision of the spectators, and the hooting of the mob. Numbers are thus changed in the confusion. The less fortunate mothers, as they receive the dead bodies of their infants, often already cold, rend the air with their fictitious lamentations, but consoled with the certainty that Maria, enamoured of her child, has taken it with her into Paradise. Comforted with such a conviction, they enjoy themselves in making merry with the women of the neighbourhood until the whole of the money so obtained, the 'price of blood,' is dissipated, never doubting that the priesthood will furnish additional aid in memory of their little ones thus gloriously received into Elysium."

Memoirs of Henrietta Caracciolo. London, 1865, pp. 14-15. Submitted by Priscilla Robertson.

Growing Up in New China: A Twist in the Circle of Filial Piety

DAVID M.
RADDOCK

Irreverence (for parents)—this is inseparable from
the national spirit since 'Liberation' . . .

—respondent Liu K'e-chung II-3

The traditional stereotype of the authority-dependent, impassive and "filial" child is uncharacteristic of youth in today's China. An intensive interviewing project conducted by Professor Raddock in Hong Kong in 1971-1972 demonstrated that while the concept of filiality is sustained to keep the family intact as a basic building block of society, it has been so convoluted as to encourage the development of the rebellious child.

His core research consisted of interviewing some thirty-five male respondents, all emigres from the People's Republic of China in the wake of the Cultural Revolution. These young refugees, ranging in age from sixteen to twenty-five, had been students in Cantonese middle schools and universities before the Cultural Revolution. He interviewed each person in Chinese from eight to sixteen hours (four to eight sessions). Although uniformly structured according to certain basic lines of questioning, the interview format was quasi-psychoanalytic in its lassitude. Encouraging free association, it often produced indicators quite impossible to anticipate in a tight, preconceived questionnaire. In this article, he draws from the direct, verbatim testimony of his interviewees.

In order to appreciate the effect of the Chinese revolutionary experience on intra-family behavior and the political implications of these changes, one must first seek to understand the underlying political and psychological significance of the filial principle.

Filial Piety was the normative stifler of rebellion. According to the *Analects* of Confucius:

Master Yu said, Those who in private life behave well toward their parents and elder brothers, in public life seldom show a disposition to resist the authority of their superiors. And as for such men starting a revolution, no instance of it has ever occurred.¹

Apparently it was felt that rebelliousness and conformity are molded in the home. Proper family socialization was regarded as the main bulwark against political upheaval. A child was expected to repress his natural desire to replace his father; he was to avoid any sort of rebellion, even during adolescence. Ultimately, such subservience would be rewarded by the opportunity for the mature individual to apply the same restrictive values to his own children, thus completing the generational cycle. One was to be completely submissive to one's superior and authoritarian with a subordinate. Disobedience to father or father-surrogate in a social hierarchy at the pinnacle of which sat the emperor was regarded as a flagrant breach of morality. Submissiveness to superordinate was the ideological cement binding the social structure and protecting the emperor's chain of command.

The notion of the repression of adolescent revolt is virtually inimical to the behavioral norms of present Western society. But in the *Analects*, when Meng Yi asked what filial devotion meant, the Master said: "Never Disobey!"² The autonomy of the child was held in check, inducing a dependency relationship with the father. The mourning ritual reflected this syndrome. Although the state *ethos* permitted an official to shorten the normal period of three years' mourning for a deceased parent, a 'gentleman' was not supposed to be capable of overcoming his *natural* grief in less than three years. The reason was that it was "not until three years of age that a child was allowed to leave the arms of his parents."³ Thus, the successful adult was expected to re-enact his infantile dependency on his parents, the stage characterized by a merging of selves between mother and child and an under-developed Ego.⁴ The regression to childhood dependency is depicted in a story in the *Twenty-four Tales of Filial Piety*, an opus which reached a far wider audience of common people than the Confucian Classics. As the story goes:

The very filial Lao Lai-tsu was born in the State of Ch'u at the time of the Chou Dynasty. He provided lavishly for his father and mother. And although he was seventy years of age, he would not concede that he was old. Clad in five-colored garments, he

played children's games and danced beside his parents. He would also carry water to their front hall, and by pretending childishly to fall to the ground, he would amuse his parents and make them happy.⁵

What is pathological in the Western social ambience was normal in traditional Chinese social behavior. In its purest form, filial piety was never to be a matter of mere ritual but a genuinely emotional act. Speaking to people in a period of social and political anomie and upheaval, the *Analects* stated:

Filial sons nowadays are people who see to it that their parents get enough to eat. But dogs and horses likewise are able to do something in the way of support. Without respect, wherein lies the difference?⁶

Affection for a parent was considered inseparable from reverence for the authority figure. According to the *Hsiao Ching* (one of the thirteen Confucian Classics), "the feeling of affection grows up at the parents' knees and as [the duty of] nourishing those parents is exercised, the affection daily merges in awe."⁷ This phenomenon is also reflected in a popular tale of a grown daughter who suckled her toothless mother-in-law to keep her alive.⁸ Still another tale tells of a middle-aged son who was informed that his ailing father would pass the crisis if the old man's feces were found to be bitter in taste; the son, who proceeded to eat them, broke into sobs when he discovered the sweetness of the stools.⁹

Unless it is found that the Chinese people have a psychological growth unique to themselves, one must seek hypotheses to explain at least partially the mechanisms in traditional Chinese society which could cope with the natural proclivities of a maturing child to autonomy and rebelliousness.

One technique seems to have been the aloofness of the father, characterized by his emotional withdrawal from a son as the latter approached manhood or joined a milieu autonomous from the closed family. Observing a rural family in China in 1949, Martin Yang noted that when the boy was old enough to help in the fields, father and son worked together and walked together quite often. However, by the time the boy reached age fifteen,¹⁰ "the father assumed a more dignified attitude toward him and [was] frequently severe." The son felt uncomfortable in the company of his father and preferred to work with the other men. When father and son did work together, they had nothing to say to one another.¹¹ Certainly the widening of the distance between father and son mitigates against conflict or rebellion.¹²

In a Taiwanese village, which modernizing influences from the West are first beginning to penetrate, the father today withdraws from his son by the time the boy is in his sixth year and enters primary school.

Before then, a father will indulge a child by allowing the boy to sleep on his lap as he converses with neighbors or by playing with him, as a "master plays with a dog" rather than as a partner in a game in the Western sense.¹³ Suddenly, when the child enters school exposing himself to a new social environment, the father radically withdraws and demands immediate and strict obedience from the son. Taiwanese fathers say: 'You cannot be your son's friend and correct his behavior.'¹⁴ Only by establishing a well-defined vertical relationship with a maturing child and thereby putting himself out of range of the child and well above him does the Taiwanese father feel assured that he will be obeyed.

The same radical turn to aloofness toward son which characterized the father in the traditional, and perhaps more cohesive, village of pre-Communist China now is manifest in the Taiwanese father when his son arrives at age six or seven and exposes himself to an alternate socialization milieu and new role identity. The father fears that the closer subordinate is to superordinate, the greater the likelihood of mutual competition and pressure for upward mobility being exerted from below.¹⁵

Analyzing the traditional social system in terms of either the recent past or the supposed residue of traditional features in the present is methodologically impure. Nevertheless, the method allows us to make inferences about the distant past which further illumine the broad social dynamics reflected in the historical record and corpus of intellectual thought. The psychologist will ask: "If cultural sanctions prevented the release of Oedipal and rage hostility against father or father-surrogates in the past, through which channels could the anger gain expression"? I have turned to several of the more 'traditional' refugees I interviewed (characterized by a vertical, authoritarian father-son relationship) to demonstrate how the social system might have re-directed anti-authority hostility in the past.

In cases of repressed hostility against father in an anger-provoking situation, I have noted that the male child sometimes trains his aggression on a younger sibling. It is interesting that the second filial relationship in the old Confucian *ethos* was between older and younger brother. Elder brother Liu, one of the youths interviewed recently in Hong Kong, provides the following account of an otherwise submissive reaction to parental scolding:

If my parents weren't at home, I would scold my brother and sister. Sometimes when my parents were home, they said I was bad. As soon as they were gone, I would erupt in anger and there was no one to give a damn. But when my mother and father spoke to me, not one sound came out of me; all I could express on the surface was a bit of dissatisfaction.¹⁶

Thus, the hostility felt toward the authoritarian father could be sublimated in play-acting 'authoritarian father' to a younger brother or sister. One strict father even encouraged academic competition between his sons, playing one off against the other.¹⁷ The provision of such in-built channels for the release of hostility *within the family* probably would also have been further protection against the possible re-direction of hostility for father against authority-figures in the social and political environment.¹⁸

It is also possible to hypothesize that anger denied outlets might have been *suppressed*, the individual still possessing partial or complete consciousness of his unexpressed hostility. Self-restraint, perhaps involuntary, would develop as a defense against the tyranny of the culture and its internalized norms. The screen between the conscious and the unconscious would be perhaps less opaque than in a Western culture, and the line between unconscious and conscious suppression would be less distinct. For example, a Western acquaintance of mine in Hong Kong once perceived his *Amah* (servant) muttering angrily under her breath at him. Disturbed over what he considered a personal affront in the presence of a guest, he confronted her openly. "I didn't say anything," she responded. "Then I didn't hear you muttering angrily?" he asked. Bewildered and apparently aghast that he had entered her private world, she replied: "I was just thinking to myself." One refugee respondent, the youngest and most neglected of three sons in a rigidly vertical parent-son relationship, stated that he was the only child in his family to ever protest his father's harsh discipline—"internally, like mumbling in a low, inaudible voice."¹⁹ The changes in the expression of hostility, varying in intensity and directness of focus, among the post-revolutionary generation will be discussed in greater detail presently. Suffice it to say here that the anger, which we often imagine the traditional Chinese must have unconsciously repressed in the Western psychological sense, might have been closer to the surface of the Chinese personality and there remained until changes in the culture began to permit the individual to seek more vocal, conscious and direct expression.

Whereas the old social system provided values and possibly concrete mechanisms for the repression or suppression of rebelliousness *in the family first*, the prolonged revolutionary process itself gradually removed the legitimating *ethos* and the gentry officials in whom it was incarnate, and gnawed away at the devices for maintaining rigid stratification within the family. Bit by bit, the social revolution of the last century and a half has liberated energies at the base of society which have fed into the continuing process of social and political change. Moreover, in a non-static society, role models become more diffuse and behavioral norms are often mutually contradictory. Continuity between

generations is broken. When a society is still fairly static and relatively simple, parents appropriately raise their children to be like them in central ways.²⁰ But when adult roles are undergoing rapid change separated from the range of choices encouraged by the family, and when the elder generation is further discredited as 'backward,' the son's natural tendency to rebel may be exacerbated by value and role confusion.

A political observer in Hong Kong during the early 1950's came to know a young refugee who had become disillusioned with the restrictions of the Communist system but nonetheless had gone through his own form of rebellion against the previous generation. Growing up between the May Fourth Movement and the Communist revolution, this educated young man firmly believed that the older generation was not only irrelevant but had been plagued with bad habits that had impeded social progress. In Hong Kong, while he was writing a novel about the value conflict between generations, he ironically assumed the full traditional role and burdensome obligations of head of the family.²¹ What made this contradiction all the more extraordinary was that the young fellow was assuming this burden because of the outmoded act of his recently deceased paternal grandfather. His grandfather, whose eldest son had died, had by-passed his younger sons and adopted his grandson, making him technically next in line of succession. For an understanding of the young man's decision to defer to this custom, one need only consider the plot of the novel on which he was working. Beneath the moralizing about the old and new generations was a story about a triangular love affair among father, father's young concubine and son. The son apparently hoped to replace the father all along; social and political values gave content to a basic and natural father-son competition.

Current norms in the People's Republic of China [PRC] continue to foster such rebelliousness and re-channel these energies, perhaps on a more enduring basis, into the acquisition of a new set of values and political participation. The instrument of repression within the family is corroding in the new environment. But the corrosion began earlier.

THE ASSAULT OF THE MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT

Even before modern times, there were indications of the vulgarization and ritualization of filial piety. *The Twenty-four Tales of Filial Piety*, written during the Yüan Dynasty (1279 to 1368 A.D.) had already introduced the concept of material reward for filial service. Illustrated serials in the market place reflected the replacement of filial affection with ritualized acts of obeisance.²²

By the end of the nineteenth century, reformers began to inveigh against filiality, asserting that it was an instrument for making China a "factory" which manufactured obedient citizens.²³ The climax of the

campaign against filial piety was the May Fourth Movement, a cultural renaissance and national self-discovery which lasted from about 1915 through the early twenties. The nucleus of the movement was the academic community in the major universities. Even non-Communist, American-educated Dr. Hu Shih bemoaned filiality, declaring in verse:

In reality I wanted no son . . .
But you have come
I shall have to feed and teach you
This is my obligation to humanity
It is not a special favor to you.²⁴

The Communists, first organizing at Peking University during the May Fourth Movement, regarded filiality as the root moral cause of dependency on the old system. Ch'en Tu-hsiu, chairman of the Literature Department and one of the organizers of the Chinese Communist Party [CCP], asserted:

There are three sacred virtues under this (Confucian) Doctrine: *Chung* (loyalty), *Hsiao* (filiality) and *chieh* (chastity), which are morals of a slave and not of an independent person. The conduct of a man should be self-centered; therefore, every act of a slave is dependent on someone else. Those who proudly regard themselves as the youth of 1916 should struggle to get rid of this dependency and to restore their independent personalities.²⁵

For the Communist intellectuals, liberation of the country and people had to be preceded by the liberation of the individual. Cried Li Ta-chao, co-founder of the Communist Chinese Party and Mao Tse-tung's boss at the Peking University Library:

Now is the time for Liberation! The sound of liberation daily pierces our eardrums But I consider the foundation of all liberation to rest in the liberation of the spirit. We feel that all unhappiness and insecurity in the lives of all people is due to the fact that many systems have been used to cut everyone off from his fellow men. . . .²⁶

Alienated from their own society in the cause of progress, these new intellectuals quite naturally justified their own individuality and isolation by a plea to others to break the hold of the family.²⁷ But a more important aspect of this demand for reform within the family was the objective insight it reflected. These early Communist mentors saw the need to cut through vertical stratification of society to create a horizontal system of social relations; only then could the necessary framework for political unity be established. "As for the family," wrote Li Ta-chao in 1920, "formerly it was the head of the family who controlled the family; the children were controlled by the fathers and elder brothers. . . Now the children must cast off the power of the head of the family . . .

leave the home and enter a youth organization . . . and change it into a horizontal organization. . . Only after there is a horizontal organization can the individuality of the lower level attain a spirit of mutual help and unite into a great power to resist those in power. . . From this we can see that our movement is a movement to smash the vertical structure. Our reform movement is a movement to establish a horizontal organization."²⁸

The fathers of the Communist movement in China were profoundly aware of the significance of the old filial bond as a deterrent to rebellion and the formation of horizontal unions. The act of revolution itself required united action against father and father-surrogates (political and social elite). And the values forged in that act are now seeping into the post-revolutionary process of family socialization. Political participation is predicated on a certain amount of individual autonomy and is drawing both father and son into a transactional relationship.

OFFICIAL POLICY ON FILIALITY SINCE LIBERATION

The family today is still the fundamental organization for the young person in society; it is a building block for psychological attitudes and a *representational world*²⁹ that will help determine his relation to society. The problem posed for the family in the PRC is reflected in this statement from a very alienated youth:

The scope of loyalty to nation is rather large and abstract. There is no way of expressing it in reality. Loyalty to family is rather more concrete.³⁰

The family must serve as the first socializing agent in assisting the child to adapt to society.

The official policy of the Communist regime on the question of filiality has varied. It almost seems as though the leadership has been trying to manipulate the tensions within the family. At one stage, the government liberates rebelliousness and encourages broad, horizontal unity in political movement against father and father-surrogates; at another moment, it attempts to bolster the vertical family relationship in order to restore general obedience to authority. The likely result of manipulating this 'contradiction' is that with each successive encouragement of generational cleavage and with the perpetual re-emphasis of political over family loyalties, the vertical relationship in the home can never be restored to its earlier rigidity. *Moreover, such post-revolutionary institutional and normative changes as the abolishment of private ownership of the means of production, state-paid education and other reforms, and the encouragement of the younger generation to con-*

sider itself ideologically purer for having been educated under a socialist system, also work against the maintenance of a vertical family relationship.

During the early 1950's, as the regime waged the "three anti," "five anti" campaigns against the old economic and bureaucratic elites, children were actively encouraged to inform on and publicly denounce their fathers.³¹ In one instance, the Youth League [YCL] asked the children of a university president to assist them in "struggling" (*tou-cheng*) their father. The sons refused, but the one daughter acquiesced. The Youth Leaguers persuaded the girl to accuse her father during a small group meeting. She cried and called him *by his first name*.³²

Then from October 1956 to early 1957, in an obvious effort to pull in the reins, the Chinese government exhorted young people to love and support their parents. Reaching a crescendo in late 1956, articles in Chinese periodicals urged young people to respect and care for parents. In the school the authority of the teacher was reasserted.³³ One article directly attributed the "mistaken conceptions" on the part of youth to new social reforms and the changes in family relationships.³⁴ The same article also noted that "because of differences in the mentality and habits of the old and young, there (were) also encountered instances of family disputes."³⁵

Notwithstanding these efforts to preserve filiality, the government did not advocate the restoration of the old-style filial dependency relationship. The former relationship was deemed feudal and conducive only to a general subservience to feudal forces. "Not only was social progress impeded," stated the new authorities, "but ties of genuine love between the parents and children could not be established."³⁶ Children now were urged to restrain themselves and continue to respect their parents not by suppressing their own identities but by developing a *sympatico* with the parental role and a sense that the generational turn-over would take place in good time. Young people were implored to follow respectfully the natural generational cycle—the filial circle. As Yao Yuan-fang emphasized in his article in *Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien*:

Parents and children, mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law all constitute a level of the perpetuation of human life. Children today will be parents in the future. Young people who are not yet parents will be parents soon. If we would thus make comparisons and put ourselves in the places of our parents and be adept in sympathizing with their special mentality, we shall easily understand how best to treat our parents.³⁷

Despite the modifications in the post-revolutionary version of filiality urged in the late 1950's, the campaign to re-install parental respect seemed to be unsuccessful. According to an article in *Jen-min Jih-pao* (People's Daily) in late 1956, some of the youths did not respond

readily to the campaign. They asked why they should be criticized for neglecting filial piety when they were only fighting against the outmoded practices of feudal society.³⁸

Indeed, on political questions, youths could still legitimate their rebelliousness in terms of loyalty to the State and Party. Even the articles in the press distinguished clearly between the exercise of normal filial duties and the reprehensible placing of "personal feeling between parent and children above revolutionary interests."³⁹ In other words, parents could take command *only in those areas where politics didn't!* In answer to certain cadres' requests to be transferred to their home towns in order to better care for their parents, *Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien* stated that previous exhortations to respect and care for parents had been predicated on the assumption that such private acts would not interfere with the primary interests of the State.⁴⁰

Even in its ardent effort to restore order in the parent-child relationship, the government equivocated with regard to 'bad class' or bourgeois families. In response to a rash of letters on the question of how to treat relatives of bad class, the editorial board of *Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien* laid down these guidelines. If a father was a *reformed* landlord or counter-revolutionary, the child was urged to adopt a benevolent, supportive attitude toward him. Much was made of the child's role in actively accelerating the political reform of landlord or counter-revolutionary fathers. At the same time, children of such parentage were told to draw a clear line of demarcation (*huach'ing chieh-hsien*) between *their parents and themselves* and fight their parents' reactionary behavior and thought. The article implicitly suggested that in cases where a child's continued relationship with an unrelentingly "reactionary" parent was deleterious to the child's own political development, sustained contact with these parents was perhaps not in one's best interest.⁴¹

Thus, the rebellion of the child from a bourgeois family was virtually sanctioned by the system. An overly dependent child of bad class parentage was warned about his parents' politically pernicious influence. And in 1964, when class background became so important and even the petit-bourgeois middle-classes became stigmatized by the emphasis on the politically red blood-line, non-red children were urged to struggle actively against the bourgeois residue in their parents' set of values. They were exhorted to break with their parents altogether. In an article entitled, "Break Family Ties and Be a Good Child of the Proletariat," the heroine volunteers to *hsia-hsiang* (go to the countryside for manual labor and education from the peasantry) rather than sit for the university matriculation examinations. She proudly declares to her dismayed, intellectual and elitist father, who had promised to "love her more" if she only complied with his wishes for her: "I am not a submissive person. I do not want to please anyone without any principle."⁴²

TOWARD A MORE HORIZONTAL FATHER-SON RELATIONSHIP

Fostered by the environmental strains on the filial bond, the positive effects of the strong peer group and the normative sanction of the young person's autonomy and mobility, the increased stature of this new generation is changing the standards of behavior within the family.

The father now often feels constrained to temper his behavior toward children to accord with the pressures and cues he perceives in the environment. Creatures of the past, parents seem defensive about their background and tend to limit their own role as socializers of the young in a new, radically changing society. A bad class parent in particular is often afraid to discuss politics. Shih Chi-t'ang interprets his own father's reluctance to discuss political questions in this manner:

I was young. As I got older, I would receive a Communist education. If he were to discuss his inner thoughts with us, we would not be able to get through the education on the Mainland. . .⁴³

Apparently, class background or a possibly more widespread feeling of generational obsolescence were not the sole determinants of a father's self-restraint in teaching his offspring. As one respondent views the problem, the father perceives that his own role in the socialization process has been impaired:

Now parents have no confidence to teach their children because the children seem to belong to the nation. As soon as they are graduated, they participate in manual work and go to the countryside. Most parents merely instruct their children not to fight or learn bad things, and that's all. They all lack the confidence to raise (cultivate) their children.⁴⁴

It seems that, at most, the father's role is supposed to be one of helpmate to the government in the education of a child. "If the government wants your son to go to the village, you must assist the government in persuading your son," said Nieh Li-chih, commenting on the secondary role of his father.⁴⁵ This come-down is reminiscent of the new Orthodox priest in the Soviet Union, who now serves the regime as a sort of ancillary opinion molder. Another illustration of the reduced role of the parent in New China concerns a mother, who had divorced her husband earlier when he fled to Hong Kong with the Nationalists' exit, and essentially had been mother and father to her child. Her mischievous little son playfully made a pun of a popular slogan concerning "Labor Models" (*lau-tung mo-fan*) by chanting to his primary school seat-mate, "Labor Models have nothing to eat" (*lau-tung mo-fan mei-you fan*; in Cantonese, *mei-you fan* and *mo-fan* sound alike). Confronted by the child's teacher and listening to her complaint, the mother scolded and beat the boy. After the teacher left, the mother admonished the child,

emphatically stating: "Hereafter, you are forbidden to say such things: the new society requires Orthodox education!"⁴⁶

Whether or not a parent is sensitive and responsive to the new environmental cues, the child becomes aware of them and may use them as reference points for his own family situation and as justification for disobedience to parents under certain circumstances. Ch'iao was critical of his mother (his father had fled with the Nationalists before Liberation, and his mother had got a divorce) even when he was a small child. "Her bad side was that she received the old education; if children didn't obey, she would punish them," he says now.⁴⁷ Although the opinion is retrospective, it indicates some insight into their relationship and self-awareness at the time of the experience. Ch'iao frequently rebelled openly against the strict, early discipline of his mother. Possibly responding to the new environment and/or pressure from her children, "when she saw [he'd] got a bit older, she wanted to give [him] some self-respect,"⁴⁸ and suddenly abandoned her role as disciplinarian or authority.

The child in the first post-revolutionary generation in China could also find environmental reinforcement for disobeying an ideologically erroneous parent. Shih Chi-t'ang states:

Before Liberation, the influence of the family was greater. There was a change in the situation after Liberation. One had to obey Chairman Mao's teaching, *but one didn't necessarily have to obey one's parents*. . . Many parents hadn't been educated the proper way. Educating their children to be like them was incorrect. . . If what the parent says is correct and coincides with the laws of social development, then we ought to obey. But if what the parents say is incorrect and of no use to you later, then you can disobey.⁴⁹

Hence, a breach or even subjectively perceived breach in Shih's case in the uniformity of the inculcation of values in home and society can become a justification for disobeying parents. Asked what his reaction would be if his parent attempted to prohibit him from taking part in the Cultural Revolution, Ch'iao replies:

If my parent could explain to me concretely, I would obey him. Nevertheless, my own personal experience with this sort of movement and the education derived therefrom would run deeper than what he or she said to me.⁵⁰

Parents in today's China frequently seem to their sons to be bereft of power. As Ch'iao points out, children need not fear that as a result of 'struggling' with their parents "they will be beaten, and bound by a tradition that no longer exists."⁵¹ Ch'iao would even feel justified in argu-

ing outright with a teacher (father-surrogate) if he feels his own position is correct.⁵² Often, in cases of conflicting values between home and school, a parent will not react to the opposition of his son; he "will realize that the entire style of society has changed and that society now teaches children this new set of values."⁵³

Of course, not all parent-son relationships have become so open. Nearly as many relationships represented in this pool of respondents remained vertical, and authority-dependent, two or three rigidly so. But even some of these vertical relationships are characterized by a mutual awareness between father and son of the new environmental perquisites, and a few seem to have been bending toward change. The mere recognition on the part of the child that arbitrarily authoritarian demands from the father are pathological in terms of the new social context is a step toward the breakdown of vertical relationships in the home. It is meaningful that a respondent, who asserts that his father was "very tyrannical and strict," adds the phrase, "... *and very feudal*."⁵⁴

Reflecting an apparent trend toward a more open relationship between parent and child is the notably overt and direct expression of hostility toward parents. From an early age onward, children in the first generation reared since the Communist revolution typically give vent to their anger fairly freely. Varying in form and intensity, hostile reactions to an anger-provoking situation involving parent and child are characteristic of all but two people in the pool of respondents. And not one person is unaware of his anger, even if not always openly expressed. Contrary to other impressions about Chinese people, rage reactions in childhood are seldom totally repressed. Hence, the outsider's image of rebellion in China, in any social milieu, as the explosion of a pressurized container seems to be inaccurate.⁵⁵

Anger toward parents is expressed directly, but in various ways. As a small boy, Ch'iao often responded to his mother's scolding by slamming the door or throwing a book.⁵⁶ Once, when she blamed him for a quarrel with his older brother when he was not really at fault, he resisted her beating by grabbing hold of her hands.⁵⁷ A more passive, but just as direct, form of protest is abstention from eating. Such a form of expression is common, even in vertical relationships. The choice of refusing to eat as a frequent means of expressing hostility toward a mother is interesting.⁵⁸ Symbolically, it seems to represent the re-enactment of the infant's pulling away from his mother's breast and thus, even in a vertical relationship, seems to contradict the notion that a child is masochistically submissive in the face of parental punishment. The Chinese child today does not unconsciously respond to parental punishment by regressing to infantile dependency and the merging of selves, as both Soloman and Pye argue.⁵⁹ On the contrary, he enacts his autonomy by refusing food!⁶⁰

Another common reaction to parental punishment is to retaliate against a parent's discipline by leaving home for the night or even a day or two to stay at a neighbor's or friend's home. P'eng once ran away, adamant about not returning until his mother came after him and capitulated first.⁶¹ About five youths in a pool of thirty-five respondents state that they would have considered leaving home permanently as young children if their punishment had been frequent and arbitrary or unjust; these youngsters would feel the backwardness of their parents would not be socially condoned.⁶²

Among those who do not choose to protest parental punishment directly and overtly, at a given time or because of a permanent personality trait, the typical reaction to an anger-provoking situation involving parent(s) is the *internal* refusal to capitulate (*pu fu-ch'i*). This attitude is manifested by feigning disinterest⁶³ or mumbling under one's breath.⁶⁴ Such a suppression of overt rage, accompanied by an awareness of one's anger and an internal resistance to the hostility-provoking object, might have been, as averred earlier, a psychological defense already operative among traditional Chinese as well. But I feel that the willingness and readiness to recall these feelings in later years represents an important departure from the traditional *stereotype* of the emotionally impassive, apparently repressed, Chinese. The youngest, most neglected and therefore most manipulative of three brothers in an intellectual household (father a professor), Huang San proudly states that he was "never as obedient as [his] brothers." How did he rebel against his severe father?

I'd express it in my mind—like mumbling in a low voice.⁶⁵

But at times he also found himself in open confrontation with either or both of his parents.⁶⁶

The notion that a Chinese child will sacrifice his autonomy in order to masochistically obtain the attention of his father or superordinate does not seem to address itself properly to developmental trends in the personality of individuals brought up since the Communist revolution.⁶⁷ All but one person in my group of informants—a worker's son—feel that a father who scolds his child publicly is undermining his "self-respect."⁶⁸ This response was elicited from relating to them the famous story, in Edgar Snow's biography of Mao Tse-tung, of the thirteen year old Mao's reaction to his father's scolding him in front of the neighbors; Mao flew into a rage and threatened to commit suicide by jumping in the pond. Of course, I never told the respondents the name of the character in the story, and only one or two of them had ever heard it before. Under such circumstances, most feel anger is warranted because, as Shih Chi-t'ang puts it, "in thirteen year olds self-respect is strong."⁶⁹

Dignity, integrity and self-respect in the cultural context of New China seem to signify increased autonomy for this generation of young

Chinese. Young Ch'iao, who balked at his mother's heavy-handed treatment of him when he was a small child, comments on his autonomy by the time he reached Primary Six (approximately age thirteen):

Possibly she (mother) saw that we had gotten a bit older, and she wanted to give us our self-respect.⁷⁰

Commenting on the rage reaction of the thirteen year old in the Mao story, Ch'iao notes:

If this had occurred a few decades ago during the feudal-traditional period, one should feel it was strange behavior. But in our era, everything has gone through a lot of change from before. People would not be afraid that because they struggled angrily with their parents, they would be beaten, and bound by a tradition that no longer exists.⁷¹

If a child feels unduly restrained, he may rebel in small ways. As a pre-adolescent, P'eng was forbidden to use the family bicycle. He had just learned how to ride it. Since no one else used it, he wanted to take it to school. However, P'eng met with resistance:

Mother wouldn't let me. I lost my temper and afterward surreptitiously rode it to school. The next day, I wrote a letter home explaining myself.⁷²

This seems to be a clear assertion of self-autonomy and a defiance of the force seeking to restrain it.

Juvenile or pre-adolescent hostility is not merely characterized by rage reactions or indirect defiance, but can also assume the form of constructive debate between child and parent. Yang feels that in a situation of unjust punishment, he would argue with his father or mother. He recalls that his family superiors often focussed on his weak points and ignored his assets, and this made him angry.⁷³ One respondent's reaction to the Mao story is that he would wait until both he and his father were back inside the house, and then openly confront his parent.⁷⁴

The justification for debating parental demands is found in the environmental sanction of dialectical 'struggle'. Hence, this reaction to the Mao story:

If this child wanted his father to stop saying he was lazy, the best method would have been to put more of an effort into what he did later on. If this child had been unjustly accused, he should have argued with his father. *Everyone debate, this is the best method.* If it was in front of others, he should still not be afraid. *Debate—because there is only one truth! . . . threatening . . . is very ignorant.*⁷⁵

Bolstering the child's Ego and giving further psychological support to his individual autonomy is the acknowledgment on the part of some

modern fathers of their maturing sons' independent achievements. In contradistinction to practices in a more traditional Chinese society where a child's achievement in school is answered only by the negative threat of a beating if he doesn't continue to do as well,⁷⁶ a father in the People's Republic of China will often celebrate his son's accomplishments and reward him for them. An otherwise strict disciplinarian, Hsu Ta-liang's father bought his son new clothes and took him out to a tea-house to celebrate young Hsu's success on the upper middle school matriculation examination. Although he did not use words to compliment his son, the father's pleasure was obvious to his son.⁷⁷ One father even went to the extreme—previously considered uncouth—of praising his son outright in front of others.⁷⁸ It might also be argued that this behavioral change is a symptom of the father's growing feeling of power-loss and his consequent need to bolster his father role and credit himself with his son's progress. Whatever the motivation, this trend away from traditional severity and aloofness serves to strengthen the self-identity of today's youth.⁷⁹

The developmental trend in the relationship between parent and child since the revolution is perhaps best summed up by Li Cheng's words:

In reality, if (father) respects you, you respect him. If he doesn't respect you, then you don't respect him. This is very realistic and natural.⁸⁰

Nearly forty-two percent (No. 14) of the total number of respondents have relations with their parents that can be characterized as open, more-or-less horizontal, and approaching a one-to-one basis.⁸¹ The number is almost exactly equally divided between those of class enemy background (children of landlords, capitalists and KMT) and middle class parentage (sons of petit-bourgeois businessmen, professionals, and intellectuals); one of the three "reds," a peasant, had a very open relationship with his father, a Brigade leader. In contrast, a recent, tentative study on urban elite youths in Taiwan shows that only one respondent in twelve, in a heavily westernized milieu, admits to a situation of interpersonal 'give and take' with his father.⁸²

In the Confucian past, the young person who rebelled against his father and severed his ties with his family was considered to have committed an "act of moral violence."⁸³ Ironically, it was just such persons who often became leaders and innovators. Characters like young Mao and the rebellious son in the *House of Lim* attained to commanding roles in society. The general spread of youth in today's China seem to be moving in this same direction. No longer in a position of swimming against the mainstream of society, they perhaps are not as free as the alienated rebels of the past. But neither are they as likely to revert to

their parents' values as long as an alternate identity is now available to them.

The relatively autonomous individual in society can make greater contributions than the rigidly dependent follower. As long as a person's identity with the new evolving value system remains unbroken, it does not necessarily pose a threat to the equilibrium of the polity and society.⁸⁴ To the extent that disequilibrium results, let us say, from youth participation in the Cultural Revolution, it stems from the over-inflation of the self, the eagerness of the youth to replace social and political authorities, and subjective interpretations of the values of the regime.

David Raddock, an Assistant Professor of Political Science at The University of Texas at Dallas, is preparing a book based on his work in Hong Kong on the psychosocial dynamics of adolescent political behavior during the Chinese Cultural Revolution. He is also planning an analysis of the psychological design and impact of political word signals in current usage in China.

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4. For discussion of infantile "Merging of selves," see Sigmund Freud *Civilization and Its Discontents* (New York: Norton, 1961) pp. 14-16; "Negation" (1925), Standard Edition.
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7. Hsiao Ching (Classic of Filial Piety), translated by James Legge, *Sacred Books of the East*, Edited by F. Max Muller, Vol. III, Part I, (Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1966), p. 478. *Italics mine.*
8. Mischa Titiev, *op. cit.*, p. 266.
9. *Ibid.*
10. In Traditional China, the childhood period, known as *Yu-nien shih-ch'i* lasted from age five to age fifteen or so. Before then, a child was still a toddler; afterward a *ch'ing-nien* (youth). See Marion J. Levy, Jr., *The Family Revolution in Modern China* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), *passim*.
11. Martin Yang, *A Chinese Village* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 57-58 ff.
12. Cf. Levy, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
13. Margery Wolf, "Child Training and the Chinese Family," in *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*, edited by M. Freedman (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), pp. 40-41.
14. Margery Wolf, *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan* (Stanford: Stanford

University Press, 1972), p. 67.

15. Wolf too feels that one purpose of this type of relationship is that it protects a weak and faltering (mentally and physically) father from being challenged early by a son seeking concrete justification for asserting authority. I concur in this hypothesis, but would go further in emphasizing the psychological need of the superordinate to keep a safe distance above a social rival. Cf. Margery Wolf, "Child Training and the Chinese Family," *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.
It has been shown that the closer two social animals are on the status scale, the greater the potential for rivalry and competition between them. Hence, the 'pecking order'. (See, for example, Konrad Lorenz, *On Aggression* (New York: Bantam, 1966), *passim*.)
16. Liu K'e-chung II-2. All respondents thus cited have been assigned pseudonyms. Verbatim interview protocols in Chinese are available on special request from the author.
17. Chou Chung-wong I-19.
One sometimes sees in a Chinese family that the youngest son, denied the outlet of venting hostility against a subordinate, often is more indulged by his parents, and exhibits tendencies of being far more manipulative and aggressive toward older sibling(s). See Margery Wolf, "Child Training and the Chinese Family," *op. cit.*, 53 and *passim*; also cases of respondents Lo Ping-kok and Lo Ping-wen (brothers). Traditionally prescribed norms of filiality between younger and older brothers were not rigidly applied in reality. See Marion Levy, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 187.
18. I have found that when children today are compelled to restrain themselves altogether in the home and maintain total silence because of a very hostile social environment due to their family's bad class background, their anger is directed outward.
19. Huang San I-9.
20. Kenneth Keniston, *The Uncommitted* (New York: Dell, 1965) p. 202.
21. A. Doak Barnett, "Old and New," Institute of Current World Affairs: Letters from Hong Kong, #4, March 1954.
22. Ai-li Chin, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
23. Wu Yu (Born 1874), as quoted in Ai-li Chin, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
24. Mischa Titiev, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
25. *Hsin Ch'ing-nien* (New Youth), Vol. II, 4, 1916.
26. *Hsin Ch'ing-nien*, February 8, 1920, in *Selected Works of Li Ta-Chao*, (in Chinese), p. 309.
27. This "May Fourth" dynamic may be reflected in the "self-reliance" ideal of the post-revolutionary political culture. One way to cope with low self-esteem as a nation or individual from a dependency neurosis is to over-compensate by swinging to the extreme of self-sufficiency. See Keniston, *op. cit.*, p. 264.
28. Li Ta-Chao, "Chieh-fang yu kai-tsau" (Liberation and Reform), *Selected Works of Li Ta-Chao* (January, 1920), pp. 303-304.
Schurmann hypothesizes that the CCP indirectly exploited the generational conflict in land reform in Yenan during the 1940's, forming a village organization by pitting the young military recruits against their village elders. Franz Schurmann, *Ideology and Organization in Communist China* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1966), pp. 427-429.
29. The "representational world" is the cognitive lens through which we see others. For a discussion of this concept, see Joseph Sandler and Bernard Rosenblatt, "The Concept of the Representational World" *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, Vol. 17, 1962, pp. 128-145.
30. Nieh Li-chih III-18.
31. Theodore Ch'en and Wen-hui Chen, "Attitudes toward Parents in China,"

- Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (January-February 1959), p. 177.
32. Robert Jay Lifton, *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963), pp. 344-345.
 33. Theodore Ch'en and Wen-hui Chen, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
 34. Yao Yuan-fang, "From Filial Piety to the Treatment of Parents," in *Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien* (Chinese Youth), #21, November 1, 1956, trans. in *Extracts from China Mainland Magazines* [ECMM], No. 65, 23.
 35. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
 36. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
 37. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
 38. Chueh Tsai, "Ai Fu-mu" (Love Parents), *Jen-min Jih-pao*, December 24, 1956.
 39. Yao Yuan-fang, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
 40. "Tai-fang fu-mu pu-neng wei-fan kuo-chia li-yi" (The Treatment of Parents cannot go against the National Interest), *Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien*, No. 4, February 16, 1957, p. 8.
 41. Chao Sheng-hui, "How shall we Treat Parents and Relatives who are Landlords and Counter-Revolutionaries?" *Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien*, No. 22, November 16, 1956 in ECMM #65, November 16, 1956, pp. 13-15. (This article in response to letters to the Editor).
 42. Fang Yu, "Break Family Ties, Be a Good Child of the Proletariat," *Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien*, No. 21, November 1, 1964 in SCMM, No. 448, p. 38.
 43. Shih Chi-t'ang I-4. Another fine example of this syndrome is Lan Wei-ying's parents' deliberate effort to keep any dissatisfaction with the political system or life in general to themselves (See Lan Wei-ying I-7).
 44. Wu Kuo-chih I-5.
 45. Nieh Li-chih I-13. Please note that I am discussing here environmental restraints on the father, but by no means wish to imply that a considerable degree of non-uniform socialization is not still present in China, at least in my sample.
 46. Ch'iao Kuo-hsiung II-9.
 47. Ch'iao Kuo-hsiung II-8.
 48. Ch'iao Kuo-hsiung II-10. "Older" was age thirteen or so.
 49. Shih Chi-t'ang IV-33.
 50. Ch'iao Kuo-hsiung VI-15.
 51. Ch'iao Kuo-Hsiung III-2.
 52. *Ibid.*, 4-7.
 53. Shih Chi-t'ang IV-34.
 54. Liang Shu-ming I-3.
 55. Cf. Hypothesis expressed in Lucian Pye, *The Spirit of Chinese Politics* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1968), *passim*; Richard Solomon, *Mao's Revolution and the Chinese Political Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), *passim*.
 56. Ch'iao Kuo-hsiung III-15-16; II-10.
 57. Ch'iao Kuo-hsiung III-15-16.
 58. Yuan Ching-po I-15.
 59. Cf. Lucian Pye, *op. cit.*, p. 44 and *passim* for the converse observation and deductive hypothesis about the oral dependency of the Chinese child.
 60. For comparison, the reader also can refer to my earlier description of the traditional Chinese re-enactment of merging of selves into adulthood in the mourning period.

Please note that a father comes to substitute for the infantile 'other self' or mother in most situations, though he does not replace her entirely. See Martha Wolfenstein, "Some Variants in Moral Training of Children," in Mead

- and Wolfenstein, eds. *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 365.
61. P'eng Te-lai I-5.
 62. See, for example, Lo Ping-kok A & B-1; Pao Kuo-fu, *passim*.
 63. Yang Ying-pu I-3-4, who forced his elder brother (father replacement) to beat him until he relented slightly and made a superficial promise.
 64. Huang San I-9.
 65. Huang San I-9.
 66. *Ibid.*, 10. The peculiar aggressiveness of the youngest son might be related to sibling sequence and concomitant variations in socialization. See Brian Sutton-Smith and B. G. Ginsbergs, *The Sibling* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1970) *passim*; G. William Skinner is also investigating the effects of sibling sequence among overseas Chinese.
 67. Cf. Pye, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
 68. Yuan Ching-po I-15; Shih Chi-t'ang I-14; Pao Kuo-fu I-6; et al.
 69. Shih Chi-t'ang I-14,
 70. Ch'iao Kuo-hsiung II-10.
 71. Ch'iao Kuo-hsiung III-2.
 72. P'eng Te-lai I-8-9. The letter to mother, apart from the guilt it obviously represents, also seems to indicate a degree of *horreur de face-a-face* consequential to conflict with authority immediately above. The same fear and guilt manifested itself in confrontations with immediate superiors, father-surrogates in the Cultural Revolution.
 73. Yang Ying-pu I-7.
 74. Shih Chi-t'ang I-14-15.
 75. Li Cheng I-4-5. Emphasis mine.
 76. Margery Wolf, "Child Training and the Chinese Family," in M. Freedman, ed. *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970) p. 44.
 77. Hsu Ta-liang I-12. Another father sent his son a pen to mark the occasion (Ngai I-10-11).
 78. Shih Chi-t'ang II-14.
Cf. Margery Wolf, *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), p. 168. "A mother (in Taiwan) said . . . you cannot let children know you approve of them; if they know that you praise them, they won't try to improve."
 79. I should qualify these remarks by adding that just as many fathers are still unwilling to praise or celebrate their children's success. The evidence I present, however, does seem to suggest a new trend.
 80. Li Cheng I-5.
 81. This descriptive category is based on such indicators as the free exchange of opinions between parent(s) and child, lack of arbitrary and especially severe punishment, and a relatively permissive atmosphere in the home.
 82. Ai-li Chin, *op. cit.*, 17-18.
 83. Margery Wolf, *House of Lim* (New York: Appleton-Century-Croft, 1968).
 84. The above statement presumes integrative change in both individual and society. Cf. Robert Jay Lifton, "On Psychohistory," in Robert Holt and Peter Freund, eds. *Psychoanalysis and Contemporary Science*, Vol. I (New York: MacMillan, 1972).

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Child-Abuse and Self-Abuse: Two Victorian Cases

The child-rearing practices of the nineteenth-century English middle classes, like their sexual habits, are still something of a mystery. Children, we know, were the objects of increasing attention as the century progressed, and their parents, according to many indices, were ever more solicitous of them. The outward signs of this concern are everywhere: the push for expanded and improved health care and education, the spread of handbooks and other publications on child-rearing, the growth of a special genre of children's literature designed not only to edify but to amuse—these are but a few symptoms of an emerging child-centered culture. Still, not surprisingly, we know a good deal more about recommended child-rearing habits than about actual ones, just as we know more about recommended sexual behavior. Novels, diaries, and travel accounts, properly used, can reveal much, of course; yet the middle classes managed to guard many secrets about themselves. If we know a good deal about them, we must admit that it is chiefly what they wanted us to know. No government committees were set up to pry into their lives, and in any case, relative economic security purchased a fair degree of privacy. This applied not only to the goings-on behind the bedroom door but to those behind the nursery door as well.

On rare occasions, however, the domestic sanctuaries of outwardly respectable families were exposed; and these occasions included judicial

proceedings, which had a way of forcing out family secrets. This paper will explore two judicial cases from mid-century, in which the offspring of upper middle-class English parents became public property in a gruesome fashion, as the victims in trials for assault and murder.

To be sure, brutality and homicide hardly represented typical middle-class behavior towards children; yet these cases nonetheless can be used to reveal much about that behavior. First, they prompted public debates on child-rearing issues which bring us closer to understanding actual practice than the often saccharine and sanctimonious advice in the prescriptive literature of the subject. Second, despite obviously extraordinary elements, the evidence and opinion presented in the inquests and trials suggests much about the treatment of children—especially girl children in these cases—which can hardly have been unique to these families and which, save for criminal investigation, would never have come to light. Finally, since both the cases involved questions of sexuality and alleged female sex roles, they permit a sampling of parental and community attitudes on an aspect of child-rearing which rarely received frank public airing in other forums. Taken together, the evidence of the cases suggests that the solicitude of parents could assume some surprising forms, and that upper-middle-class childhood at mid-century was not necessarily an enviable state.

The cases to be discussed here, those of the Marsden daughters (1855) and of Constance Kent (1860), both concern children whose parents came to regard them as expendable. When the decisions were made effectively to abandon them, the five Marsden girls—Alice, Rosa, Marian, Emily and Lucy—were between six and twelve years of age, and Constance Kent was sixteen. At that time both Miss Kent and the Marsden children had lost their own mothers, although their fathers had since remarried. The fact that all these children were girls played a significant part in the family deliberations which so critically affected them, although the circumstances in each case were very different.

In the case of Constance Kent, those circumstances involved a family tragedy, the mysterious slaying of Miss Kent's three-year-old half-brother, a beloved child who was his parent's favorite. In the inquest and the series of investigations which followed the crime, no one was indicted, but strong suspicion rested on young Constance, who was known to have resented the discipline of her stepmother and to have remarked on the favoritism shown to her young half-brother. The Scotland Yard investigators who believed her guilty were gratified five years later when Miss Kent, at age twenty-one, suddenly came forward and confessed to the slaying.

In the summer of 1860, soon after the crime, the Kents had placed Constance in a convent in France to escape the embarrassment of publicity; and she had spent most of the intervening period there. The

willingness to abandon in this way a child who had not been proved to have committed a crime may appear odd, although friends of the family regarded it as perfectly appropriate. More seriously, there was reason to believe that despite her confession, Constance Kent was innocent and that her parents had had good reason all along to believe so. To compound the special sorts of abuse Constance received from the Kents, then, there may have been an added ingredient of masochism in her declaration of her own guilt. Constance's reasons for "abusing" herself in this way, as well as the motives and actions of others, will be explored.

The case of the Marsden girls concerned the alleged abuse of the five children at the hands of a French governess, Célestine Doudet, to whose care their father had confided them shortly before his second marriage. Doudet, who had taken the children to live with her in Paris, was charged with beating all the girls and with responsibility for injuries which led to the death of one of them, the ten-year-old Marian. Acquitted of the latter charge, Doudet was sentenced to five years for the former.

Aside from involving the abuse of the governess, the Marsden case also was concerned with "self-abuse" in its nineteenth-century meaning of masturbation. The governess, in her defense, alleged that the children's father had sent her to Paris with the express charge to "cure" the children of their alleged "bad habits." The testimony, if it did not clear the governess, proved that at least on this point of her employer's directive, Mlle. Doudet was telling the truth. James Marsden wanted his children removed from him while they were being treated for their "self-abuse"; and he once came to such despair over the alleged "vice" of his daughters that he even considered abandoning them for good. As things turned out, he may as well have done. Even though it was their governess who was officially being tried, the Marsden girls themselves were unofficially placed on trial for the "moral" offense of masturbation.

The events which made both Constance Kent and the Marsden daughters the subjects of legal investigation will first be summarized. Miss Kent, born in 1844, was the ninth of ten children born to Mary Ann and Samuel Kent. At the time of the crime in June 1860, she lived at Road-Hill House near the village of Road in Wiltshire with her father Samuel Kent, a sub-inspector of factories, and her stepmother Mary Pratt Kent, her former nursemaid who had married her father in 1853, a year after her mother's death. The remaining inmates of the house, in addition to the cook and a nursemaid, included the three other surviving children of the first marriage: Mary Ann and Elizabeth, both in their late twenties, and William, a year younger than Constance. There were also the children of the second family: Constance's two

half-sisters, aged five and one, and Francis Savile, a handsome, sturdy child who was soon to be the victim of a brutal crime.

Constance was shortly to become known throughout the country as a prime suspect in that crime, but already she had gained a certain local notoriety. Four years before when she was twelve, Constance had persuaded her brother William to run away from home with her; and her behavior in the episode was considered so striking that several local papers had carried the story. Made miserable by the harsh treatment of their stepmother, who had turned on her former charges after her marriage, the children apparently had hoped to find a ship at Bristol which would take them to their sympathetic brother Edward, who was with the merchant marine in the West Indies. They only got as far as Bath, however, where they were brought before the police as suspected runaways. Constance's performance there startled and impressed the officers, who referred to her as a "little hero".¹ She had fooled them into believing that she was a boy, since she had shorn her hair and borrowed her brother's clothes; and she also had touched them by her stoic bravery during an interrogation which had caused William to burst into tears.

Her performance did not impress the Kents, however. They beat both children severely and locked Constance in the cellar for two days as the instigator of the scheme, instructing the family to ostracize her on her release. Mr. Kent was especially upset, since for the second time he was required to explain his domestic situation before the Board of Factory Commissioners. On the first occasion, before the death of Constance's mother, he had been asked to account for his wife's apparent sequestration, since rumors had reached the Board that Mrs. Kent was never seen and that Kent had taken the nurse as his mistress. The rumors were in fact true; and Mrs. Kent, seeing no alternative, had retired to a back bedroom while Mary Pratt gained ascendancy over the household. But Kent had managed to save himself by declaring that his wife had become an invalid after her last pregnancy. This time he spared himself by throwing all the blame on Constance. He maintained that she was an intractable child, lacking in "feminine delicacy," and that, in his words, "she had wished to be independent,"² a quality hardly considered a virtue in the female sex.

The events of the night of June 29, 1860 are simply described. Francis Savile, who slept in the first floor nursery with a sister and a nursemaid, was discovered missing from his cot on the morning of the thirtieth; a search revealed his mutilated body in a detached privy on the grounds of the house. His throat had been cut with a slash of such violence that the head was nearly severed from the body. There was also a deep stab wound in his chest, which was believed to have

been made after death in an attempt to force the body further down into the cavity of the privy.

The horror of the crime itself was matched only by the ineptitude and willful manipulation which marked the judicial inquiries. The official investigation came to an end with no formal accusation and with only two individuals having been singled out and brought before local magistrates: the nursemaid Elizabeth Gough and Constance Kent. The former satisfied the authorities that she had slept soundly on the night of the crime, and that when she had discovered the boy missing the next morning, she simply assumed his mother had heard him crying and taken him away.

The suspicion which settled next on Constance was prompted by a peculiar combination of prejudices, some thin circumstantial evidence, and probably direct intervention by persons interested in deflecting attention from the actual guilty party. An inspector from Scotland Yard was quickly informed of Constance's "peculiar" behavior in the runaway incident; and he was also told, as was the press, that the girl's mother had been insane. When he learned that a nightdress belonging to Constance which should have been in the weekly laundry was missing, he decided to arrest her; and she was brought to jail, unescorted by any member of her family, and imprisoned for a week. One school acquaintance of Constance was found to testify that the girl had mentioned the favoritism shown to the second family over the first, but that was all. Constance was released but still required to be available in any further questioning; and the press meanwhile condemned the haste of her arrest. The judgment of the coroner's jury was allowed to stand as death inflicted by "person or persons unknown."

Some of the local papers had little difficulty overcoming the inhibitions which afflicted the deferential authorities, and they dared to propose a candidate in Mr. Kent.³ Their theory of the crime was never tested in court, but it has been argued superbly in Yseult Bridges' recent study of the case, and it is the only one which accounts for all the facts. Simply, it was suggested that Mr. Kent, following a common pattern, was sleeping regularly with the nursemaid, and that on the night in question Francis Savile awakened unexpectedly and cried out at what he saw. In panic, Mr. Kent then grabbed something, perhaps the "breast flannel" or brassiere which was found with the body, and held it over the child's face to stifle his cries. When he withdrew it, the boy was dead, and Mr. Kent was left to contrive a plausible story. He may have mutilated the body to suggest that his son was another victim in a recent series of unexplained murders. Then later, when the locked house and a vicious dog on the grounds made the notion of an intruder unlikely, he may have switched his tactics and done just enough to place

suspicion on Constance, without attempting to bring her to trial. The invention of hereditary madness neatly explained both the crazed attack on Francis Savile and the previously alleged resentment of the stepmother—and all without prejudice to Mr. and Mrs. Kent. Finally, the Kents knew that the police were searching for missing or bloody garments; it would have been a simple matter for the nurse to have implicated Constance by extracting her nightgown from the weekly washbasket.⁴

Mr. Kent did have a stronger motive than to prevent his family's knowledge of his indiscretion with the nursemaid. Already deep in debt, he was counting on being named to a seat on the Board of Factory Commissioners, a lucrative post for which he had troubled to collect two hundred signatures in his support. Having twice been called to explain himself before that body, he knew he could not afford additional scandal. To avoid that scandal, he probably offered up the lives of two of his children.

In 1863 Constance was permitted to return to England after spending three years in a convent in Brittany. Under an assumed name, she was accepted as a paying guest at St. Mary's Convent in Brighton, a high church establishment with an affiliated hospital where she hoped to train for a career in children's nursing. Then, using an inheritance from her mother, she apparently intended to emigrate to Canada. Once, again, however, adults with their own purposes to serve, this time religious ones, would intervene.

The rector of St. Paul's church, A. W. Wagner, who had arranged for Constance's admission to the hospital and who alone knew her identity, was visited by Miss Kent during Holy Week in 1865. Recently come of age and having never been confirmed in the church, she requested this favor, perhaps hoping to take the sacraments on Easter Sunday. What happened at the interview was never fully disclosed; but it is more than likely that Wagner refused confirmation on the grounds that Constance needed to relieve her conscience of a sin. It was a spectacular opportunity to gain publicity for the high church confessional; and in a move which can only be described as cynical, Wagner rushed to the authorities with a confession he may well have extracted, loudly proclaiming confidentiality of the confessor-penitent relationship on the details. Why Constance should have folded when she was so close to escape is a mystery; but long exposure to religious life must have contributed. Perhaps she responded to sincere if misdirected compassion towards an assumed murderess; or perhaps, as one authority suggests, she confessed in a supreme act of religious self-immolation.⁵ Her subsequent written confession stated little more than that she had committed the crime with one of her father's razors. This explanation failed to account for evidence that the child died by suffocation and that the throat wound

was administered after death. But this and other issues would remain unresolved; for as Constance pleaded guilty, there was no formal trial. She received a death sentence which was commuted to life imprisonment; and after serving twenty years, she was released.

The experience of the young Marsden daughters was far less publicized than that of Constance Kent, but it offers some striking comparisons. They too were sent off to France after becoming an embarrassment to their father; and if his reasons were less sinister, they still could not be mentioned in polite company. He had the merit of acting out of genuine concern for his daughters' well-being, but the results in suffering were nonetheless formidable.

Doctor James Loftus Marsden was thirty-six and a widower of several years when in 1852 he decided to hire a governess for his five girls.⁶ His wife, like so many women of the period, had died young in childbirth, after having borne six children, five girls and a boy, in as many years. Marsden had a thriving practice as a homeopathic practitioner in Malvern, where he had formed a partnership in the 1840's with Doctor James Gully, the most successful of the "water-cure" specialists in the era when the famous spartan cure of sitz baths and wrapping in wet sheets was entering its heyday.⁷ Preoccupied by his patients, the doctor had hired a series of nursemaids for the children. He had also relied on a bachelor brother-in-law who came to live with him, the Reverend Mr. John Rashdall, to provide religious and general education.

The new governess, Célestine Doudet, had apparently impeccable credentials, including ten years service with several respected English families and even a warm recommendation from Queen Victoria herself,⁸ who had employed Mlle. Doudet briefly as a wardrobe mistress. Dr. Marsden counted on her to complete the girls' education and to teach them French, and he also gave her a special responsibility which he at first divulged to no one else. Having been informed by a nursemaid that at least one of his daughters was a masturbator, Marsden was deeply concerned; he instructed Mlle. Doudet that her first duty was to "cure" these habits.

Marsden was hardly alone in his concern over masturbation. His children in fact were "afflicted" during the mid-century period when masturbational anxiety was at an all-time high. Among the conditions allegedly caused by the "solitary vice" were hysteria, asthma, epilepsy, melancholia, paralysis and, of course, insanity.⁹ To be sure, prior to the 1850's, masturbation was thought harmful and sinful and was even believed to be responsible for many of these same conditions; but the medical and religious suggestions for the control of masturbation were rather mild: diet, exercise, hydrotherapy, moral readings and the like. However, from about 1850 until the 1880's and beyond, doctors, par-

ticipating in the general anxiety over sexuality, turned their attention from "cure" to "suppression" of any auto-erotic activity. Increasingly, sadistic methods were used; and until the turn of the century, at least half the recommended measures in all countries were "drastic" ones, including restraining devices, severe punishments, and even surgery.

At about the time of the Marsden case, a well-known London surgeon introduced the operation of clitoridectomy, a "cure" for masturbation in females by means of the removal of the organ on which it was performed. The practice does appear to have been mercifully brief in England, where its chief proponent was expelled within ten years from the obstetrical society, and in France, where it was picked up for only a short time around the nineties; but there were nonetheless other surgical practices which continued to be recommended in text books and medical literature as late as the 1930's. These included blistering the thighs or genitals, "burial" of the clitoris beneath the labia with sutures, cauterization, and infibulation of the labia majora.¹⁰ The Marsden girls did not undergo such "cures", in part because their father did not believe in any kind of surgery; but their suffering may well have been as great, if not greater, than if they had.

Not surprisingly, the subject of female masturbation was discussed less frequently than male masturbation, in part because female sexuality itself was difficult for even professional medical men to accept. Female masturbation is ignored almost entirely in Tissot's famous early treatise on Onanism (1758), although "self-abuse" among females began to receive more attention in the mid-nineteenth century, with the onset of the era of "sadistic" cures. We do know, for example, that in 1848 a Scottish physician named John Moodie proclaimed himself distressed by the "notorious" immorality among young ladies at boarding schools in his country. He devised for women a kind of panty girdle with back laces and an ivory grill sewn into the genital area, the whole of which was fastened by belts to a pair of tight-fitting drawers, and then secured by a padlock. The device sounds formidable indeed, but it must be remembered that the "enemy" was believed so as well. The most terrible consequence of masturbation in women was not, as for boys, the grave or the asylum but instead the brothel, a fate considered worse than death or madness.¹¹ A young woman who "indulged" was in danger of becoming a nymphomaniac. Failing that, she ran the risk of being barren, having a defective child, or suffering other painful difficulties.

The Marsden case provides documented evidence of how people responded toward children suspected of being "infected" by masturbatory practices. Although preventive treatment stopped short of surgical means, it nonetheless involved systematic torture, both physical and

psychological, and shows how heavy a price children might have to pay to appease the anxieties of adults. Célestine Doudet, who was entrusted with the task of salvaging the Marsden girls, promised to do her best. A fine opportunity to fulfill her charge presented itself in the spring of 1852 when the governess volunteered to take all five girls to Paris and set up a *pension* in the apartment which had belonged to her recently deceased mother. Marsden gave her three thousand francs (about 120 pounds) for six months' food, lodging and education for all the girls. It was an adequate but hardly generous amount, supplemented only by additional funds for music and language instructors; but for some time Mlle. Doudet did enjoy the unpaid help of her younger sister Zéphyrine, who did cooking and cleaning. When Zéphyrine left to take a position elsewhere, Mlle. Doudet hired a maid-of-all-work, reserving for herself the supervision of the girls and of occasional day students. It was soon apparent, however, that in Célestine Doudet, Doctor Marsden had got rather more than he bargained for.

In the next months, servants and neighbors watched the little English girls grow thin and listless under their governess's care. Even Zéphyrine Doudet complained that the children's diet of bread, milk cut with water, and only occasional meat was deplorable. She also stated that her sister employed the cruel "English" system of correction, that is, corporal punishment. Still, partly because the girls themselves begged for it, the governess's contract was renewed for another six months. After a visit early in 1853 with his new wife, Marsden publicly declared his satisfaction with Mlle. Doudet.

Neighbors and servants, however, reported even worse treatment thereafter. Alarmed when the eldest, Lucy, was kept a virtual prisoner in her room for weeks, and the middle daughter, Marian, became gravely ill under suspicious circumstances, they finally decided to attempt intervention. A formal protest was sent to Célestine Doudet on behalf of several neighbors, urging the release of Lucy and greater leniency towards the others. Receiving no response, the women then sent anonymous letters to the police and to Marsden himself. The doctor disbelieved the letters, and only sent his brother-in-law to Paris to stifle the rumors. But late in July he received word of Marian's death, and this time he went to Paris and removed his daughters from their governess's care. It may have been too late for Lucy; she died six weeks later, crying out in her delirium that Mlle. Doudet had sworn to pursue her, even in death, if she ever revealed what had gone on in Paris. In the meantime, the other girls had gradually begun to talk about their lives with Mlle. Doudet. In the end, independent witnesses would verify most of their catalogue of cruelties.

Célestine Doudet's motives may never be fully known. Marsden's lawyers, and especially the French *procureur general*, argued that the

governess had acted from jealousy over the doctor's second marriage. It is possible that Mlle. Doudet initially hoped that the doctor would marry her. Lacking either beauty or, at thirty-four, extreme youth, she may even have determined to forge such a binding relationship with his children as to force Marsden into marriage. But the circumstances suggest instead that she was a disturbed person who conceived a special mission to purge the girls of alleged moral evils. She was acquitted of causing Marian Marsden's death, but received five years imprisonment and a fine for attacks on the others.

Both Samuel Kent and Célestine Doudet were such peculiar "child-raisers" that they themselves merit attention chiefly as bizarre or disturbed personalities. What makes the two cases worth considering in an investigation of nineteenth-century child-rearing practices is the responses of those around Kent and Doudet: relatives, servants, neighbors, friends, acquaintances, and members of the public whose views of the cases were recorded. Their actions and judgments permit a fuller understanding of "children's place" in mid-Victorian upper-middle-class society.

One of the most striking features in both cases is the relative isolation of the families from outside pressures, as well as the tendency of what pressures there were to reinforce decisions which prejudiced the position of the children. Even those close to Célestine Doudet and Samuel Kent were either ignorant of the plight of the children or regarded their situation as normal. Those who were both aware of their situations and disapproved were few and, for reasons worth exploring, unable or unwilling to put up effective resistance.

Before the death of his son, Mr. Kent was able to deflect the curiosity of the one outside agency which expressed concern over his children, the Board of Factory Commissioners; indeed he found a forum there to defame Constance. Local opinion did remain hostile to the Kents after the runaway incident, but Mr. Kent was quite willing to endure the moral censure of persons he considered inconsequential.

Inside the Kent household itself, there is evidence that several persons disapproved of the treatment of the children, especially after 1845 when the nursemaid Mary Pratt became mistress of the household in every sense of the word. The servants talked about how poorly clothed and neglected the children were, although they were obviously in no position to help. Indeed during the inquiries after the crime no servants still employed in the household would say anything against the treatment of the children, although some former servants with no position at stake were quite willing to speak against the Kents. As domestics, however, their word carried little weight.

The first Mrs. Kent, who had the management of her own household, including most decisions about the children, literally taken away from

her, doubtless disapproved of the treatment of the children; but she too was in no position to intervene for them. Indeed her situation left her few options. Had she chosen to leave, she would have had to return to her parents, creating a scandal probably distasteful to them, and without being able to help her children, who were legally under their father's control. Her presence may well have prevented worse treatment for the younger children; both Constance and William were strongly attached to her. Mrs. Kent in fact may have sensed that Constance was in an especially vulnerable situation; one of her last acts had been to arrange for the conversion of an inheritance into a thousand pound trust fund for her daughter, which would remain in safekeeping until Constance was twenty-one.¹² It was an act of bravery which could hardly have pleased her husband, but it could not help the child's immediate situation.

The only other hope for William and Constance inside the family was the older children—Mary Ann and Elizabeth, who were in their early twenties at their mother's death in 1852, and Edward, who was seventeen. The sisters however seem to have been pathetic and ineffectual creatures, incapable of standing up to Mary Pratt, and themselves the victims of neglect. For want of willingness to spend any money on their education or to devote any attention to their future, the two would be left to a shadowy existence. Already by the time of the crime eight years later they were old maids with no prospects. Of course in this instance the neglect was more clearly a classwide phenomenon. The situation of Mary Ann and Elizabeth, however lamentable in our own eyes and in those of a few reformers, was still too common to attract any comment at all at the time of the crime.

Their brother Edward alone had stood up for Constance and William and had dared to criticize their father for his choice of Mary Pratt; but in their naive adulation for a would-be rescuer, the children failed to see that Edward could not save them. He himself had been bitterly disappointed when his father had abruptly removed him from naval training school and forced him to enter the merchant marine; but he had had no choice save to submit to the money-saving scheme which ended his education. Edward died of yellow fever in the West Indies before the crime; and his loss was felt deeply by Constance.

That after the crime Mr. Kent was able to influence in his favor the more weighty local opinion-makers, such as policemen, doctors, lawyers, clergymen and magistrates, is stunning witness not only to the immunity of "respectable" families but also the possibilities for tyranny over children. The local police officers, awed by Mr. Kent, at first shared all their findings with him and failed to consider him as a possible suspect until he both impeded their investigation and probably destroyed a crucial bit of evidence.¹³ When Scotland Yard was called in, the officers

were too abashed to reveal their stupidity; Kent, who spent a good deal of time with the inspector, was free to plant suspicion on Constance.

Others were helpful as well. Mr. Kent's lawyer spared him and his wife from even appearing at the inquest. The coroner arranged to remove a couple of potentially hostile nominees from the jury and named a sympathetic friend of Kent's, the local clergyman, as foreman. When the stacked jury still objected to the curious haste of the procedure and the fact that the Kents were not present, they were taken out to the Kent home and permitted to interrogate a few servants and William and Constance. That the children should have been put forward in this way, with no objections in their behalf, suggests how little a concern were their rights or protection to anyone.

More important for this discussion, at least one of the local notables not only helped protect Mr. Kent but probably knowingly aided the scheme to shift guilt onto Constance. Joseph Stapleton, a doctor and friend of Mr. Kent who had examined the child's body, dismissed the clear evidence of suffocation remarked by another doctor which, if verified, would have bolstered the popular local theory of Mr. Kent's guilt. Moreover, the doctor also wrote a book on the case as well as several letters to national newspapers and journals, all of which implicated Constance by stressing her willfulness and suggesting that she had inherited her mother's madness.¹⁴ It is difficult to believe that Stapleton would have taken all this trouble if he did not at least suspect the truth. In the need to save a desperate friend, a child's existence was expendable.

In the Marsden case too, the would-be protectors were less effective than might have been expected, and many persons who gave no other evidence of cruelty condoned or acquiesced to brutal treatment of the children. Even before they went to France, one person, their grandmother Harriet Marsden, did object to the decision. She was not opposed on principle to confiding them to a person known only for a few weeks; nor did she express any concern that they had no knowledge of French at the time and no family friends or relatives in Paris. Sending girls off in this way was in fact common enough, despite the fact that the child-rearing literature and advice in the women's magazines were increasingly opposed to it.¹⁵ The failure of middle-class parents to inspect individuals and institutions allegedly purveying the desired veneer of culture and accomplishments, both in England and abroad, may indeed have encouraged those abuses which only came under serious attack in the last decades of the century. But Harriet Marsden opposed the choice on entirely personal grounds; her few encounters with Mlle. Doudet had convinced her, rightly, that there was something odd about the new governess. As she stated in her deposition, her suspicions were aroused when Célestine Doudet hinted that while she was in the employ of

Queen Victoria, Prince Albert had made improper advances to her.¹⁶ The governess's previous employer would later note a similar incident which suggested a preoccupation with sexual impropriety, but since all her written recommendations were excellent, Dr. Marsden decided to ignore his mother's misgivings.

Others who might have intervened to protect the girls once they were in Mlle. Doudet's care were checked in various ways. Zéphyrine Doudet, who lived with her sister at first, spoke bitterly to neighbors about the harsh treatment given the children; doubtless in part because she was twelve years younger than Célestine, she deferred to her and failed to stand up to her. Her help to the children consisted of a few small favors, such as the smuggling of contraband food, and in court she would deny that her sister had done anything more than adhere to the strict English system prescribed by the girls' father. Her successor, a maid-of-all-work, witnessed the later more cruel phase; she knew that the children were regularly starved, locked up and beaten. She also witnessed the array of means used by the governess to discourage masturbation, and she testified that Mlle. Doudet often tied the children's wrists to the bedsteads at night to prevent what were referred to as their "vicious habits". But as the maid stated, she felt powerless to help, since she knew no one to whom to turn other than the women in the neighborhood.

These neighbors, as noted, ultimately did try to act, but despite their more elevated status, they shared with the servants the social disability of being women. They attempted to call attention to the abuses suffered by the children, but failed to get anyone to take them seriously until it was too late. Their letters to the police and to Marsden himself were treated by both as the idle gossip of women. The police merely made a cursory check, and Marsden was not concerned enough to investigate matters for himself. His brother-in-law John Rashdall visited Paris and discovered the children in deplorable health, but he reported that the girls were as well as could be expected.

Both Marsden and Rashdall deeply believed that all the children, with the exception of Alice, the youngest, were by then in the advanced stages of physical deterioration as a result of their masturbatory habits. Rashdall later admitted that he should have attempted to check Mlle. Doudet's stories with some of the neighbors, but he pleaded that his lack of facility in French prevented him. Célestine Doudet assured him that despite all her efforts, the girls' habits had not been broken—indeed had become worse. She had contended however that Marian would recover, and that the child simply had a bad case of whooping cough. Rashdall made no attempt to inquire further about the children's pathetic condition since he thought he already had the explanation. Besides, he added in his defense, the girls themselves had constantly re-

peated their praises of their governess. Under the circumstances, Rashdall might have been expected to be suspicious of such devotion.

Finally, of course, James Marsden alone was capable of rescuing his daughters, but through a combination of deception, ignorance, and shame, he persisted in defending the woman who was abusing his children. The few letters he sent to the governess and his daughters leave no question that it was his concern over the girls' alleged habits which informed all of his behavior towards them. He wrote to Mlle. Doudet in August 1852 soon after their arrival in Paris to say that he hoped she was succeeding in conquering Emily's habits, but if not she was to consult a doctor he recommended since, as he stated, "... morals are more important than anything else."¹⁷ To Emily in a letter about the same time, he was even more emphatic on the issue of masturbation.

I beg you in your own interest to make every effort to follow the advice and instructions I gave you before leaving you. If you have not done so, I shall be deeply disappointed when I see you again. Neither French nor music nor in fact anything else will compensate if you neglect to do what I recommended in this matter. And physical illness—a goitrous neck, a crooked back, tender feet—as well as this moral illness, drying up all self-respect, which will destroy every good quality you have, will cause you to feel personally, and oh how bitterly when you grow older, just how you have forced the laws of nature to your own destruction, and how you have disobeyed my wishes to your own ruin.¹⁸

This was the same man who had written warmly three years before about the marvelous benefits in the treatment of children from his conversion to homeopathy, the school of medicine which scorned the use of large doses of drugs or harsh and painful cures. "What tears and distress, and nausea from nauseous drugs, does it spare the poor little invalids," he had said. "Thank heaven I am no longer the terror of the nursery, children no longer cry at the sight of me."¹⁹ His own children, however, were frightened of him, especially when he informed them of his anger over their letters, which regularly reported their moral decline and the spread of the "bad habits" which they said they could not control. Marsden did not guess that the letters had been dictated to the girls by Mlle. Doudet; he announced on one occasion that he had tossed the offending letters into the fire. The children's frustration can only be guessed.

Homeopaths were especially persuaded by the popular belief that tell-tale physical signs betrayed the habitual masturbator, since they placed special emphasis on the intimate links between mental and physical disorders and at the same time accepted the view that masturbation was the product of a depraved mentality. James Marsden himself had written a treatise on the influence of the mind on the body in disease,²⁰

and it is clear that his daughters' purported behavior caused him deep professional as well as personal concern. He wanted to regard his girls as perhaps too young to be held accountable for their actions, but he obviously came to see them as loathsome and repulsive creatures who were morally responsible for their physical ruin and who deserved much less than the care he lavished on them. In despair over the continued reports of lying, stealing and masturbation, coupled with promises to be better which were always broken, the doctor wrote to the governess that he was not inclined to go on making personal sacrifices of all sorts for children whom, in his words, "it does not seem possible to raise."²¹ He instructed Mlle. Doudet to inform the girls that he would soon place them in an ordinary pension, and leave them to follow their own habits and take the consequences.

The constant accusations of moral guilt had visible effects on the children, even before the beginning of physical torture. Since it is likely that if the girls ever had masturbated, they did so no longer out of sheer terror, the burden of unjust allegations must have been all the more heavy. Witness after witness testified that Mlle. Doudet had confided the children's masturbatory habits on first meeting, and frequently discussed them in the presence of the girls themselves. A doctor reported his astonishment at what he described as the "cynical" admission of one of the girls that she masturbated regularly. But the doctor never suspected that Mlle. Doudet had ordered her charges to "confess" their bad habits, despite his admission that he had found the governess's behavior odd. He noted especially the peculiarity of her long tirade against the girls' father on the occasion of their first meeting; but did not draw the logical conclusion that the governess may have been untrustworthy. The children themselves were described by most witnesses as listless and diffident in this first period. Forbidden to talk with one another because of their guilty habits, they would sit together on outings in the park with hands folded, staring dumbly. Asked by a neighbor on one occasion if they did not play games, one child replied that they did not know any.²² For their governess alone they showed an exaggerated attachment, but their fear of her and their isolation were sufficient explanation for this. As a neighbor later wrote in desperation to Dr. Marsden, "Your children are terrified; like puppies they lick the hand of their tormenter in order to soften her."²³

Early in 1853 when the doctor and his new wife came to Paris on their return from a wedding trip in Italy, they noted some of this odd behavior in the girls, but failed to see it as the result of any mistreatment. Marsden reported to the governess after an outing at a cafe that the girls had made gluttons of themselves over the cakes. Doudet confirmed that they were very greedy; and to "cure" them of this fault, the doctor prescribed that they be taken to the pastry shop every day to

eat their fill, until they were heartily sick of sweets. Perhaps he was inspired here by the homeopathic principle that the agent of a malady can also be the agent of its cure, but his blindness to the obvious explanation that his children were being starved is remarkable. He noted too then that the manner of the girls was reserved and that they had a peculiar habit of repeating each other's words; but he ascribed their behavior to simple social backwardness. To remedy this he left money with the governess for hiring a dancing master.

Their new stepmother did notice the girls' intense attachment to Mlle. Doudet, but failed to remark anything extraordinary in their relationship. She confessed later that she did fear that the children's affections were being alienated from her; she even hinted that she had urged her new husband to bring his daughters back to England.²⁴ Marsden refused however; as he stated later in his defense, he had done so because the children had expressed the desire to stay. This was doubtless true, but his real motive was more probably his despair and disgust over daughters who he had come to believe were hopelessly corrupted.

Although he failed to mention the fact in his account of the visit, he had taken his girls then to be examined and fitted for a belt designed to prevent masturbation. The examiner, who had no medical degree himself, concurred with a doctor who had checked them that the girls were tainted with the vice. Drooping eyelids, diffidence of manner, and extreme thinness were cited as evidence, as well as what one doctor referred to knowingly from a vaginal examination as the "local marks of passion."²⁵ Marsden, then, had professional medical opinion to support Mlle. Doudet's; when the girls themselves attempted to deny the habits, he refused to listen. The governess, however, admitted she never used the preventive devices ordered by the girls' father. She appears to have had other ideas.

The three children who survived to testify in court stated that they were beaten regularly by the governess, and that they were often locked in the cellar or the toilet for hours at a time. Food, they said, was withheld for even the smallest errors in their lessons; but the real "crime" remained masturbation, or rather the suspicion of masturbation. A maid confirmed the children's story that if they made the slightest movement in their beds at night, their vigilant governess would order them out of bed to stand with bare feet on the floor and arms stretched out from their sides. They remained in this position until they begged for mercy or collapsed.

In the late spring of 1853 after the Marsdens' visit, Célestine Doudet advanced her tortures. She was taking no chances that the alleged physical signs of masturbation should be absent. In addition to continued starving she also regularly rubbed soap around the children's eyes and stamped on their feet until the blood came. These procedures must

surely have been employed to produce the puffy eyes and "tender feet" believed characteristic of those addicted to the vice. More disturbing was the testimony of the girls that the governess had tied a rough cord between their legs and forced them to wear it for days at a time, thereby creating the inflamed areas which the doctors confidently designated as the "local marks of passion."²⁶ Although medical authorities now reject the notion that any physical examination of the genitals could betray the habitual masturbator, the notion was accepted until past the turn of our century; both sides in the Marsden case were convinced by it.²⁷ So great was the power of suggestion that one doctor who had attended the half-paralyzed Marian on her death bed reported that he not only had remarked the tell-tale signs but had even surprised the child in what he described as "frenzied" masturbation.²⁸

Célestine Doudet denied the more brutal tortures described in court, but she admitted tying the girls to their beds to prevent masturbation, and she also acknowledged some corporal punishment, on the ground that she was following the father's orders. Marsden objected that he had never approved the girls' being tied, but his sister-in-law had observed them that way and had not intervened, and he himself had discovered two of his girls tied together to a bed without objecting to the procedure itself. He unwittingly gave himself away in recounting the incident by showing that his real concern was not that his daughters were tied, but that one whom he believed to be "pure" had been bound together with her "corrupted" sister. He reported that he had burst out to Mlle. Doudet and in front of the girls, "You have tied a living body to a corpse!"²⁹

Taboos on the discussion of female sexuality in general and masturbation in particular make personal evidence of this sort extremely rare. Child-rearing literature at mid-century most often avoided the subject; the correspondence columns in the new women's magazines, so rich in information on other less emotionally-charged topics, contain next to nothing about masturbation. Despite intensified anxieties, then, evidence on individual cases is hard to come by outside of medical accounts, and even there, material on women is limited. To be sure, this privileged courtroom evidence was itself censored by many newspapers, and those consenting to print it were usually content simply to recount the testimony without comment. But the discussions in court left no doubt that both sides accepted the special gravity of the alleged practices for females. One of Mlle. Doudet's defenders, the renowned Antoine Berryer, argued that masturbation was especially serious for the girl who hoped ever to marry, since it was a kind of equivalent to the loss of virginity. Mlle. Doudet was justified therefore in doing all within her power to prevent the practices, since the girls might hope thereby to regain a measure of their lost purity.

On the assumption that the girls had actually masturbated, which they denied, Marsden's lawyers were willing to admit the need to prevent the habits; but they protested that in any case the means used were too harsh. One doctor testified that he had recommended a course in gymnastics for the girls which the governess had ignored, and that he had also suggested the purchase of a garment which was a sort of combination nightgown-straightjacket designed to discourage masturbation. Mlle. Doudet evidently had no interest in milder remedies. In sentencing her, the court recorded its displeasure with the means she had employed, though not with the end, and also upbraided the defendant for her indiscretion in discussing the children's habits so freely.

The Kent and Marsden cases finally provide some views on three aspects of child-rearing which gained much attention in the Victorian decades: education, corporal punishment, and the moral responsibility of children. Not surprisingly, both cases bear out the general view that the middle classes sought to "cultivate" rather than educate their girls by providing a smattering of French, dancing and music. Informed of the intellectual gifts of his second daughter, Emily, Marsden was in fact displeased, doubtless partly because she was under suspicion for "bad habits," but also simply because she was a girl. The doctor wrote to Mlle. Doudet, "I want Emily to see that good conduct, kindness and disinterestedness have a much more elevated rank than the gifts of the intellect; and I should be delighted to learn that she was cultivating these moral qualities. Are they [the girls] learning how to dance?"³¹ For his one son, James, Doctor Marsden had arranged for a boarding school education in England, probably no better or worse than most of its kind; but at least James was spared his sisters' fate.

More noteworthy was the reluctance of both Kent and Marsden to pay for the education of their children, and especially of their girls. Doctor Marsden tried to make his daughters believe he was making great sacrifices to give them a year in Paris; but the truth was that most English boarding schools would have been at least twice as expensive and probably more. The doctor doubtless took more time selecting a governess than most parents; but his own mother stated that her son was much too impressed by recommendations from important people. Admittedly, however, Marsden's taste for display paled in comparison with Kent's.

Samuel Kent insisted upon lavish clothes and entertainment and ostentatious rented homes; but since he was never able to afford these things, they were purchased at the expense of his wife, who was obliged to work harder in an understaffed household, and of his children, whose education and future were ignored. The two elder daughters appear to have been completely neglected, and his son Edward was removed from naval training school before completing his course. Con-

stance and William were sent to boarding school, but only after the publicity of the runaway incident had shamed their father into educating them. Much of the contemporary moral writing condemned waste on display; in this instance, Kent's behavior may not have been so atypical. In their eagerness to have instant badges of their newly-gained wealth, many rising middle-class people were doubtless willing enough to sacrifice intangibles, such as their children's education, for a carriage and a fine pair of ponies. Samuel Kent pleaded financial trouble when he withdrew Edward from school, but it never occurred to him to give up the elegant home he was renting.

In the Kent case, there is the added feature of the disparity of treatment for the children of the two families; but here again the case may have been less extraordinary than it would seem. It still appears to have been taken for granted that children of a first marriage often assumed a subordinate role to those of a second, and that a second wife could legitimately display her "natural" favoritism for her own children. Novels and new writings on child rearing did urge equal attention for all children;³² but a story such as Charlotte Yonge's *The Young Stepmother* (1860), which attempts to combat the image of the wicked stepmother, only serves to underline her continued reality.³³ At the inquest in the Kent case, it was alleged that when Mrs. Kent wished to hurt her stepdaughter Constance, she would make deprecatory remarks about the girl's dead mother. Moreover, witnesses testified that both the Kents made unfavorable comparisons of William, who was frail and withdrawn, with his more fair, robust and extroverted half-brother, Francis Savile.

Corporal punishment was an issue in both cases. It helped to create local sympathy for Constance and William; but its use was central to the Marsden trial, not only because the charges involved physical abuse of the children, but also because the case was tried in France where corporal punishment was more abhorrent to the middle classes. Mlle. Doudet's defenders, both her lawyers and the witnesses who spoke in her behalf, were at pains to point out that corporal punishment was in fact widespread in England, and that English children's diets were more meager and restricted, both of which were true. Moreover, it was also true that Marsden himself recommended corporal punishment to the governess, and that he had used a riding whip on one of his girls, Emily, upon learning of her alleged bad habits. He at first admitted to only one occasion, later to two or three; there were probably more. How typical this behavior was is difficult to say.

To be sure, the growing concern for children's welfare was prompting a reevaluation of corporal punishment in England. Already by the 1840's the child-rearing manuals were urging that corporal punishment should only be a last resort.³⁴ Educational journals and women's maga-

zines were recommending less corporal punishment.³⁵ The specific issue of "manual correction" for girls and young women was discussed less often, but one of the best sources for material on actual practice is the correspondence columns of the new and rapidly growing women's magazines.

The *Queen* in the mid-sixties and the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* in 1870 devoted several issues of the letters column to the question.³⁶ Indeed, the controversy over corporal punishment of girls aroused so much interest that the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* was obliged to publish regular monthly supplements from March to November, and the editors were still unable to include all the letters. The authenticity of the correspondence might be questioned; but since contributors were required to include their names and addresses on separate sheets with their letters, the probability is great that they were genuine.

The letters are a remarkable collection. A "Lady Principal" writes to explain the "correct" procedure of whipping, and she does so in minute detail, even to descriptions of how the tunic of the victim should be tucked up and under the lower part of the stays to facilitate the process.³⁷ A rector explains that on many occasions he has whipped girls aged twelve to sixteen who were brought to him by widows who could not cope with them.³⁸ Several parents professing to have incorrigible daughters request the names of schools "still" practicing corporal punishment. Other letters discuss the merits of rods of varying woods and thicknesses, leather "tawes," and other devices; many give advice on where to purchase the best ones and describe the exact bodily effects of each.

Many of the letters do object to corporal punishment of girls, although usually with qualifications. Some say it should not be public, as it was in many schools, especially earlier in the century. Others say that it should cease at a certain age, although there is wide disagreement about that age. Several men object to women being permitted to whip boys past the age of ten or so.

But most interesting for this discussion are the large numbers of young married women who write to describe their school experiences, many of which were contemporary with those of the Marsden girls. The majority of these speak of regular corporal punishment in their schools or administered by governesses, and most mention their impression of the growing infrequency of whipping in recent years. Many allege that the situation is most unfortunate, citing fond memories of some schoolmistress or governess who beat them severely but, as one confesses, "strange as it may seem, from that day to the present I have loved Miss Margaret and felt her to be a true friend."³⁹

The few letters from young women still undergoing such treatment by 1870 were less rhapsodic. One from a schoolgirl in Kensington ex-

plains that parents are unaware of the tortures suffered by students. As the "show pupil" in the school, she was the one sent for when ladies came to inquire about placing their girls there, and she was required to play a piece or give a recitation. Visitors, however, had no clue that the girls were regularly beaten. The mistress, she said, "thinks we all love her to distraction, but we hate her like poison because she birches us."⁴⁰

A veneer of decorum over brutality also described the Marsden girls' situation, but they did not even have the chance to complain. It seems obvious that if corporal punishment was on the decline, and that if most young English girls were spared the intense tortures of the Marsden children, many nonetheless were subjected, like their brothers, to harsh canings and psychological humiliation.

Intense belief in the moral responsibility of children was widespread in the Victorian decades, and although newer views of child-rearing tended to attenuate that belief, it was still thriving at midcentury. Both the Kent and Marsden cases prompted discussions which showed how threatened were the defenders of traditional discipline and personal responsibility by the combined onslaught of social "determinist" schools on the one side and lenient child-raisers on the other. In each instance, the "guilt" of children was discussed in terms which tended to ignore the actual roles of the children, and in both cases children paid heavily for misinformed adult notions about responsibility.

General beliefs about children's moral guilt were linked to beliefs in original sin, although such notions competed in the nineteenth century with popular romantic views of childhood as a time of innocence and purity.⁴¹ Peter Coveney suggests that the co-existence of beliefs in the innocence of children and widespread brutality toward them in practice may have been a natural result in a culture where sexuality was so repressed. Adults fashioned children into symbols of innocence in order to satisfy their need to salvage a part of human existence from the "corruption" of sexual desire; when children failed to live up to their mythical purity, they risked harsh treatment. The Marsden girls in particular may have been victims of this sort of retribution for their failure to reflect the innocence which their father, at least, needed so much to believe in.

In the psychology of sexual repression and its ever-attendant guilt we may . . . find part of the explanation of the popularity of the myth of innocent childhood and savagery toward children in practice which seem to have existed so astonishingly—otherwise—side by side.⁴²

Dr. Marsden may himself have experienced a particular kind of guilt over the possibility of his own hereditary role in his children's "corruption". Because of his interest in writings by the "water-cure" reformers of the period, he may well have seen a contemporary study on marriage by the American Mary Gove Nichols, who was soon to move to England

and become a practitioner at Malvern like himself. Mrs. Nichols was concerned about what she believed to be the evils to children resulting from marriages involving "amative excesses." She wrote that "masturbation in children, and every evil of sensuality, spring from the polluted hot-bed of a sensual and unloving marriage, where woman is subject to a destroying sensualism during pregnancy and lactation."⁴³ Whether Marsden was influenced by these or similar views is unknown, but they were certainly a part of his milieu. It was the children's guilt, however, which received public attention.

The Marsden girls indeed turned out to be as much defendants in the legal proceedings as Célestine Doudet, for in a real sense the whole case was built on the issue of whether or not they committed the alleged acts of masturbation, which were considered morally culpable by all. Their father brought his suit, as he stated in the act of accusation, not chiefly to punish Mlle. Doudet for physical attacks on his children but instead to save their honor and his own by proving that his girls were not—and never had been—masturbators. Correspondingly, the whole thrust of Célestine Doudet's legal defense was to show not that she was innocent of mistreating the children but rather that the girls were guilty of "vicious habits." As her lawyer stated, once masturbation was demonstrated, there was no need to invent bad treatment to explain the deplorable physical condition of the girls; "these habits, when they last, when they are inveterate, are sufficient to explain everything."⁴⁴ Since this premise was accepted by both sides, Marsden had to prove that he had been duped all along and that his daughters were in fact "pure". Only then would the appalling physical condition of the children be accepted as the simple result of mistreatment.

Marsden succeeded then in collecting numerous witnesses who would testify to the statement that his daughters were "untainted", and he also managed to discredit those who had already sworn to their bad habits. For her part, Mlle. Doudet engaged an English solicitor to prepare a dossier of opposing statements on the girls, bearing witness not only to their masturbation but to other actions which prejudiced them such as lying, cheating and pilfering. In this battle, ascertainable information about Mlle. Doudet's actual behavior toward the children tended to be pushed aside. The post-mortem on Marian showed a skull fracture which the governess never had to explain fully. She hid successfully behind the alleged moral guilt of the girls including, in this instance, the astonishing charge that young Marian had developed suicidal impulses in despair over her uncontrollable masturbation.⁴⁵ On his side, Dr. Marsden showed a remarkable lack of curiosity over the possibility that his children had been systematically tortured. When he brought them back to England, still under the impression that their habits were responsible for their condition, he neglected to have them examined for bruises or

scars. To have done so, of course, would have been to admit the possibility that he had failed to diagnose their condition correctly, a possibility which may have been too painful to entertain. His sister-in-law, who had kept the youngest daughter in Paris with her, immediately had the child examined and obtained a signed statement from the doctor which strongly suggested mistreatment. She attempted then to start a suit against the governess, but Marsden refused and she had to drop it.

The reaction to the confession of Constance Kent displayed a similar myopia. Although many publications expressed dissatisfaction over the details of the confession, few actually questioned Constance's guilt. When they did so, it tended to be at least as much from hatred of the high church confessional as from conviction of her innocence. Indeed, the real controversy was waged among those who accepted her guilt for the murder but disagreed over her motives and the extent of her responsibility. Madness was argued by the self-proclaimed humane, although several of these admitted that Miss Kent's coolness made their stand difficult, especially after a doctor well known for his work with mental patients examined her and expressed his belief in her sanity.⁴⁶

Most troubling for many commentators was the notion that for whatever reason, even including insanity, Miss Kent should be declared not responsible for the crime. At a time when growing numbers of criminal theorists were proposing notions which negated or circumscribed the individual's moral responsibility, Constance became the whipping girl for the defenders of the old code. The *Law Times* showed the reluctance to let her off on hereditary madness.

This is not insanity, nor anything like insanity. It is a case of mental deformity. The mind of Constance Kent is defective in one or more of the moral faculties, just as some men are born with a withered arm or leg.⁴⁷

This alleged "deformity", however, made her no less sane or responsible for the act. The *Saturday Review* agreed: "her confession shows that she was not mad; only preeminently wicked, crafty, unfeeling, treacherous, vile, deceitful and hard-hearted beyond almost all human experience."⁴⁸ The *Times* was the only major organ of public opinion to make a case for lessened responsibility on physiological grounds; it suggested that Constance was in the transitional period when her female organs were changing, and that this was a time when girls tended to be especially cruel and heartless.⁴⁹ The outrage which greeted this rather timid suggestion was tremendous; the *Medical Times and Gazette* epitomized it:

But there is a kind of unctuously sentimental philosophy afloat, according to which young women about the age of puberty "cannot help" committing any wildly wicked and extravagantly cruel

act that may enter their imaginations. . . . We are also told that a "bewildering sense of the new existence" of womanhood may impel young girls irresistibly to the most fiendish acts. . . . In the name of all that is sacred and manly (!) and steadfast, and on behalf of the sober and innocent part of the population, we admit no such plea as "couldn't help it". . . . Self-control must be upheld as the most sacred of duties, whether as to thought, word or deed.⁵⁰

Sex-role arguments were enlisted on all sides of the responsibility controversy. On one hand, Constance was guilty as a masculinized woman whose real male identity had been revealed when she donned boy's clothing and cut off her hair. (No one seems to have noticed that that was the only way she might have hoped to escape without being immediately picked up.) On the other, she was guilty not as a male in disguise, but as the eternal Eve. The *Bath Express* stated, "It was a wanton murder, not done by the hand of a man, for there is a *finesse* of cruelty about it that no man, we believe, however depraved, could have been guilty of; but it is the revengeful act of a woman—morbid, cruel, cunning—one in whom the worst of passions has received a preternatural development, overpowering and absorbing the little good that she ever had in her nature."⁵¹

All of this controversy over responsibility revealed much about the preoccupations of middle-class parents, but the children at its center were eclipsed long before it was over. Once again it was revealed that the alleged new rights of middle-class children were most precarious. Children were still a long way from taking first place in their parents' attention, with all the benefits and drawbacks that that entailed.

The price paid by Constance Kent for the wrongs of her father, and of others, included twenty years' imprisonment. On her release she assumed a new identity and went to Canada, probably as a children's nurse. About the Marsden girls, I have been able to discover even less. If one genealogical account is correct, there may well be very little to know. According to it, Rosa, the second to youngest, died in 1877, aged thirty-four. The death dates of the other two surviving girls, Emily and Alice, are not known; but none of the three ever married and all of them predeceased their father.⁵² James Loftus Marsden, after such a promising youthful career, died in obscurity in 1891. He had married a third time, and he left most of his estate to his adoptive daughter Ellen Welsh Marsden.⁵³

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I should like to thank Rudolph Binion, Marc H. Hollender, Elizabeth Jenkins, Lloyd deMause and Hilah Thomas for their comments and suggestions.

1. Quoted in the *Frome Times*, July 25, 1860 from the *Bath and Cheltenham Gazette* of June, 1856.
2. Yseult Bridges, *The Tragedy at Road-Hill House* (New York: Rinehart, 1955), p. 39. Bridges' book is the best account of the case, and the summary presented here follows its interpretation. Bridges, however, mistakenly places the runaway episode in 1857 rather than 1856.
3. Without actually naming names, the *Bath Chronicle*, for example, presented the theory of accidental death and subsequent complicity between the nurse and a male inmate of the house.
4. The *Frome Times*, August 8, 1860 suggested this explanation for the missing nightgown.
5. See Bridges, *The Tragedy at Road-Hill House*, Book II, Chapter III.
6. A full account of the case is contained in Armand Fouquier, *Les Causes célèbres de tous les peuples* (9 vols.), (Paris: Lebrun, 1858-1874), III, Cahiers 12 and 13. This summary also uses material from the *Gazette des Tribunaux*, which gave *verbatim* accounts of many major cases, and from *La Tribune judiciaire* (Paris: Borrani et Droz, 1855), pp. 1-193.
7. Brian S. Smith, *A History of Malvern* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1964), p. 201.
8. The recommendation was printed in the *Worcestershire Chronicle* for March 7, 1855. "I consider Mademoiselle Doudet an excellent person, of a mild disposition and amiable character; but her education has been too good for her situation of wardrobe woman with me, and I think that that of governess would suit her better. I look on her as a person of the greatest probity and worthy of confidence." The statement is dated April 8, 1842.
9. Alex Comfort, *The Anxiety-Makers* (London: Panther, 1968), pp. 84-85. Comfort devotes chapter three of his study to self-abuse, and refers to the preoccupation with the practice as "masturbational insanity" (p. 84).
10. For a full discussion, see René A. Spitz, "Authority and Masturbation, Some Remarks on a Bibliographical Investigation" in *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, vol. 21, 1952.
11. Comfort, p. 106 and Chapter 3, *passim*. Masturbation was among the evils regularly cited as prevalent at boarding schools for both sexes. Concern over the general issue seems to have been greater in England than in France; although Tissot's eighteenth-century work on onanism was regularly republished throughout the nineteenth century. In the *Archives Générales de Médecine* for December 1855 (p. 763), there is a review of a recent edition of Tissot which notes that after the first edition in 1758, the book had sold over 100,000 copies. There is a discussion of the belts similar to those ordered for the Marsden girls in an article by Gerhart S. Schwarz entitled "Devices to Prevent Masturbation" in *Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality* for May, 1973, pp. 141 to 153.
12. Bridges, *The Tragedy at Road-Hill House*, pp. 28-31.
13. This evidence, found jammed up inside a stove, was a bloody nightdress of coarse material of the sort worn by a woman of the servant class. Incredible as it sounds, the police apparently entered into a compact with Mr. Kent to trap the murderer, who was by this time believed to be a member of the household. The nightdress was put back in its hiding place; and during the supposed stake-out, Mr. Kent locked up the police and probably destroyed the dress, which was missing when he finally released the officers. Later the nightdress

was confused with Constance's missing nightgown and, ironically, helped the case against her.

14. J. W. Stapleton, *The Great Crime of 1860* (London: Marlborough, 1861). Letters in the *Times* (July 26, 1865) and in the *Lancet* (May 20, 1865) were reprinted in several other London and local papers.
15. See, for example, Mrs. Ellis, *Mothers of England*, (London: Fish, 1843), p. 271 and *The British Mothers' Magazine*, vol. VI, (1850) p. 77, and vol. VIII (1852), p. 251. The arguments for "home education" varied a great deal. Many believed that the "accomplishments" provided at the boarding schools were utterly useless, and that proper home education should consist of a study of domestic management. Others felt that intellectual pursuits were best carried on for women in a home atmosphere, and that the real problem was upgrading the governess's status and training and in addition teaching parents to make more careful choices of instructors for their children. *The British Mothers' Magazine* in the article from 1850 cited above states: "The circumstances of the applicant [for governess] may excite sympathy; but more frequently, and we are sorry for those to whom these remarks are more particularly addressed but it is so, ignorance and indifference on the part of parents, as to the mental capacities of the person they engage to educate their children, are the chief hindrances to any alteration for the better."
16. *La Tribune judiciaire*, p. 148.
17. Fouquier, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
18. *Idem*.
19. James L. Marsden, *Notes on Homeopathy* (London: Headland, 1849), p. 24.
20. James L. Marsden, *The Action of the Mind on the Body* (London: Headland, 184?). I was unable to obtain a copy of this work, since the only one of whose existence I was aware was in the collections of the British Museum and was destroyed in the war.
21. Fouquier, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
24. *Berrow's Worcestershire Journal*, March 31, 1855.
25. Fouquier, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
26. *Berrow's Worcestershire Journal*, March 31, 1855.
27. For information about the present state of medical opinion on the question, I owe special thanks to Marc H. Hollender, M.D., Chairman of the Department of Psychiatry at Vanderbilt University and author of several historical studies on female sexuality. Doctor Hollender told me that his experience and study have revealed no way of detecting the regular masturbator through genital examination. He also communicated to me the following remarks which appeared in *Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality* Vol. VII (July, 1973), pp. 107-109. J. P. Semmens, M.D., Associate Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology at the Medical University of South Carolina, responded as follows to the question "Does the size of the clitoris increase with frequent sexual stimulation?" "To my knowledge, there is no documented evidence that increased activity causes the clitoris to become hypertrophic or any larger on a permanent basis. Inferences have been made in the less responsible sexual literature suggesting that labial hypertrophy and clitoral hypertrophy are related to excessive female masturbatory activity. This probably stems from the concept that oftentimes this hypertrophy may be purely of the left or right side paralleling the right-handedness or left-handedness of the individual. I would admonish any professional drawing such a conclusion about a client purely on the basis of physical observation."
28. Fouquier, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
30. Fouquier, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
31. *La Tribune judiciaire*, p. 60.
32. *The British Mothers' Magazine*, published between 1845 and 1863, has equal love for all children in a family as one of its constant themes. To cite only two examples, the editor Mrs. J. Bakewell serialized her novel in volumes VIII and IX (1852-1853) which was entitled "The Second Marriage: or Prejudice Removed." One of its most important aspects is the striving of the new wife to establish a loving relationship with the children of the first marriage and to give the same treatment to them as to her own children. The poem "To a Step-Child" (Vol. VIII, p. 201) also illustrates the advice and sentiments typical in these publications: "Child of the lost, the buried, and the sainted, I call thee mine, Till fairer still, with tears and sin untainted, her home be thine."
33. I am grateful to Elizabeth Jenkins, who kindly showed me a copy of her unpublished paper "The Young Step-Mother, A Sensational Source," which discusses the startling similarities between the Constance Kent case and the novel by Charlotte Yonge entitled *The Young Step-Mother*. Miss Jenkins suggests that the Kent case might have prompted Charlotte Yonge to "re-write" the story with a benevolent stepmother whose actions averted the sort of disaster which happened at Road-Hill House. Miss Jenkins notes that a good portion of the novel had already appeared in serialized form before the crime, but the possibility of some influence cannot be ruled out. The parallels which she draws between characters and incidents are most intriguing.
34. In her *Mothers of England* (London: Fish, 1843) Mrs. Ellis, one of the most popular authorities, argues that children who are regularly beaten merely become hardened. She believes in the undisputed authority of parents; but maintains that parents should try to understand that children think differently from adults and require reasoning along with discipline.
35. P.-A. Berryer, Célestine Doudet's lawyer, cited articles in recent issues of educational journals, the *Bulletin de l'Instruction primaire* (May, 1854) and the *Quarterly Review of Education*, which noted the trend to less corporal punishment in England. *La Tribune judiciaire*, p. 97.
36. The *Queen*, December 1865 and January, 1866. *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, March 1870. From April through November the supplements of the "Conversazioni" column were published separately. The supplements have been bound together and are contained in the private cases of the British Museum, probably because they were given the collective title "On the Whipping of Girls".
37. *EWDM, op. cit.*, May 1870.
38. *Ibid.*, April, 1870.
39. *Ibid.*, March, 1870.
40. *Ibid.*, May 1870.
41. For a general discussion, see Peter Coveney, *The Image of Childhood* (London: Peregrine, 1967).
42. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
43. Mary Gove Nichols and Thomas Low Nichols, *Marriage* (Cincinnati: Nicholson, 1854), p. 223.
44. *La Tribune judiciaire*, p. 191.
45. Fouquier, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
46. *Times*, July 28, 1865, p. 9.
47. *The Law Times*, September 2, 1865.
48. *Saturday Review*, April 29, 1865.
49. *Times*, April 27, 1865.

50. *Medical Times and Gazette*, July 22, 1865. The article concludes, "The moral lesson to be learned is the existence of evil passions in the breasts of even young children, which require to be kept in subjection by proper moral and religious training, and the existence of which alone, in however frightful a degree, does not constitute insanity."
51. *Bath Express*, April 29, 1865.
52. B. A. Marsden and J. A. Marsden, *Geneological Memoirs of the Family of Marsden* (Birkenhead: Griffith, 1914), p. 113.
53. Marsden's will bestowed on his adoptive daughter some property which he still held in Malvern. Doctor Marsden also willed a thousand pound inheritance from his mother to his niece Ellie Godfrey. Of course it is impossible to know his motives in these bequests, but Marsden may have been thinking of a kind of restitution.

Story of an English Cotton Mill Lad

DAVID
I. GAINES

What was it like to be a little orphan sent to work in one of the cotton mills of England's early Industrial Revolution?

The passages which follow give us some idea. They are taken from the life story of Robert Blincoe, born in 1792, taken into the workhouse of St. Pancras Parish, London, at four, and sent out at seven in a group of eighty boys and girls. Indentured as apprentices, they would live and work until 21, virtually without pay, in a stocking factory near Nottingham, over a hundred miles away. Blincoe's story, based on his own notes, was written and published by one John Brown in Manchester in 1832. It is a grim tale, well known and frequently referred to by scholars of this period. The stocking mill at Lowdam has been identified.

In a certain way, Blincoe's life was lived against the background of two cities—18th century London and 19th century Manchester. The 18th century capital, long the political, social and cultural center of England, was now by far its outstanding trading and financial center as well. One in four of its working people were said to be in trades connected with its port activities. During the century its population doubled, reaching 900,000 according to the census of 1801, a figure that made it perhaps the largest city in the world. Every part of the kingdom sent some of its product to be sold in the capital.

The teeming city went through a horrible gin-sodden quarter-century that called forth the most strenuous efforts of a Hogarth; but licensing sales-places made gin more expensive, and the old beer and ale and the new tea moderated its use. It was during this period that Thomas Coram organized the London Foundling Hospital. For the next forty years its director, Jonas Hanway, was to carry on a work of investigating, reporting, writing and agitating that did much to end the sight of newborn babes dead on dust heaps, and of reforming the administration of London workhouses.

In her classic *London Life in the 18th Century*, Dr. M. Dorothy George lists some of the impressive medical advances London experienced in the second half of the century: a great increase in the number and size, and improvement in the quality of hospitals; the opening of lying-in hospitals, and with them the training of many midwives, who not merely worked in the hospitals but attended women in their homes; the opening and growth of numerous dispensaries, often offering drugs free; inoculation against small pox; the awareness of the value of cleanliness and fresh air; and, in time, the aid of cheap cottons in achieving cleaner clothes.

While people continued to pile into London, more children were surviving; what to do with the survivors? In accordance with the old Poor Law, the more prosperous parishes—perhaps under Hanway's scrutiny—apprenticed children from their poorhouses to masters carefully chosen. But Dr. George has in her fifth chapter, and in an appendix, a dismal catalog of actual court cases illustrating ways in which the master-apprentice relationship could turn sour—even to the point of murder. Often an abused apprentice feared—or knew—that he could not obtain redress or relief, and ran away. (Since apprenticeship was the normal experience of most children, and especially of parish wards, it is not surprising that many juvenile delinquents were runaway apprentices.)

In 1767, Parliament gave permission for London poorhouse apprentices to be apprenticed at a distance away from London—which meant to the textile mills of the Midlands. This permission was not revoked until 1816. In 1820, it was declared in Parliament that a London parish official claimed for London a monopoly of the supply of parish apprentices for the mills.

London during this period had made advances in many areas. The novelist Henry Fielding and his brother Sir John had turned the police court of London into a real poor man's court. Over a generation and more, they had treated people before them so fairly that one grump complained that defendants were actually treated as innocent until found guilty. A spirit of humanitarianism was on the rise. Londoners had begun to read newspapers, and to follow—and feel that they had the

right to follow—the behavior of kings and ministers and Parliaments. Yet neither the shipping of factory apprentices out of London, nor its cessation, caused much comment in London.

From London we turn to Manchester, not as the sole scene of the new industrial slavery, for the new mills spread throughout the north and even into Scotland, but for two other reasons. One, because in a few years steam, replacing water power, caused the largest concentration there and made Manchester the leading cotton town of the world; and two, because the city's name became, as Manchesterism, the term for the whole complex of new men of great wealth, ready to assert and impose upon society a whole new set of attitudes and rules. Hobsbaum seems to believe that the years 1760 to 1780 were really the takeoff point for Britain's nineteenth-century industrial supremacy. In an article recently published, Professor Arnold Thackray gives a thumbnail sketch of Manchester: "Population increased . . . perhaps 15,000 in 1760 to a quarter million in 1831, becoming second only to London's, and growing twice as fast"; "growth of new riches"; "isolation, social as well as political," especially due to differences from the dominant landed class; "political impotence"; and finally "the social peril of Manchester life—food riots in 1757, 1762, 1795 and 1812; political riots in 1792, 1809, 1812 and 1819, culminating in the tragedy of Peterloo." "At least until the end of the hungry forties it was a violent society, which bred official counter-violence (fourteen executed in one day in the aftermath of the 1812 food riots)."¹

There were physicians in Manchester also, and here as in London their role was important. An infirmary was established in 1752, and by 1825 it claimed "2000 patients [more annually] than the largest hospital in London."²

Today we can grasp better the upheaval which "Manchester" represented, not merely in manufacturing and the rapid piling up of fortunes, but in so many of our values.

The first factory children had been those employed in the Lombe brothers' silk mill opened at Derby in 1719. But as cotton factories now were rapidly thrown up and began reaching for young apprentices, conditions became notorious. In 1784 the magistrates of Manchester reacted to outbreaks of fever among factory apprentices by resolving "not to sanction indentures to cotton mills and other works in which children are obliged to work in the night, or more than 10 hours a day." In 1795 Manchester set up a Board of Health which the next year condemned the long hours of child labor in the mills; the resulting controversy brought about Sir Robert Peel's Act of 1802. This limited the hours of apprenticed children in cotton or woolen mills to twelve a day, forbade night work, required ventilation, ordered whitewashing of factory walls, and made some slight provision for education and for in-

spection. It remained a dead letter, as children living at home were already replacing apprentices from London; besides, it was simple to avoid making them apprentices. It was the first social legislation produced by the machine.

Ten years later, Robert Owen's successful experiments at New Lanark and his agitation stimulated demands for reform. Peel now fathered another Act in 1819. Sure that a general measure would be defeated, he limited this one also to factory apprentices. It was limited to cotton mills: employment of boys and girls under 9 was to end, a twelve-hour day applied to those under 16. Night work was prohibited. But as before, inspection and enforcement were disregarded.

Strangely enough, anti-slavery agitation had resulted in 1807 in the abolition of the British slave trade and at about this time in a government edict limiting the labor of adult slaves in the colonies to nine hours a day. The cause of white child workers in the mills could now be even better dramatized than before. There had always been a few employers who wished reform, and one worsted manufacturer, John Wood, urged a friend, Richard Oastler, to lead the struggle. Oastler pledged his aid, and actually spent the best part of his life in the cause. Almost immediately he called for a ten-hour act. Himself a Tory of middle class origin, Oastler was to become one of the most influential mass leaders of the pre-Chartist generation. Michael Sadler, elected to Parliament in 1829, introduced a ten-hour bill in 1832. It was delayed by a demand for evidence, whereupon he held hearings, calling children and workmen and other witnesses. Parliament dissolved before the masters could testify, and Sadler published a 600-page report. It was widely hailed, but the masters now mobilized for action. Oastler and his friends strove to mobilize support among workers but Sadler was defeated at the election. Anthony Ashley Cooper, later the Earl of Shaftesbury, had never been north, but had been impressed by Sadler's report; and when requested to take on the cause, he accepted after spending the night in prayer and meditation. In 1833 he introduced a new bill. The government responded by setting up a Commission, and the masters had their innings. (All this had gone on to great popular indignation in the textile areas, and in the midst of the great Parliamentary Reform struggles of 1830-1832; indeed, Sadler's defeat had been at the hands of young Macaulay, one of the brilliant orators of Reform.) The manufacturers now marshalled their witnesses. When one doctor in reply to a question said that even twenty-three hours work was not too much for a child, and other doctors repeated one after another that they saw no need for children to play, one of them revealed that they—including himself—had been paid by the masters to testify.

Actually, the government had chosen three national commissioners to organize the inquiry, of whom two—Edwin Chadwick and South-

wood Smith—were borrowed from the Poor Law investigation then under way. Indeed, despite the efforts of the manufacturers, and despite the refusal of most of the well-organized workers to testify (it was known that workmen had lost their jobs for testifying), the commission found that the evidence warranted state intervention. The government then defeated Ashley's measure, and introduced and passed its own, which the reformers opposed.

The Factory Act of 1833 covered all textile mills except for silk. No children under 9 might be given work; those 9 to 12 might work not more than 48 hours a week, and not more than 9 on any one day; those 13 to 18 might work 12 hours a day. Chadwick, who wrote most of the measure, provided for inspectors sent out from London and responsible to it. These might visit a textile mill at any time; make and enforce general rules; and meet and make periodic recommendations. Provision was also made for schools in factories but failure to arrange financing made this a dead letter. Later, changes were made, and part-time schooling for factory children became a feature of British education that lasted down through World War I.

As to the rest of the Act, manufacturers continued to make difficulties, and it was some years before it was fully enforced.

One is tempted to end the story here, with a reminder that Blincoe served as a witness before the Parliamentary inquiry, leaving the chairman a copy of his book. Crippled by his work, he was now married and the father of two daughters. He earned his living as a grocer and owned a small factory making cotton batting.

The rest of the story of British child labor may be sketched in. Lord Shaftesbury, already a Christian Tory reformer before he took up the Ten Hour movement with Oastler, was to continue to fight for reforms for the rest of his life. In 1842 his reports on women and children so shocked the nation that their labor underground was promptly forbidden. Also, this made it somewhat easier for him to win the fight for the Ten Hour Act in 1847, which limited the hours of women in textile mills to ten a day. Its effect was to make ten hours the norm for the industry.

Child labor continued in other industries. British government hearings in the 1860s provided Karl Marx with some of the most horrible examples for his *Capital*, of which Volume I appeared in 1867. Not until an Act of 1874 did Britain feel it had dealt adequately with the matter.

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MEMOIR OF ROBERT BLINCOE, AN ORPHAN BOY
MANCHESTER: 1832 (selections)

Robert Blincoe commenced his melancholy narrative, by stating, that he was a parish orphan, and knew not either his father or mother. From the age of four years, he says, "till I had completed my seventh, I was supported at Saint Pancras poorhouse, near London." . . .

Blincoe declares, he was so weary of confinement, he would gladly have exchanged situations with the poorest of the poor children, whom, from the upper windows of the workhouse, he had seen begging from door to door, or, as a subterfuge, offering matches for sale. Even the melancholy note of the sweep-boy, whom, long before day, and in the depths of winter, in frost, in snow, in rain, in sleet, he heard pacing behind his surley master, had no terrors for him. So far from it, he envied him his fortune, and, in the fulness of discontent, thought his own state incomparably more wretched. [Once] a rumor ran through the house, that a treaty was on foot between the Churchwardens and Overseers of St. Pancras, and the owner of a great cotton factory, in the vicinity of Nottingham, for the disposal of a large number of children, as apprentices, till they became twenty-one years of age. . . .

Prior to the show-day of the pauper children to the purveyor or cotton master, the most illusive and artfully contrived falsehoods were spread, to fill the minds of those poor infants with the most absurd and ridiculous errors, as to the real nature of the servitude, to which they were to be consigned. It was gravely stated to them, according to Blincoe's statement, made in the most positive and solemn manner, that they were all, when they arrived at the cotton-mill, to be transformed into ladies and gentlemen: that they would be fed on roast beef and plum-pudding—be allowed to ride their masters' horses, and have silver watches, and plenty of cash in their pockets. Nor was it the nurses, or other inferior persons of the workhouse, with whom this vile deception originated; but with the parish officers themselves. From the statement of the victims of cotton-mill bondage, it seems to have been a constant rule, with those who had the disposal of parish children, prior to sending them off to cotton-mills, to fill their minds with the same delusion. Their hopes being thus excited, and their imaginations inflamed, it was next stated, amongst the innocent victims of fraud and deception, that no one could be *compelled* to go, nor any but volunteers accepted. . . .

This exhibition took place in August 1799, and eighty boys and girls as parish apprentices, and till they had respectively acquired the age of twenty-one years, were made over by the churchwardens and overseers of Saint Pancras parish, to Messrs. Lamberts', cotton-spinners, hosiers and lace-men, of St. Mary's parish, Nottingham, the owners of Lowdam Mill. The boys, during the latter part of their time, were to be

instructed in the trade of stocking weaving—the girls in lace-making. There was no specification whatever, as to the time their masters were to be allowed to work these poor children, although, at this period, the most abhorrent cruelties were notoriously known to be exercised, by the owners of cotton-mills, upon parish apprentices. According to Blincoe's testimony, so powerfully had the illusions, purposely spread to entrap these poor children, operated, and so completely were their feeble minds excited, by the blandishments held out to them, that they almost lost their wits. They thought and talked of nothing but the scenes of luxury and grandeur, in which they were to move. Nor will the reflecting reader feel surprised at this credulity, however gross, when he considers the poor infants imagined there were no greater personages than the superiors, to whom they were, as paupers, subjected, and that, it was those identical persons, by whom their weak and feeble intellects had thus been imposed upon. Blincoe describes his conduct to have been marked by peculiar extravagance. Such was his impatience, he could scarcely eat or sleep, so anxiously did he wait the hour of emancipation. . . .

The whole convoy were well guarded by the parish beadles on their way to the waggons; but those officers, bearing their staves, the children were taught to consider as a guard of *honour*. In addition to the beadles, there was an active young man or two, appointed to look after the passengers of the two large waggons, in their conveyance to Nottingham. Those vehicles, and very properly too, were so secured, that when once the grated doors were locked, no one could escape.

The greater part of the children were much exhausted, and not a few of them seriously indisposed, before they arrived at Nottingham. When the waggons drew up near the dwelling and warehouse of their future master, a crowd collected to see the *live stock* that was just imported from the metropolis, who were pitied, admired, and compared to lambs, led by butchers to slaughter! Care was taken that they should not hear or understand much of this sort of discourse. The boys and girls were distributed, some in the kitchen, others in a large ware-room, washed, combed and supplied with refreshments; but there were no plum-pudding—no roast beef, no talk of the horses they were to ride, nor of the watches and fine clothing that they had been promised. Many looked very mournful. . . .

After having been well refreshed, the whole of the boys and girls were drawn up in rows, to be *reviewed by their masters*, their friends and neighbours. In Blincoe's estimation, their masters, Messrs. Lamberts', were "stately sort of men." They looked over the children and finding them all right, according to the INVOICE, exhorted them to behave with proper humility and decorum. To pay the most prompt and submissive respects to the orders of those who would be appointed to

instruct and superintend them at Lowdam Mill, and to be diligent and careful, each one to execute his or her task, and thereby avoid the punishment and disgrace which awaited idleness, insolence, or disobedience. This harangue, which was delivered in a severe and dictatorial tone, increased their apprehensions, but not one durst open a mouth to complain. The masters and their servants talked of the various sorts of labor to which the children were to apply themselves, and to the consternation and dismay of Blincoe and his associates, not the least allusion was made to the many fine things which had so positively been promised them whilst in London. The conversation which Blincoe heard, seemed to look forward to close, if not to unremitting toil, and the poor boy had been filled with expectations, that he was to work only when it pleased him; to have abundance of money and fine clothes—a watch in his pocket, to feast on roast beef and plum-pudding, and to ride his masters horses. His hopes, however were, not wholly extinguished, because Nottingham was not Lowdam Mill, but his confidence was greatly reduced, and his tone of exultation much lowered. . . .

Lowdam Cotton-Mill, situated near a village of that name, stood ten miles distant from Nottingham, on the Surhill road; thither Robert Blincoe and his associates were conveyed the next day in carts. . . . When he came in view of the apprentice-house, which was half a mile distant from the mill, and was told that was *to be his home for fourteen years to come*, he was not greatly delighted, so closely did it resemble a work-house. There was one source of consolation, however, remaining—it was not surrounded by lofty walls, nor secured by strong gates, as was the case at Pancras. When the first cart, in which was young Blincoe, drove up to the door, a number of villagers flocked round, some of whom exclaimed, "God help the poor wretches."—"Eh!" said another, "what a fine collection of children, little do they know to what a life of slavery they are doomed."—"The Lord have mercy upon them," said a third.—"They'll find little mercy here," said a fourth. The speakers were mostly of the female sex, who, shaking their heads, said,—*"Ah! what fine clear complexions!"*—"The roses will soon be out of bloom in the mill." Such were a part of the remarks which saluted the ears of these children, as they entered the Lowdam Mill. In common with his comrades, Blincoe was greatly dismayed, by the gloomy prognostications, which their guardians did all they could to check, or prevent the children from hearing, hurrying them, as rapidly as they could, inside the house. . . .

The supper set before them consisted of milk-porridge, of a very blue complexion! The bread was partly made of rye—very black, and so soft, they could scarcely swallow it, as it stuck like bird-lime to their teeth. Poor Blincoe stared, recollecting this was not so good a fare as they had been used to at Saint Pancras. Where is our roast beef and

plum-pudding, he said to himself. He contrived, with some difficulty, to eat about one half of his allowance. As the young strangers gazed mournfully at each other, the governor and governess, as the master and mistress of the apprentices were styled, kept walking round them, and making very coarse remarks. Just as they had passed Blincoe, some of the girls began making faces, and one flung a dab of bread against the wall, where it stuck fast, as if it had been plaster. This caught the eye of the governor—a huge raw-boned man, who had served in the army, and had been a drill serjeant, unexpectedly, he produced a large horse-whip, which he clanged in such a sonorous manner, that it made the house re-echo. In a moment, the face-makers and bread throwers were reduced to solemn silence and abject submission. . . . Blincoe was startled, seeing the boys pull out the fore-part of their shirts, and holding it up with both hands, received the hot boiled potatoes allotted for their supper. The girls, less indecently, if not less filthily, held up their dirty greasy bishops or aprons, that were saturated with grease and dirt, and having received their allowance, scampered off as hard as they could, to their respective places, where, with a keen appetite, each apprentice devoured her allowance, and seemed anxiously to look about for more. Next, the hungry crew ran to the tables of the new comers, and voraciously devoured every crust of bread and every drop of porridge they had left, and put or answered interrogatories as occasion required.

Blincoe was forcibly struck by the absence of that personal cleanliness which had been so rigidly enforced at St. Pancras. The apprentices were required to wash night and morning; but no soap was allowed, and without it, no dirt could be removed. Their tangled locks covered with cotton flue, hung about their persons in long wreaths, floating with every movement.

During the space of a week or ten days, that Blincoe was kept picking up cotton, he felt at night very great weariness, pains in his back and ancles; and he heard similar complaints from his associates. They might have suffered less had they been taken to the mill at five o'clock, been worked till eight, and then allowed time to eat their breakfast; but six hours' confinement, to close work, no matter of what kind, in an atmosphere as foul as that which circulated in a cotton-mill, is certainly injurious to the health and growth of children of tender years. Even in mills worked by water, and where the temperature of the air is nearly the same within the mill as without, this is the case; but incomparably more so in mills, such as are found in Manchester, where in many, the average heat is from 70 to 90 degrees of Fahrenheit's scale. After Blincoe had been employed in the way described, he was *promoted* to the more important employment of a roving winder. Being too short of stature, to reach to his work, standing on the floor, he was placed on a block;

but this expedient only remedied a part of the evil; for he was not able by any possible exertion, to keep pace with the machinery. In vain, the poor child declared it was not in his power to move quicker. He was beaten by the overlooker, with great severity, and cursed and reviled from morning till night, till his life became a burthen to him, and his body discoloured by bruises. In common, with his fellow apprentices, Blincoe was wholly dependent upon the mercy of the overlookers, whom he found, generally speaking, a set of brutal, ferocious, illiterate ruffians, alike void of understanding, as of humanity! Blincoe complained to Mr. Baker, the manager, and all he said to him was:—"*do your work well, and you'll not be beaten.*"—It was but seldom, either of the masters visited the mill, and when they did, Blincoe found it was useless to complain.

Being half starved, and cruelly treated by his task-masters—being spotted as a leopard with bruises: and still believing his ill-treatment arose from causes beyond the controul of the parish officers, by whom he had been disposed of to Messrs. Lamberts, Blincoe resolved to attempt an escape,—to beg his way to London,—to lay his case before the overseers and churchwardens of Saint Pancras, and not only claim redress of injuries, but the fulfillment of the grand promises that had been made to him.

"So far, young as I was, I calculated upon difficulty, danger and sufferings.—In one thing, only, was I deceived; that error consisted in thinking the evils of my situation intolerable! I had no recollection of calamities so severe, and consequently no standard by which to regulate my judgment. I therefore, rashly determined in my own mind, that my condition admitted of no aggravation,—I was indeed, soon undeceived! I lived, within the short space of four years, to look back with regret to the comparative degree of ease, plenty of food, and of all other good things enjoyed at Lowdham Mill! This sort of knowledge, is, I believe, commonly taught" said Blincoe, "to all the children of misery, as they sink deeper and deeper in woe! The first stage appears the most intolerable; but as they descend, like me, they sink so profoundly in the depths of wretchedness, that in their melancholy progress, those stages and degrees, which, at first, appeared as intolerable, lose all their terrors, in accumulated misery, and the desponding heart, when it takes a retrospective glance at past sufferings, often arraigns its want of patience and fortitude, for murmurings measured by present calamities. Their former condition appeared comfortable! . . . He considered his great danger to lie in being retaken on the road between Lowdham and Nottingham; but he knew no other way, and was afraid to make inquiry! When the manager and overlooker of the room he worked in were busy, Blincoe set off, dressed in his working clothes. His progress began in a sort of canter, looking behind him every fifty yards for the first half

mile, when, finding he had not been seen or pursued, he continued his rapid flight till he reached Barton, and there, as fate decreed, that flight suddenly terminated; for, as he trotted onwards, a long-shanked, slipshod tailor, who worked for Lowdham Mill, slid nimbly from his shop-board, which, unfortunately for Blincoe, faced the road, and, placing himself full in the way, with a malicious kind of grin upon his long, lank visage, said "O! young Parson, where art thou running so fast this way?" saying this, he seized him by the hand, and led him very loath into his cottage, and, giving him a seat in the back part of the room, placed himself between his captive and the door. . . .

When this sly fox of a tailor found he could eat no more, still blockading the door, to question Blincoe as to the object of his journey, which the latter frankly explained,—Aye, I thought so," said the detestable hypocrite, "young parson, I thought so,—I saw Satan behind thee, jobbing his prong into thee ****!—I saw thee running headlong into h—ll, when I stept forth to save thee!" . . .

Having abandoned all thoughts of escape, Blincoe submitted sullenly and patiently to his fate;—he worked according to his age and stature, as hard as any one in the mill. When his strength failed, and his limbs refused their office, he endured the strap or the stick, the cuff or the kick, with as much resignation as any of his fellow-sufferers. In the faded complexions, and sallow looks of his associates, he could see, as, in a mirror, his own altered condition! Many of his comrades had, by this time, been more or less injured by the machinery. Some had the skin scraped off the knuckles, clean to the bone, by the fliers; others a finger crushed, a joint or two nipped off in the cogs of the spinning-frame wheels! When his turn to suffer came, the fore-finger of his left hand was caught and almost before he could cry out, off was the first joint—his lamentations excited no manner of emotion in the spectators, except a coarse joke—he clapped the mangled joint, streaming with blood, to the finger, and ran off to Burton, to the surgeon, who, very composedly put the parts together again, and sent him back to the mill. Though the pain was so intense, he could scarcely help crying out every minute, he was not allowed to leave the frame. He said but little to any one; but was almost continually bemoaning in secret the cruelty of his fate. Before he was eight years old, Blincoe declared, that many a time he had been tempted to throw himself out of one of the upper windows of the factory—but when he came to look at the leap he purposed taking, his courage failed him—a propensity, he mentioned not as thinking it evinced any commendable feeling, but as an illustration of the natural and unavoidable consequences of working children too hard, and subjecting them to so many severe privations

A girl, named Mary Richards, who was thought remarkably handsome when she left the workhouse, and, who might be nearly or quite

ten years of age, attended a drawing frame, below which, and about a foot from the floor, was a horizontal shaft, by which the frames above were turned. It happened, one evening, when most of her comrades had left the mill, and just as she was taking off the weights, her apron was caught by the shaft. In an instant the poor girl was drawn by an irresistible force and dashed on the floor. She uttered the most heart rending shrieks! Blincoe ran towards her, an agonized and helpless beholder of a scene of horror that exceeds the power of my pen to delineate! He saw her whirled round and round with the shaft—he heard the bones of her arms, legs, thighs, &c. successively snap asunder, crushed, seemingly, to atoms, as the machinery whirled her round, and drew tighter and tighter her body within the works, her blood was scattered over the frame and streamed upon the floor, her head appeared dashed to pieces—at last, her mangled body was jammed in so fast, between the shafts and the floor, that the water being low and the wheels off the gear, it stopped the main shaft! When she was extricated, every bone was found broken!—her head dreadfully crushed!—her clothes and mangled flesh were apparently inextricably mixed together, and she was carried off, as supposed, quite lifeless. “I cannot describe,” said Blincoe, “my sensations at this appalling scene. I shouted out aloud for them to stop the wheels! When I saw her blood thrown about like water from a twirled mop, I fainted. But neither the spine of her back was broken, nor were her brains injured, and to the amazement of every one, who beheld her mangled and horrible state, by the skill of the surgeon, and the excellence of her constitution, she was saved!—Saved to what end? the philosopher might ask—to be sent back to the same mill, to pursue her labours upon crutches, made a cripple for life. . . .

When Messrs. Lamberts gave up the cotton-yarn establishment, carried on at Lowdham Mill, they permitted all their apprentices who wished to leave their employment in a cotton-mill, to write to their parents and friends, and some few found redeemers; the great bulk were, unhappily left to their fate! Being a foundling, and knowing no soul on earth to whom he could look up for succour, Robert Blincoe was one of the unhappy wretches, abandoned to as dismal a destiny as ever befel a *parish apprentice*. It was his evil fortune, with a multitude of fellow sufferers, to be turned over *en masse* to Mr. Ellice Needham, of Highgate Wall, Derbyshire, the master and owner of Litton Mill, near Tideswell.

It was in the gloomy month of November, when this removal took place! On the evening of the second day's journey, the devoted children reached Litton Mill. Its situation, at the bottom of a sequestered glen, and surrounded by rugged rocks, remote from any human habitation, marked a place fitted for the foul crimes of frequent occurrence which

hurried so many of the friendless victims of insatiate avarice, to an untimely grave.

The savage features of the adjacent scenery impressed a general gloom upon the convoy, when Woodward pointed out to them the lonely mill to which they were travelling. As the hands were then at work, all of whom, except the overlookers, were parish children, the conductor of the new comers led them through the mill. The effect of the review filled the mind of Blincoe, and perhaps his unhappy associates, with deep dismay. The pallid, sickly complexions—the meagre, haggard appearance of the Litton Mill apprentices, with their filthy and ragged condition, gave him a sorrowful foretaste of the dismal fate that apparently awaited him. From the mill, they were escorted to the 'prentice-house, where every thing wore a discouraging aspect. Their first meal was water-porridge and oaten cakes—the former thin and ill-made—the latter, baked in flat cakes, on iron griddles, about an inch thick—and being piled up in heaps, was liable to heat, ferment and grow mouldy. This was a new and not a very palatable diet. Whilst Blincoe and many of his comrades went supperless to bed, their half-starved comrades, the Litton Mill apprentices, ravenously devoured what the more dainty Lowdham children turned from with loathing, and told them *their stomachs* would come to in a few days, and that they would be glad to pick from a dunghill, the mouldiest pieces, then so disdainfully flung away. . . .

The apprentices slept about fifty in a room. The governor used to unlock the door of each room when the first bell rang: having unlocked the last room door, he went back to the first, with a switch stick in his hand, and if he found any one in bed, or slowly dressing, he used to lay on without mercy; by which severity, the rooms were soon empty. The apprentices had their breakfast generally of water-porridge, called in this part of Derbyshire "stir-pudding," and oaten cake, which they took in the mill. The breakfast hour was eight o'clock; but the machinery did not stop, and so irregular were their meals, it sometimes did not arrive till ten or eleven o'clock. At other times, the overlookers would not allow the apprentices to eat it, and stood till it grew cold and covered with flue! Skim-milk, or butter-milk was allowed; but very sparingly, and often in a stinking state, when it was served out. Forty minutes were allowed for dinner; of which time, full one half was absorbed in cleaning the frames. Sometimes the overlookers detained them in the mill the whole dinner-time, on which occasion, a halfpenny was given, or rather promised. On these occasions, they had to work the whole day through, generally *sixteen hours, without rest or food!* These excessive labours, accompanied by comparative starvation, may appear to my reader, as, at first, it did to me, almost *incredible*; but Blincoe's relations, marvel-

lous as it may appear, was afterwards confirmed by individuals, whose narratives *will be given*, and with whom no sort of acquaintance or intercourse had latterly subsisted. Owing to this shamefully protracted time of labour, to the ferocity with which the children were driven by stripes, cuffs, and kicks, and to the insufficiency of food, no less than its bad and unwholesome quality, Blincoe, in common with his fellow-sufferers has often dropped down at the frames, and been so weary, when, at last, he left work, he has given a stronger boy a halfpenny, or a part of his supper, to allow him to lean upon him on his way back to the 'prentice-house. Not a spark of pity was shewn to the sick of either sex; they were worked to the very last moment it was possible for them to work; and when it was no longer possible, if they dropped down, they were put into a wheel-barrow, and wheeled to the 'prentice-house. According to Blincoe's statement, they were left in the common room below, or carried to their birth in the bed-room, and there left to live or die! In this melancholy state, all the change that took place in the diet, was an allowance of some *treacle-tea*, that is, hot water sweetened with treacle. The doctor was seldom called, till the patient was in the agonies of death. Generally speaking, the dying experienced less attention than a sheep or a hog! . . .

I have not yet done more than to mention the cuffs, kicks, or scourging, to which, in common with many other of his unhappy comrades, Blincoe stood exposed, since, by his account, almost from the first hour in which he entered the Mill, till he arrived at a state of manhood, it was one continued round of cruel and arbitrary punishment. Blincoe declared, he was so frequently and immoderately beaten, it became quite familiar; and if its frequency did not extinguish the sense of feeling, it took away the terror it excited on his first entrance into this den of ignorance and crime. I asked him if he could state an average number of times in which he thought he might in safety say, he had suffered corporeal punishment in a week. His answer invariably was, that his punishments were so various and so frequent, it was impossible to state with any thing approaching to accuracy. If he is to be credited, during his ten years of hard servitude, his body was never free from contusions, and from wounds inflicted by the cruel master whom he served, by his sons, or his brutal and ferocious and merciless overlookers.

It is already stated, that he was put to the back of a stretching-frame, when he was about eleven years of age, and that often, owing to the idleness, or the absence of the stretcher, he had his master's work, as well as his own to perform. The work being very coarse, the motion was rapid, and he could not keep up to the ends. For this he was sure to be unmercifully punished, although, they who punished him knew the task assigned was beyond what he could perform. There were different stretchers in the mill; but, according to Blincoe's account, they

were all of them base and ferocious ruffians. Robert Woodward, who had escorted the apprentices from Lowdham Mill, was considered the worst of those illiterate vulgar tyrants. If he made a kick at Blincoe, so great was his strength, it commonly lifted him off the floor. If he struck him, even a flat-handed blow, it floored him; if, with a stick, it not only bruised him, but cut his flesh. It was not enough to use his feet or his hands, but a stick, a bobby or a rope's-end. He and others used to throw rollers one after another, at the poor boy, aiming at his head, which, of course was uncovered while at work, and nothing delighted the savages more, than to see Blincoe stagger, and to see the blood gushing out in a stream! . . . To lift the apprentices up by their ears, shake them violently, and then dash them down upon the floor with the utmost fury, was one of the many inhuman sports in Litton Mill, in which the overlookers appeared to take delight. Frequently has Blincoe been thus treated, till he thought his ears were torn from his head, and this for very trivial offences, or omissions. Another of these diabolical amusements consisted in filing the apprentices' teeth! Blincoe was once constrained to open his mouth to receive this punishment, and Robert Woodward applied the file with great vigour! Having punished him as much as he pleased; the brute said with a sneer; "I do this to sharpen thy teeth, that thou may'st eat thy Sunday dinner the better."

Blincoe declared, that he had often been compelled, on a cold winter's day, to work *naked*, except his trousers, and loaded with two half hundred weights slung behind him, hanging one at each shoulder. . . .

Upon an average, the children were kept to work during a great part, if not all, the time Blincoe was at Litton Mill, sixteen hours in the day. The result of this excessive toil, super-added to hunger and torture, and was the death of many of apprentices, and the entailment of incurable lameness and disease on many others.

The store pigs and the apprentices used to fare pretty much alike; but when the swine were hungry, they used to speak and grunt so loud, they obtained the wash first, to quiet them. The apprentices could be intimidated, and made to keep still. The fatting pigs fared luxuriously, compared with the apprentices! They were often regaled with meal-balls made into dough, and given in the shape of dumplings! Blincoe and others, who worked in a part of the Mill, whence they could see the swine served, used to say to one another—"The pigs are served; it will be our turn next." Blincoe and those who were in a part of the building contiguous to the pigsties, used to keep a sharp eye upon the fatting pigs, and their meal-balls, and, as soon as he saw the swineherd withdraw, he used to slip down stairs, and, stealing slyly towards the trough, plunge his hand in at the loop holes, and steal as many dumplings as he could grasp! . . .

The master, to induce the apprentices to work all day long, promised each three-pence per week, if they worked the whole of the dinner hour, and they had to eat it, *bite and sup*, at the work, without, spoon, knife, or fork, and with their dirty oily fingers! They were thus kept on their feet, from five o'clock in the morning, till nine, ten, and even eleven o'clock at night, and on Saturdays, sometimes till twelve; because Sunday was a *day of rest*! Frequently, though almost famishing, the apprentices could not find time to eat their food at all; but carried it back with them at night, covered with flue and filth. This liberality did not last long. The halfpenny was reduced to a farthing, and this farthing was withheld till it amounted to several shillings, and then, when the master *pleased*, he would give a shilling or two, and none dare ask for more. . . .

If Blincoe happened to see any fresh cabbage leaves, potato or turnip parings, thrown out upon the dunghill, he has run down with a can full of sweepings, as an excuse, and as he threw that dirt on the dunghill, he would eagerly pick the other up, and carry it in his shirt, or in his can, into the mill, wipe the dirt off as well as he could, and greedily eat them up. At other times, when they had rice puddings boiled in bags for dinner—the rice being very bad and full of large maggots, Blincoe not being able to endure such food, used to go into one of the woods near the factory, and get what the boys called *bread and cheese*, that is, hips and hipleaves, clover, or other vegetable, and filling his bosom, run back to the mill, and eat his trash, instead of fowl rice, with which neither butter-milk, milk, treacle, or even a morsel of salt, was allowed.

Amongst the most singular punishments inflicted upon Blincoe, was that of screwing small hand-vices of a pound weight, more or less, to his nose and ears, one to each part; and these have been kept on, as he worked, for hours together! . . .

REFERENCES

1. Arnold Thackray in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. 79, no. 3, June 1974, pp. 679-80.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 683.

COMMENT ON PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED ARTICLE

The writer of the following letter to the Editor of the Journal is the daughter of Dr. Eduard Bloch, the doctor who treated Hitler's mother for breast cancer, and who was referred to by Rudolph Binion in his article "Hitler's Concept of Lebensraum: The Psychological Basis" which appeared in this Journal in the Fall of 1973.

The following statements are made to strongly refute the accusations made by Dr. Binion in his article "Hitler's Concept of *Lebensraum*", published in the *Journal of Psychohistory*.

No. 1. Dr. Binion accuses Dr. Bloch of having caused the death of Mrs. Klara Hitler, Adolf Hitler's mother by poisoning her with local applications of a deadly amount of iodoform.

No. 2. Dr. Binion claims that the death of Hitler's mother "at Dr. Bloch's hands" as he expresses it, was the cause of Hitler's hatred of the Jews, which led to the murder of millions of Jews.

No. 3. Dr. Binion claims that Dr. Bloch overcharged the family Hitler for his services, and that in the eyes of Adolf Hitler Dr. Bloch was a "Jewish Racketeer." (See the front page of the *History of Childhood Quarterly*.)

ALL THESE THREE STATEMENTS ARE FALSE.

1. After Dr. Bloch had examined Mrs. Klara Hitler for the first time in his office, he diagnosed a progressed, ulcerated breast cancer. He informed Mrs. Raubal, Hitler's sister and young Adolf of the fact that their mother had a neglected breast cancer, and told them of the hopeless prognosis. The diagnosis was confirmed by Dr. Karl Urban, Chief of the Surgical Department of the Hospital Barmherzige Schwestern (Sisters of Mercy). Dr. Urban later performed the surgery. When Dr. Binion says: "Dr. Bloch diagnosed the breast cancer and promptly had the breast removed" he is wrong: the decision, concerning the extent of the surgical procedure was solely made by the operating surgeon, Dr. Urban. Dr. Bloch was asked to be present during the operation, as it made Mrs. Klara Hitler feel better to know that her physician was at her bedside.

After Mrs. Hitler's discharge from the hospital, Dr. Bloch took over the post-operative care. At that time, the local application of iodoform-gauze was the treatment of choice for necrotic, infected, malodorous ulcers. (The iodoform-gauze was applied once a day.)

Dr. Binion assumes that *all* the iodoform-gauze which was bought was applied to the breast of Mrs. Hitler. The iodoform-gauze was supplied in sterile packages. Dr. Bloch adhered strongly to the laws of asepsis and discarded all the unused gauze as not sterile; this procedure was used then, as it is at the present time. Consequently, only a *fractional* amount of the iodoform-gauze was used each time when the wound was being redressed. This shows clearly that the amount which Dr. Binion figures out as having been applied is incorrect. Therefore his theory of "poisoning by iodoform" is false. Besides, if any poisoning occurs, the symptoms cannot be overlooked, neither by the family of the patient, nor by the treating physician; furthermore, the symptoms of poisoning are different from those produced by cancer. There simply were never any symptoms of poisoning. Hitler and his family witnessed the very distressing terminal stage of a cancer patient, the slow but constant "going down" of their mother, which finally ended in her death. To assume that Hitler blamed his mother's cancer and the subsequent death on the physician who diagnosed the disease, is a fiction of Dr. Binion. There is not a trace of factual background in these statements and they are being contradicted by the subsequent actions of Adolf Hitler.

2. To blame the savagery and butchery, unleashed against millions of Jews, by millions of Germans and other Nationals on Hitler's trauma, as a result of Dr. Bloch's involvement in Klara Hitler's disease and death is beyond comprehension. To conclude that the burden of guilt for the Jewish Holocaust sits on the shoulders of Dr. Bloch is a statement which lacks any reality.

The assumptions of Dr. Binion are contradicted by the actions of young Adolf Hitler, by his family, and by the "Reichskanzler" (Chancellor) Hitler. Both sisters of Hitler, and he, himself, expressed repeatedly their thankfulness of Dr. Bloch's care for their mother.

A few days after the funeral, Hitler and his sister Angela visited Dr. Bloch in his office, and young Hitler said to Dr. Bloch: "I shall be grateful to you forever." A few years later, Hitler sent Dr. Bloch, from his first visit to Vienna, a self-painted postcard, reading: from my first visit to Vienna I am sending you my best regards; signed: yours, thankfully forever—Adolf Hitler. He sent Dr. Bloch a Christmas card, signed in the same way. Both cards were "safe-guarded" by the Gestapo Linz.

More than thirty years later, the Reichskanzler Hitler and his sister, Mrs. Raubal, proved their thankfulness to Dr. Bloch; when, in 1938, the conditions for the Jews in Linz became difficult, Mrs. Raubal drew

her brother's attention to this fact. She spoke to him during an intermission at an operatic performance at the Staatsoper in Vienna (State-operahouse). A few days later, the Chief of the Gestapo in Linz summoned Dr. Bloch to his office and read to him the telegram which the Gestapo in Linz had received from the Reichskanzlei (Chancery) in Berlin, it read:

In consideration of the merits to his Excellency, the Fuehrer and Reichskanzler, concerning Obermedizinalrat Dr. Eduard Bloch, issues the following order: "All possible alleviations, also monetary, have to be granted to him."

Erlasse (order) of the Reichsministers and Chief of the Reichskanzlei of 14.9.1938 R.K. 424 Bg.

The photostatic copy of the above document is in my hands. The protection proved effective on different occasions. For instance, when all Jews had to leave Linz for Vienna Dr. Bloch was informed by the Gestapo that he could stay in Linz if he wished to do so. The father of Dr. Bloch's son-in-law was not deported and was permitted to stay in Vienna without being harassed, until his death. Can there be a stronger proof that Dr. Binion's assumptions are wrong?

3. Neither Hitler nor his family considered the fee charged by Dr. Bloch for his services as high or exorbitant or the like. There was never any question raised nor any discussion concerning the amount of the fee. A few days after Klara Hitler's funeral, young Adolf, Angela and Paula (his sisters) went to call on Dr. Bloch to thank him for what he had done for their mother and to pay for his medical services. They were full of gratitude for the most devoted, humane and considerate treatment of their mother. Young Hitler stepped forward and said: "I shall be grateful to you forever."

The population of Linz, old and young, of all walks of life, had the highest esteem for Dr. Bloch; he was known as a religious man, a busy and charitable physician. The love of the population of Linz towards Dr. Bloch was also recognized in official quarters. He was awarded with the highest title which a doctor in Austria could receive: Obermedizinalrat. A newspaper, the *Ober-Oesterreichische Nachrichten*, published in their issue of February 19, 1946: "Obermedizinalrat Dr. Bloch died. We just received the news that Dr. Bloch had died in New York, the physician who was known in Upper Austria for his humane and benevolent attitude, and had been loved by everybody. Dr. Bloch emigrated in 1939 with his family to America. Many of the inhabitants of Linz knew that Dr. Bloch had treated Hitler's mother and Hitler himself; he had helped them greatly. For that, he sent him his personal thanks. Despite these thanks, Dr. Bloch lost his homeland and his livelihood. Even the poorest people of the town will keep him in memory for his loving and

unselfish care." On the day of his emigration, people had masses celebrated in catholic churches, praying for his safe journey.

It is beyond any doubt that the statements made in Dr. Binion's article are a distortion of the actual facts. It shows that Dr. Binion is writing about a personality of whose medical knowledge, devotion to his patients and highest ethical standards he has absolutely no knowledge.

6-1-1974

(Gertrude Kren, née Bloch)
Mrs. Frank Kren

RUDOLPH BINION REPLIES

Dr. Bloch related that when Klara Hitler consulted him on January 14, 1907, he diagnosed "an extensive tumor of the breast" and proposed immediate surgery, which she stoically agreed to undergo and which Dr. Urban then "willingly agreed" to perform "on any basis suggested" (*Collier's*, March 15, 1941, p. 36). My formulation was: "Bloch diagnosed cancer and promptly had one breast removed." Of course it was up to the surgeon to decide where to stop cutting, but does that make me wrong? It is more nearly wrong of Mrs. Kren to speak of Bloch's "hopeless prognosis" when it was Bloch's belief "that surgery offered the only hope" (*ibid.*).

And Mrs. Kren is as wrong as could be about iodoform according to the massive evidence on it in the relevant libraries and institutes. Its use for cancer was altogether exceptional. The rate of its application to Klara Hitler was unexampled. A balance of gauze not removed from a package was considered to remain sterile. The five-meter strip was sold to be parceled out. Anyhow, the shorter strips cost little more in proportion—not enough to begin to alter my conclusions. The symptoms of iodoformism varied greatly from subject to subject beyond that effect on the saliva indirectly evidenced for Klara Hitler ("*Lebensraum*," p. 200). How sure is Dr. Bloch's testimony about Klara Hitler's "slow but constant 'going down'" when he substituted morphine for iodoform in his account of the case?

Mrs. Kren's further objections to my presentation proceed from misreadings or misunderstandings. Yes, Bloch charged as little as the traffic would bear, Hitler remembered Bloch kindly in after years, and Bloch's guilt for the Holocaust was nil. If my findings themselves upset Mrs. Kren, I am sorry.

BOOK



REVIEWS

Graham S. Gibbard, John J. Hartman, Richard D. Mann, Editors,
Analysis of Groups. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1974.
444 pages, \$15.00.

Reviewed by Lloyd deMause

This outstanding book is the summation of the most important advance in research in the social sciences in the past two decades: small group process theory. No psychohistorian can afford to be ignorant of the literature and exciting discoveries in this new field, because it is group-process theory—and not clinical psychoanalysis—which will contribute the hypotheses most useful to group psychohistory.

Few historians have yet read any of the literature of psychoanalytic group-process theory (indeed, few historians have yet read Freud, much less any of the hundreds of other important psychoanalytic researchers who followed him and whose findings are directly relevant to the historian's task.) This book is at once a collection of the best articles in the field and a superb guide to the literature. It should be immediately purchased by every reader of this *Journal* who hopes to understand where psychohistory is going from here on in.

The reason this is so is that small-group researchers have found that when one gets an intimate group of people to meet together regularly over a period of months, they experience events in miniature which are quite similar to large-group, historical events. Small groups deify leaders, assume various historical roles, develop group myths, punish scapegoats, conduct revolutions, attempt utopias, announce messiahs, and in general repeat in their own short history events psychohistorians are eager to learn more about. There is only one major difference in small-group events: they can be closely observed, recorded and questioned, and the unconscious content of these "mini-histories" can be examined in detail by researchers who have psychoanalytic training.

This method of psychoanalytic small-group research, begun three decades ago by the British psychoanalyst W. R. Bion, has proved so fruitful of theory and new questions that it now appears that group-process theory can for the first time provide psychohistorians with an experimental basis for their new science, fulfilling a centuries-old dream of historians and social scientists of having some better way of studying the phenomena in which they are interested than the meager records left to them by history.

One of the three editors, Richard Mann, begins the volume with a deep-felt call for a new, more humanistic ideal of scientific research, one which will keep the objectivity of contemporary sociology but will expand its horizons to include all human feelings, rather than being satisfied with "recording devices so narrow in their band-width that it is as if there were no such thing as hostility, and barely any affection." In small-group research, he says, "all the structures for putting human inquiry into separate boxes, all the ways to divide social science from the humanities, all the ways to split off scholarly work from the creative arts seem like a colossal hoax." The deadening effect of contemporary methodology in the behavioral sciences is devastatingly described by Mann:

When a first or second grader in a traditional classroom finally shouts out his pained awareness that it really isn't any fun in school anymore, the teacher says, 'Oh, Johnny, you know we have fun-time for the first half-hour before we get down to the regular work, and there's a long recess on Tuesdays and Fridays.' When a graduate student finally blurts out his pained awareness that what he most wants to do is utterly deprived of legitimacy, the instructor of the methods course says, 'Oh, but you know how much we value exploratory, clinical, impressionistic studies as a first step before the really solid research gets under way.' And so all of us learn, all our lives, that what we call our work is trivial in their eyes, and that it is nowhere near as serious and valid as what they do, and try so hard to make us do.

The following fifteen articles all retain the high level with which Mann begins the book. Dorothy Stock and Martin Lieberman give a penetrating look into the ways of locating the "group focal conflict" from the variety of clues which groups furnish the investigator. Seymour Kaplan describes inevitable group-formative processes, the brilliant and classic paper on recurring group phases by Warren Bennis and Herbert Shepard is included, and important articles discussing role-playing, leadership dynamics, group fantasy and interracial group dynamics are included. Many of the best articles turn out to be dependent on Kleinian psychoanalytic formulations, whether directly from the pioneering work of Melanie Klein herself or through the work of Bion and Elliot Jaques.

Particularly relevant to psychohistorians is Hartman and Gibbard's article on group phases, where the revolt against the authority of the

group's leader is found to be regularly followed by utopian fantasies of group oneness, and then by a breakdown of the utopian group into competitive disorder, phases which are found in every historical movement as well.

The three editors, in sections written specially for this volume, not only have attempted to extend the conceptual framework of many of the selections, but also have given us continuous commentary on each section, leading us through the relevant literature and suggesting integrating concepts which bridge the gap of the different languages used in articles written from different perspectives.

There seem to me to be two defects in much of group-process analysis so far. The first is to be found in the occasional notion that revolution is a step on the road to health. Particularly noticeable in Slater's work, the romantic over-evaluation of revolution is quite inappropriate in self-analytic groups, since the group leader has no real power over the members and a revolt against him or her is wholly irrational, there being no reason why the group cannot assume control of their own development without a revolt. The unexamined value of revolution is often implicit in the very terms chosen to describe it, whether it is viewed as oedipal ("a progressive step in mature development") or pre-oedipal ("an anger that helps establish the young child's self and object boundaries.") But in psychoanalysis, as in group process, both oedipal revolt and pre-oedipal rage are what maintain dependency and psychic distortion, not what promote going beyond them. The theory of abreaction, despite its current popularity in encounter groups and elsewhere, is quite mistaken; otherwise every family fight would be therapeutic. (Which brings up the question, of course, of just how therapeutic these self-analytic groups are.) Similarly, in history, revolution always springs from counter-dependency rather than from maturity, and quickly lapses back into dependency solutions after the revolution is over.

The second insufficiency in group-process theory is an avoidance of childhood in their conceptualizations. Of the several hundred studies I have read, none measures the childhood of any of the group's members, and ever since Bion began his first self-analytic group, childhood prototypes of group processes and roles have been minimized. This may seem an odd thing to say about theories which are so obviously dependent upon the early childhood theories of Klein, but it is true nonetheless. Examples from clinical psychoanalysis are almost never cited, and psychoanalytic concepts of the infantile mind which would help explain many group roles are rarely referred to (some examples: sexual idols in groups and the "exciting object" in infancy; the group scape-goat and the "toilet-breast", etc.). Similar to the avoidance of childhood is the avoidance of the use of dreams in analyzing group-process meanings, an obvious but rarely-considered means of reaching unconscious fantasy.

Finally, a warning to the reader of this book who is new to the field of group-process theory: the field is not easy to understand, and takes a real effort to master, not so much because it involves a new jargon (happily this has been so far generally avoided) as because small groups

are equally as complex as large groups, and these bold new researchers aim at nothing less than a new science, able to explain the meaning of each event in a group's history. That this is a task similar to that of psychohistory should be evident to the reader of this journal. Future issues of the *Journal* will contain articles by group-process researchers extending their findings into psychohistory.

Robert C. Tucker, *Stalin As Revolutionary, 1879-1929: A Study in History and Personality*. New York; W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1973, xx + 519 pp., \$14.95.

Reviewed by Patrick P. Dunn,
Worcester Polytechnic Institute

In the preface to this work Professor Tucker elaborates on his title, stating that this is "a study in the forming of a dictator and the conditions that made for his dictatorship." The sentence is purposely cast in the passive voice because, according to Tucker, Stalin did not aspire to be a dictator, but only to be a second Lenin, the esteemed and respected leader, the *vozhd'*, the hero in history. He came to view "socialism in one country" as a second revolution implied in Lenin's later writings, a revolution of which he was to be the leader and in which he, Stalin, would become the second Lenin. Stalin was, ultimately, "a person whose life was dedicated to the enactment of a role of historical glory." But Stalin was unable to inspire the party and the masses as had Lenin, he was not the *vozhd'*, due in part to the vindictive streak in his personality and in part to the fact that he was merely "one of the lesser figures whom events propelled to the fore in Bolshevik affairs." In a manner paralleling the Party's taming of the Soviets, Stalin, unable to inspire, coerced respect and obedience, and "in the terror of the thirties untold thousands . . . would have to be condemned as covert enemies of the people so that Djughashvili could prove to himself and Russia that he was really Stalin." (One is reminded of Hitler's need to prove that he was really the *führer*.)

The analysis of Stalin's childhood is central to this study. Tucker rigorously details what is known of these early years and, aided by the remarkable insights of Stalin's friend from childhood, Iosif Iremashvili, demonstrates persuasively their influence on the dictator's later behavior and attitudes. The dominant force in Stalin's childhood was his father, Vissarion Djughashvili, a poor, hard-drinking and violent-tempered man, who died in a barroom brawl when his son was 11 years old. By that time the young Stalin had formed a strong mother attachment, and it was Iremashvili rather than the psychohistorically-oriented biographer who first understood that Stalin's "vengeful feeling" toward persons in positions of authority was a displacement of his feelings toward the father whose image he wished to usurp, for "to gain a victory and be feared was triumph for him," realized his childhood friend. The threats,

beatings, and humiliations Stalin suffered at the hands of his father "must have," according to Tucker, "spurred him on in the process of self-idealization, making a compensatory fantasy life psychologically indispensable." This generalization is supported by the fact that through 1917 Stalin used the code name "Koba"; Koba was the hero of a Georgian novel, the *Patricide*, an idealized Robin Hood, the defender of simple Georgians (especially peasant women), from the evil designs and oppression of both Russians and the Georgian aristocracy. While this idealized self-image and the vengeful attitude toward superiors remained stable elements of Stalin's personality, the background against which he acted out his life scenario changed, as ably analyzed by Tucker, from rural Georgia to urban Georgia, then the Tsarist and Revolutionary Russia, while Lenin came to replace Koba as the object of Stalin's idealization.

Although central, the themes of childhood far from dominate the pages of this work. With great detail and insight Tucker explores Lenin's image and role within the Marxist movement, Stalin's military and administrative record, the break between Stalin and Lenin, and the complex succession struggle. As one would expect of Tucker, the discussions of Bolshevik debates over theoretical issues, such as whether the nationalistic movements in the old Russian Empire ought to be tolerated, controlled, or crushed, are illuminating as well as informative. Further, Tucker becomes a master of imagery in capturing the personal side of the revolution: Stalin sipping tea and reading Chekhov late into the night to his future wife and her sister, or the confusion and loss of direction experienced by the Bolshevik leaders when they realized that Lenin's death had left them orphaned. In short, Tucker has demonstrated his skill as a psychohistorically-oriented biographer, a craftsman of historical narrative, and an artist.

The work does, however, suffer from a failure to delve into linkages with existing research and monographs, notably the work done on revolutionary personalities and on the process of modernization. Perhaps Tucker is saving these lines of development for the projected second volume of this study; if so, these remarks are means to suggest rather than criticize. For example, a cruel and hostile father was a common experience for children in nineteenth-century Russia and, therefore, would seem of secondary importance in the development of a revolutionary.¹ The fact that Stalin's father died leaving intact and unresolvable the son's hostility and rivalry would seem, following the model of E. Victor Wolfenstein and others, to be more crucial. To be sure, Wolfenstein's *The Revolutionary Personality* is open to criticism, but not only might it enrich the analysis of Stalin's childhood, it also offers an alternative interpretation of Trotsky's apparent refusal to succeed Lenin. Tucker, puzzled by Trotsky's repeated refusal to accept Lenin's appointment of him as his vice-chairman of Sovnarkhom, can only allude to "obscure reasons" that might explain these actions. Such an explanation is conceptually inferior to Wolfenstein's conclusion that Trotsky was psychologically incapable of assuming ultimate authority

and sought only praise and vindication, not power. Again Tucker, in offering a "sociological explanation" of Stalin's rise to power, argues that the successful Bolsheviks now had a stake in the stability and success of their revolution and, hence, were prone to accept Stalin's program rather than Trotsky's which risked foreign intervention and internal anarchy. While not without its own merit Tucker's explanation could be enriched by works such as Theodore Von Laue's *Why Lenin? Why Stalin?*, which interprets Stalin's program as a not-unprecedented response to Russia's need to modernize in order to survive; or by Michael Walzer's *The Revolution of the Saints*, which interprets radical politics as a response to the unsettledness of socio-economic and personal existence. Stalinism, then, had both historical and psychological appeal, as well as a sociological dimension.

The reader who seeks simple, pathological portraits of great men would do well to avoid Tucker's book, as would the traditional historian who "knows" psychohistory cannot be "good" history. The reader who seeks a deeper understanding of Stalin and the Stalin Revolution, of how character and culture coalesced in history, cannot ignore this profound study.

REFERENCE

1. I must take exception to Richard Pipes' review of this work ("The pock-marked god," *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 14, 1974, p. 1). Pipes labels Tucker's "psychologizing" as "amateurish," citing as support for this broad claim the fact that Tucker deduces Stalin's belief that beating was a punishment merited only by worst offenders from Stalin's experience of seeing his father beat his mother. Pipes argues that the difficulty with this is that other Russians, such as Vissarion Belinskii, came to loathe beating precisely because they witnessed their fathers beating their mothers. Leaving aside the question as to whether or not Pipes understands Tucker's argument, the former is still in error on two counts. First, no psychologist or psychohistorian would contend that witnessing such a beating would have the same effect on every child; a judgment as to effect requires research, as Tucker has done, into the overall quality of the relationship between the parents and the child. Second by citing Belinskii as an example Pipes has personalized the disagreement. Vissarion Belinskii's father, Grigorii, was not in the habit of beating his wife or children. On the contrary, he was an unusually warm and interactive father; the Ivanovs, Belinskii's cousins and friends from childhood, did not remember Grigorii Belinskii ever striking his son, Vissarion; in fact, they did remember that Grigorii intervened to stop teachers in the district school from beating the children. That he struck his wife is undeniable, but these actions seem to have occurred after Vissarion left the home, and the correspondence between Vissarion and his family indicate that the cause of Grigorii's anger was most often the fact that his wife had struck the children! See my "Fathers and Sons Revisited: The Childhood of Vissarion Belinskii," in *History of Childhood Quarterly*, I, no. 3 (Winter, 1973), 389-407; on Russian parenting in the nineteenth century see my "That Enemy is the Baby": Childhood in Imperial Russia," *The History of Childhood*, ed. by Lloyd deMause (New York: The Psychohistory Press, 1974), pp. 383-405.

Dorothy Zeligs, *Psychoanalysis and the Bible: A Study in Depth of Seven Leaders* (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1974)

Reviewed by Frederick F. Harling,
Westfield State College

Dorothy Zeligs has chosen to apply psychoanalysis to the Bible fundamentally because she sees the Bible as the book of books, occupying a unique place in western culture. She finds that it has exercised an extraordinary influence on the one hand to guide, console, and inspire man; and on the other hand, to arouse feelings of guilt, terror, and fear. All of the foregoing human experiences fall within the scope and interest of psychoanalysis, and therefore are the subjects of psychological inquiry.

She believes that her approach is similar to that of the French philosopher, Paul Ricoeur, who maintains "that the psychology of religious beliefs can be understood only by studying the texts in which man has indirectly expressed and formulated his beliefs in the process of living them." (XVI) She likewise views this methodology as in a similar tradition to that of the Talmudists who allowed their thoughts, fantasies, and intuitions to savour every word and story to extract the most meaning possible. She is appreciative of the Higher Criticism of the Bible for its contributions to historical understanding, but eschews it for her purposes because she views the material of the Bible "as stemming from the same roots psychologically." (XVII) One of the unique, and psychologically integrating trends that she finds in the biblical narratives is that the leader or hero comes to grips with the oedipal situation by *identifying* with the Father and his commandments by the renunciation and sublimation of instinctual drives, rather than, *overcoming* the father as the hero does in most other ancient mythologies. The biblical hero, leader, or prophet is a spokesman for God or the Father. His voice is the super-ego of the nation. These heroes are very human and individualistic, and may fall from grace and into sin, but this is all necessary to the theme of guilt and redemption. From the literary perspective, Dorothy Zeligs views the biblical narratives as folk literature "a kind of half way point between history and theology." (XIX) She sees the hero as serving "as a model for his people, an ego-ideal which they held in common. At the same time, his role as leader was to move the people forward against their own inner resistance, towards the preconceived historic destiny which they themselves had chosen." (XIX)

One of Dr. Zeligs exegetical findings has to be taken seriously by anyone with a sustained interest in the Bible. Whenever she was unable to understand a meaning of the text, she treated it as the psychiatrist does when encountering resistance in free association. She usually found that the textual enigmas occurred "at points where the content involved material of a conflictful or forbidden nature, such as sexuality or aggression in relation to sexual objects. When interpreting on this level the ambiguous features of the text often make sense." (XXII) She con-

cludes, "Ambiguity is another way in which the unconscious manages both to reveal and conceal its troubled secrets." (XXII)

When attempting to reconstruct the childhood of biblical characters, she found that the conditions of childhood varied widely from family to family as well as from one historical or social context to another. In each of the seven character studies presented, she first tries to reconstruct the individual's childhood, and then, relate it to the adult personality. The childhoods are as varied as the mature personalities. There is no attempt to establish a "Psychogenic" theory of ancient Israelitic childhood as is found in *The History of Childhood* (Psychohistory Press, New York, 1974), Edited by Lloyd deMause.

The subtitle, *A Study in Depth of Seven Leaders*, comprises the major body of the study. It consists of psychobiographies of Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Samuel, Saul, David, and Solomon.

Abraham is presented as a study in fatherhood. The narratives depicting the intimately human life experiences are carefully examined for their connection with Abraham as the first Hebrew. Abraham emerges as the progenitor of a people, the prototype of the people of Israel, the father in the fullest degree, and the introducer of ethical monotheism to the world. Dorothy Zeligs believes that the motive of the Abraham narratives is to depict "Abraham in the *process of becoming*, to show the stages of development he had to go through in order to achieve the emotional and spiritual maturity that were necessary for his task as leader and pathfinder." (2) The well known story of Abraham's abortive attempt to sacrifice Issac is interpreted as Abraham's healthy ego overcoming his sadistic super-ego. "Freedom from guilt could not be won through self-castration as an act of submission to the father, but on a reality level of overcoming ambivalence." (33) Abraham's love and positive feelings were triumphant. Love proved to be stronger than guilt and fear, thus reducing strong narcissic tendencies. Abraham's triumph in this intrapsychic struggle grows out of an increasing degree of instinctual renunciation. He develops a growing feeling of wholeness or oneness within himself that is the reflection of a more unified super-ego. This process gives Abraham a greater sense of unity with others; his family, his tribe, his nation, and humanity. "This feeling of Oneness in regard to the self and to humanity is a condition to a sense of Oneness about God as the Projected super-ego." (34)

Abraham's grandson, Jacob, who later became known as Israel, is represented as having the qualities that make for survival. His biographical theme is survival. Two major events highlight this theme. The first is Jacob's dream after he had stolen Esau's birthright and had run away from home. The well known dream in which the ladder is the central symbol represents Jacob's unconscious conflicts. He is attempting to establish a new relationship with an Idealized Father image by leaving home and mother. He releases more of his incestuous wishes and increasingly overcomes more of his aggressiveness to the father and in the process gives up more of his fear. This is not surrender to the Authoritarian Father, "but a willing acceptance of responsibility, in return for

more mature satisfaction." (46) The second major event is likewise a dream. It is the familiar narrative of Jacob's wrestling match with the angel of the Lord that occurs just before his return home to face his angry brother Esau. Dorothy Zeligs comments, "Actually the dream portrays with dramatic condensation how castration anxiety brings about the renunciation of instinctual wishes and the strengthening of the super-ego. . . . The sublimation of a part of his instinctual forces was a necessary step to becoming head of his people. Free from fear, and with a new feeling of kinship toward his brother, Jacob would meet him on the morrow with conquering love." (53) Both dreams involved renunciations of instinctual wishes and strengthening of the dreamer's identification with God and the receiving of a blessing from Deity.

Joseph, Jacob's thirteenth child and eleventh son, was the firstborn of Rachael. He was the favorite of both his father and his mother. He is unique among the other seven heroes because he does not have the dramatic encounters with Deity. Joseph's struggle was with his ultimate self-acceptance. From this psychic conflict he developed his ability to discover his basic needs to accept and love his brothers who had been jealous of him and cruel towards him. It is only when Joseph finally feels that he can deal with his brothers from a position of strength that he is able to feel the need to love them. Talmudic and Midrashic literature are used most effectively to extract Joseph's personality.

The character study of Samuel, the last of the judges and the first of the prophets, is viewed in the context of the Exodus from Egypt and the conflict for the promised land. He displays an incredible psychic consistency. His powerful narcissic tendencies were fundamental to his role as leader of his people. "The feelings of omnipotence which often accompany the narcissic personality helps to attract and hold large masses of people." (119) The people are often fascinated by this narcissism and desire to become a part of this omnipotence recalling to themselves their childhood wishes for a powerful father. Samuel's personal magnetism probably arose from his firm conviction that he spoke the word of God. His identification with God identified him with his people and his responsibility towards them. He proved to be a positive moral force for Israel.

Saul is drawn as the tragic king. He appears to be a lonely person who feels isolated and withdrawn. There is no evidence that Saul has any particularly close relationship with anyone. Throughout his rule as the first king of Israel, his people are apparently loyal and obedient to him, but there is never any indication of a powerful emotional attachment to him. In his interpersonal relationships, there seemed to be no great affective response either in terms of great friendships or great enmity. Saul's personality also shows paranoid trends that provide a background for states of depression. His bouts with ego collapse seem related to a castration complex manifesting itself in the great fear that his kingdom would be taken away. His anger towards David was ultimately turned in upon itself, and he died of a self-inflicted wound.

Despite Saul's difficulty in maintaining ego strength, he emerges as a leader who served his nation well.

Affectively, David seems to be almost the opposite of Saul. David is a charismatic leader who had the capacity to invoke loyalty and love, hatred and envy. He was a great king, fearless warrior, often ruthless in battle. He also displayed gentle emotions, and at times was a soft and indulgent father. Apparently women and war were closely associated in the unconscious of David. Three of his wives were wrested from unfriendly father figures. His self esteem seemed to be dependent upon both acceptance from a good father figure and love from women for his prowess in war. Displaying the head of Goliath to Jerusalem is one way of showing his prowess in war to *the woman*. David's relationship to deity exemplifies the son who longs for a loving and trusted father. This is unconsciously the way David saw himself both in relation to his sons and to all the people of Israel.

David's son, Solomon, was both a man of action and a man of dreams. It was his ability to carry out so many of his dreams that perhaps saved him from serious pathological consequences. He brought an international character and atmosphere to Israel. He displayed great ability as an organizer. However, his human failings indicate that he had weaknesses. He was able to achieve despite inner conflicts. He began his rule with a childlike monotheistic faith in deity and with dreams of omnipotence and omniscience. This represents the unified super-ego and a resolution of the oedipal conflict. His life tends to drift away from a moral God. The components of the super-ego tend to regress to their original state of instinctual drives. His rule though profitable and positive in many aspects led to a dissolution of the united monarchy and a lower level of religious and moral life. His need to overthrow the ego-ideal reflected his unfulfilled need to express hostility towards his father. When his severe repressions crumbled before the onslaught of his unconscious anger, his weaknesses manifested themselves in ways that were essentially human and psychologically understandable.

The emerging overview of the seven psychobiographies, depicts the Hebrews working through the oedipal struggle to find innovative expressions of religion and morality. The seven heroes are far from examples of human perfection, but they tend to exemplify the unifying trend of increasing identification with the personal, monotheistic, Father God as well as increasing kinship with the group. This may explain why the *Shema* has sometimes been called the least common denominator of Judaism.

As provocative and as inventive as Dr. Zeligs' study is, a serious question must be raised. Does the unity that she finds represent a true biographical unity of the seven leaders or heroes themselves, or does it represent a consistent theology imposed by editors, writers, compilers upon the text of the Bible? There is no doubt that this question could be at least partially dealt with if Dr. Zeligs did not tend to shy away from the Higher Criticism, more specifically, the documentary hypothesis which she admits is important for establishing some degree of serious

historicity in the Bible. Her reticence towards the Higher Criticism stems from her belief that it, in some way, might fragment Biblical unity. But for most serious scholars who have laboriously marked their Hexateuchs according to the documentary hypothesis, an incredibly unified historical evolution is the overall effect. There is an aesthetic unity to the Hexateuch that cannot be appreciated by those who study only the *results* of the Higher Criticism. In short, the Higher Criticism would embellish the psychic unity that Dr. Zeligs finds.

Constructively, one serious, major omission must be pointed up. There is no reference to *Israel, Its Life and Culture* (Copenhagen, 1954) by Johannes Pedersen. It is inconceivable that any theme dealing with psychoanalysis and the Bible would not employ this classic study of Israel's culture. It would serve to refine, amplify, and buttress many of Dr. Zeligs' notions about psychoanalysis and the Bible. Historical and cultural support for her stimulating methodology would add an increased degree of authenticity to her study.

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Children in English Society, Volume II. From the Eighteenth Century to the Children Act 1848. Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973.) 671 pages. \$10.00.

Reviewed by Bogna Lorence,
Hobart and William Smith Colleges

Contemporary society pays considerable attention to children. Given the degree of energy expended on proposals for the proper handling of children, proposals which range from an advocacy of political and economic rights for children (since they are the last group in need of liberation) to expressions of longing for "the good old days" when children knew their proper place, and parents were not plagued by doubts about the right thing to do—given all of that investment in speculation alone it is startling to stop and reflect on how much the condition of children has changed in the last two hundred years.

The second volume of Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt's *Children in English Society*, dealing with the period from the eighteenth century to the Children Act of 1848, charts the manner of growing social and legal protection afforded to children in England. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, children had few rights and reformist attempts were often stifled for fear that interference between parent and child would affect the stability of the family. I suspect that such protection was inconceivable to a social structure so used to having complete power over children and adult dependents, and that the loosening of authority augured revolution if these "inferiors" should be given direct protection of the state and thereby bypass the authority of parent. The Charity Organization Society, one of the most active agencies of the late nineteenth century opposed school meals because it felt that,

it is better, in the interest of the community to allow in such cases (of children inadequately fed by their parents) the sins of the parents to be visited on the children than to impair the principles of solidarity of the family and run the risk of permanently demoralizing large numbers of the population by the offer of free meals to their children. (p. 358)

The concern expresses fear of intrusion upon the sanctity of family life, family life "à la the middle-class model," all of which strikes one as puzzling when considering the length of working hours for both adults and children in the family, and the eroding effect which dire poverty has on the emotional cohesion of the family.

This volume, like the first one, represents a history of the institutions and agencies, as well as the individuals who worked to change the lot of children, usually by emphasizing humanitarian or socially utilitarian aspects of change. None spoke of inherent rights of children in the spirit of Enlightenment political constitutions. For it was true then as it is still true today that children cannot claim rights as other oppressed groups have done; adults have to advance claims on their behalf. They are dependent along with prisoners, the insane, the retarded,

and in many societies, the poor. And because of their position of dependency and their lack of citizenship rights, they have been prime objects of manipulation. Protection for them is very difficult to enforce even in societies which have all the necessary statutes, difficult because the experience of children with adults is such a private one, and occurs most forcefully while children do not have either the emotional or intellectual facilities to defend themselves. It is much easier to protect property than to protect powerless human beings. And children, like women and many "lower classes" have in fact been legally viewed as property. Property laws in England were so sacrosanct that judges repeatedly ruled against their own human wisdom,

in giving judgement, the judge expressed his opinion that because the child was ill she should be in the care of her mother, but because the law was as it was, he had no option but to order that the girl be returned to the custody of her father. (p. 370)

even though the father was known to be sadistic and living "in sin".

As the book begins in the eighteenth century, children have few rights or protection; by the end of the book which culminates in the Children Act of 1848, the state has interposed itself between parent and offspring and between adult and child, on behalf of the child. In between there are chapters on: "Rights and Duties of Parents," "Children as Wage Earners in Early Industrialism," "Early Experiments in Training and Reform," "Vagrancy and Delinquency in the Urban Setting," "The Release of Children from Pauperism," "Transportation and Emigration," "The Illegitimate Child," "The Prevention of Cruelty and Neglect." Books such as this one and the earlier volume are long overdue, they are necessary and fundamental not only to family history, but to history. It is a source of wonder that we have presumed to talk about the past for so long without examining what happened to children. This is a history of children, an invaluable one, from the "outside"—by that I mean from the perspective of institutions and laws. It will greatly facilitate the work of those historians who are engaged in recapturing the emotional quality of child life in the past from the "inside", that is, from the perspective of the child.

ADDITIONAL REVIEWS BY LLOYD DEMAUSE

Ernest Becker, *The Denial of Death*. New York: Macmillan, 1974. 314 pages, \$7.95.

Ernest Becker won a 1974 Pulitzer Prize for this book, which asserts that

- (1) Children regardless of upbringing are all extremely narcissistic, and strive to be heroes,

- (2) Cultures are simply different ways of dramatizing narcissistic heroics,
- (3) The fear of death is behind all narcissism, even in young children, who regularly wake up at night screaming in fear of death,
- (4) If we all would just admit these facts "it would be a devastating release of truth,"
- (5) Favorable upbringing only better hides a child's death-fear,
- (6) Oral, anal and oedipal anxieties, castration anxiety and penis-envy all stem from this existential death-fear, because
- (7) "the child represses himself", and
- (8) "the highest ambition of the child is to obey the all-powerful Parent. . . ."

It is bad enough that this sort of Hobbesian nonsense can be written today without reference to empirical studies of young children. Beyond this, one wonders if authors like Becker never were parents themselves, never observed the actual sequence of the development of various anxieties in a child, and had to learn from Norman O. Brown that little boys don't really fear castration because of such a silly thing as loss of genitals (which are "a small thing in the child's perceptual world; hardly enough to be traumatic just because they lack protuberance"), but *really* fears castration as part of his "project of becoming father of himself" in order to avoid death.

Of course, many children do indeed fear death; analysts like Rheingold and Bloch provide thousands of cases of mothers passing down their death wishes to their children. But in a life-time of observation and reading I have never encountered one child with death-fears or major defenses against them without very good reasons being present in their caretakers. Nor does Becker claim he has met one child who has "existential" death-terror. Instead, he quotes Brown, Adler, Rank, Jung and Kierkegaard, none of whom know anything about children.

Men and women of good will can differ on basic problems in psychoanalysis, child psychology and psychohistory, but the continuous proliferation of no-nothing books purporting to revise or synthesize psychoanalytic theory without even the pretense of empirical reference is surely becoming ludicrous. The more the psychoanalyst and family therapist discovers about the deepest causes of neurosis within the family, the more books are published fleeing from these discoveries into philosophical and religious abstraction in order to deny the parental source of emotional problems. In place of the family therapist's vision of a world of eager, striving, growing children being tragically crippled by parents who are themselves too disturbed to meet their needs, Becker presents a world of children who are "natural cowards" (his term), existentially unable to bear the mystery and power of true creation. Did he never *watch* a young child? Does he know no parents? Can he not read case histories? To ask Heidegger to teach us child psychology is to lose what slim store of knowledge we have built up and to return to sterile philosophizing about "man's ultimate nature."

Becker asks "what exactly would it mean on this earth to be wholly unrepressed, to live in full bodily and psychic expansiveness?" His answer: "It can only mean to be reborn into madness." Baloney. I've known a few unrepressed kids; they are quite sane. The notion that our only choice is between rigid character-neurosis and chaotic madness is thoroughly reactionary, besides being contradicted by every psychoanalytic study of the past seventy years.

Becker is full of good intentions in this revision of psychoanalysis. But because he totally misses what is most radical in psychoanalysis, what he thinks of as radicalizing it ends up in the most reactionary psychology of all: "will" therapy, with lack of "courage" as the cause of all neurosis. That's what most patients believe when they come into therapy: that they know what their problems are, if they only had the will and the courage to change. Psychoanalysis was invented to disprove this "ageless truth"; why revive it?

Given helping parents, children do not need heroics, and given love and understanding they even manage to come to terms with death without repression. That few children today have parents who can provide this level of care is a psychohistorical fact, not an existential ultimate. Becker calls for a union of psychoanalysis with religion, because "only religion solves the problem of death;" he also calls for new illusions, new faiths, for man is "stuck with his character" and "can't evolve beyond it." Little does he suspect that children all around him are evolving beyond our character even now.

Marvin Leiner, *Children Are the Revolution: Day Care in Cuba*. New York: The Viking Press, \$10.00. 213 pages.

"The conventional approach which kept women in the home could not be accepted if the revolutionary economy was to expand. The goal of women's liberation, in Cuban terms, was the inclusion of women in the labor force. . . . The *circulos* accept children from the age of forty-five days until they are ready to enter the elementary schools. . . . Most are open six days a week, from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. Others offer more extensive schedules permitting women to work late in the evening. Some allow parents to leave their children around the clock during weekdays; on weekends the children return home. . . . 'Monday mornings were really hard on all of us because the kids had just spent the weekend with their families. . . . They had all just gotten adjusted to being home again and now were very sad to leave their parents. In my group there were very few who came without crying, without separation worries, without mothers saying, 'Wait, I'll get you this or that. Don't cry.' They cried for a very long time after they were separated from their mothers, and it was very hard for us to control them. I went upstairs and there was a little girl going, 'Mommy, mommy.' ' ' ' The author of this book, in a hurry to reach 1984, points to the Cuban example as a model for the U.S. to follow.

Jean Latham, *Happy Families*. London: A & C Black Ltd., 1974. £3.50.

A typical antiquarian book on childhood in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, emphasizing prodigies, princesses, pets, parties and play but short-changing parents. Even so, there are enough references here to warrant follow-up by a childhood historian.

Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes Toward Death*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1974. \$6.50.

Ever the reactionary, Philippe Ariès turns to the subject of varying Western attitudes toward death, presenting with nostalgia the happy days of the past when children were forced to witness long death-agonies, when the bones of the dead were continuously being disinterred and displayed in charnel houses, and when, he says, the modern feeling of depression and failure were completely unknown. Ariès' hatred of everything modern even determines his punctuation, as when he speaks of Antiquity and the Middle Ages outright, but is careful to put quotes around words like the "Enlightenment."

This short book attempts to trace varying attitudes toward death in the West, ending with the inevitable modern (American-based) avoidance of death, where mourning has become shameful, solitary, "like a sort of masturbation." Ariès describes the recent change from public, exhibitionistic mourning display to private, inner mourning as though it is all a vast mistake, a mistake which, like the modern childhood he portrays in his previous book, we can rectify by returning to the ways of tradition.





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