

\$3.50



HISTORY OF CHILDHOOD QUARTERLY:

The Journal of Psychohistory

SPRING 1975 • VOL. 2, NO. 4

**THE EARLY YEARS OF
THEODORE ROOSEVELT**

**RELIGION AND YOUTH IN
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND**

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PSYCHOHISTORY

**PRIMAL THERAPY AND
PSYCHOHISTORY**

REVIEWS OF PSYCHOHISTORY



HISTORY OF CHILDHOOD QUARTERLY:

The Journal of Psychohistory

2315 Broadway • New York, New York 10024 • 212-873-3331

Editor: LLOYD DEMAUSE

Contributing Editors:

JOHN F. BENTON • RUDOLPH BINION • JOHN DEMOS • PATRICK DUNN • HENRY EBEL • BARBARA FINKELSTEIN • GERALD J. GARGIULO • ARTHUR E. HIPPLER • JOSEPH ILLICK • GEORGE M. KREN • BOGNA LORENCE • PETER LOEWENBERG • RICHARD LYMAN, JR. • ELIZABETH WIRTH MARVICK • BRUCE MAZZLISH • HERBERT MOLLER • STANLEY RENSHON • WILLIAM SAFFADY • EDWARD SAVETH • EDWARD SHORTER • HELM STIERLIN • MICHAEL H. STONE • CHARLES STRICKLAND • MELVIN TUCKER • JOHN WALZER • JOHN WATERS

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S. and Canada, and equivalent in foreign currencies: Individuals—\$14.00 one year, \$26.00 two years, \$38.00 three years; Institutions—\$20.00 one year, \$38.00 two years, \$56.00 three years. Available in microform from Xerox University Microfilms. Abstracted in *Psychological Abstracts*, *Sociological Abstracts*, *Child Development Abstracts and Bibliography*, *Historical Abstracts*, and *America: History and Life*. Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 73-646416.

CONTRIBUTIONS: The Journal welcomes contributions of articles on childhood and the family, past and present, psychohistory in its broadest terms, individual or group, applied psychoanalysis except for purely literary studies, political psychology, and the psychology of historical movements. All manuscripts should follow the University of Chicago *Manual of Style* and be double-spaced, including footnotes.

PUBLICATION: *History of Childhood Quarterly: The Journal of Psychohistory* is published quarterly and copyright © 1975 by Atcom, Inc., 2315 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10024. Statements of fact and opinion are made on the responsibility of the authors alone. Second-class postage paid at New York, New York.



CONTENTS

GLENN DAVIS	461	<i>The Early Years of Theodore Roosevelt: A Study in Character Formation</i>
-------------	-----	--

STEVEN R. SMITH	493	<i>Religion and the Conception of Youth in Seventeenth-Century England</i>
-----------------	-----	--

FAYE SINOFSKY, JOHN J. FITZPATRICK, LOUIS W. POTTS, and LLOYD deMAUSE	517	<i>A Bibliography of Psychohistory</i>
--	-----	--

HENRY EBEL	563	<i>Primal Therapy and Psychohistory</i>
------------	-----	---

REVIEWS:

MARTIN BIRNBACH	571	<i>Psychological Needs and Political Behavior</i>
GEORGE M. KREN	577	<i>The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness</i>
HENRY EBEL	583	<i>The Twelve-Year Sentence: Radical Views of Compulsory Schooling</i>
		<i>Escape from Childhood: The Needs and Rights of Children</i>
GERALD J. GARGIULO	585	<i>The Children of Oedipus</i>
MICHAEL STONE	586	<i>World History of Psychiatry</i>
LLOYD deMAUSE	588	<i>Let's Stop Destroying Our Children</i>

	590	<i>Index to Volume 2</i>
--	-----	--------------------------

FROM THE SOURCES

A dame school in Germany (1793):

During this period in Germany, before children were admitted to the regular primary schools, it was expected that they would already have learned the basic reading skills. To meet this need, informal dame schools, in some ways similar to those in colonial America, constituted the child's first introduction to the educational process. In his autobiography, Karl Friedrichs v. Klöden provides this account of such a school in Friedland, which he entered in 1793, at the age of seven.

"Since I could not yet read, I was sent to a preschool which was conducted by a seventy-year-old woman. She lived in a small, poor house . . . which consisted of a single room and vestibule. The floor was covered with tiles, and the small window was up near the roof, so that one could not see out. A large tile stove stood near the chimney, and before this the old woman sat and spun throughout the day. Beside her was a footstool on which lay a wooden ladle and a rod, the only instruments of instruction, already well known to me. The school children sat on three free-standing, well-worn benches, without backs, until they had acquired the necessary skills. The first bench bore the children who were still learning their a, b, c's, the second those who were learning to spell, and the third the beginning readers. The school day began with the singing of a standard song, whose melody we had learned from frequent use, and this was followed by a standard prayer, which one child would recite in a sing-song voice. And then, one after another, each child came up to the spinning woman, to recite the customary fable about the rooster, or to spell his words, or to say his a, b, c's. The old woman seldom spoke. If a child made a mistake, she simply pushed her spinning wheel aside, with one hand bent the child over her lap, and with the other raised up the coat or skirt; then reaching for the ladle or the rod, she belabored the child's buttocks to the extent she deemed appropriate. And then it was the next child's turn, until everyone was through. Nothing else was ever undertaken, and so we simply sat, still and idle, for long hours until the designated time had passed. The school day was closed as it had begun. One certainly didn't learn very much, except for childish pranks . . . which we learned from each other. Songs and prayers were recited without the slightest thought. Indeed, while reciting our "f, a, fa, fi, i, fi" . . . if we hadn't had our pranks in our heads, we would have been totally without thought . . .," Karl Friedrichs v. Klöden, *Jugenderinnerungen*. (Leipzig: Fr. Wilh. Grunow, 1874) pp. 51-52.

Submitted and translated by E. C. Devereux

The Early Years of Theodore Roosevelt: A Study in Character Formation

GLENN
DAVIS

Historians are primarily concerned with the causes of events, yet one vital aspect of the historical record, the causes associated with the formation of important personalities of history, has only recently begun to be investigated. This has been a loss both for a fuller knowledge of the past and as a source for psychoanalytic interpretation. The following article contains a reconstruction of the vital events surrounding the personality formation of Theodore Roosevelt and an analysis of the effects of some of these early events.

Before Theodore Roosevelt, Sr. married Martha Bulloch of Georgia, he led the life of the youngest of five brothers. Years later, his youngest daughter Corinne would write that her father told her how he deplored "being the fifth wheel of the coach."¹ The Roosevelt boys were known for their energy. Corinne writes that her paternal grandmother was known as "the lovely Mrs. Roosevelt with those five horrid boys."² Holding his own in this lot helped the father of the president to develop into an athletic individual who liked adventure and had a sense of daring. His habit of driving carriages fast and even wrecklessly belies a certain insecurity and intensity. At one point, he spoke of his father's fear when he once took him for a ride, but added, "fortunately, nothing broke."³

Theodore developed a strong sense of morality and responsibility. He was most concerned with the right thing to do in various situations and was appalled when he felt an individual was committing an uncharitable act. It was a natural thing for him to stop to give a boy a ride, or ask a strange child why he was crying. Yet, he was not humorless, had a real zest for life, and was apparently popular with the young ladies.⁴

Forcefulness was clearly a family trait. If a young man looks up to his oldest brother, Silas Weir Roosevelt was an aggressive and egotistical model. The young Roosevelts tended to go into businesses related to the foundation laid by their father Cornelius, and Silas threw himself into the tasks with the greatest zeal. When the physician Hilbourne West had thought Silas' plans for innovations of a mill a bit impractical, Silas burned back with the following message:

You began to sneer at my pictures which you attempted to scratch out and left unfinished, probably being frightened when you realized what you were doing. And it is very well for you that you did not frighten in good time. Beethoven used to play sundry dischords, and when his friends complained it was . . . against the rules of music, he answered, "I make the rules." All I have to say is that, if there should be no mechanism in a mill fit for my purpose, I make the machinery; and if you have entirely overlooked the arts of designs in constructing the factory, it is not my fault. Make a cigarette of that and smoke it.⁵

Martha Bulloch's life, before she met Theodore at age fifteen, was a very different experience. Her father traveled to the Georgia piedmont from Savannah during 1840, ostensibly for health reasons, but really because of an affair of the heart.⁶ Their home on the piedmont was of the grand southern mansion tradition. Doric columns in front of a Greek revival structure gave classic elegance to a home which overlooked a prosperous plantation well staffed by many slaves. Mr. Bulloch experienced this existence for a mere nine years before dying of a stroke of apoplexy while teaching the Sunday school of which he was a superintendent. His wife was left with a large plantation and family for which to care.

Mrs. Bulloch's daughter Mittie, mother of the president, was the darling of the family and soon after adolescence considered a rare beauty. The stereotype of the southern belle is not descriptive of the range of types of women who lived on the plantations, but nevertheless Mittie does fit this image. She was a delicate and beautiful ornament who was pampered and upon whom few demands were made. Her main function in life was to be beautiful and charming. One prominent member of Savannah said, "She was a remarkably beautiful woman in those days, and as full of spirit and courage as she was beautiful. . . ." ⁷ She

enjoyed a close relationship with her siblings, especially her sister Anna who, a bit sturdier than delicate Mittie, was forever watching over Mittie's well being and nursing her in sickness. Educated by tutors and finishing school and knowledgeable of the southern romantic tradition, she filled the role beautifully, a maiden secure in her feudal castle.

After Theodore Roosevelt met Mittie Bulloch, he would not see her again for another three years. Yet, in that fleeting visit, he obtained a gold thimble she had worn as a keepsake.⁸ One can imagine the intensity of the young Northerner traveling several hundred miles to visit a fifteen-year-old of whom he had heard tales of charms. After the three years passed, they met again in Philadelphia during May of 1853. Mittie spent some time in New York and their relationship began.

Theodore would later express his romantic idealization of Mittie when he wrote, "Those sofas at Mary's became almost sacred."⁹ Mittie agreed on engagement and her mother gave sanction to the choice. The correspondence that summer gives an intimate glimpse of romantic courtship. Emotions are intense and written in full detail. On May 31, Thee wrote, "A week will have passed tomorrow since I last wrote or spoke to you; one third of the time to be passed by me in purgatory is concluded and I am beginning to calculate how many hours will be required after leaving here to reach Roswell. . . ."¹⁰ Mittie's devotion is likewise growing, yet she retains that certain coquettish humor which had charmed countless suitors. She once ended a letter, "I am always yours (unless something else comes up),"¹¹ but was careful to keep the humor low-keyed and close to expressions of the deepest devotion.

A central theme to the courtship of the young couple is their health. In almost every letter, Theodore inquires as to the physical state of his betrothed. Both are consciously aware that their health is intimately associated to their emotional states of mind. Thee writes Mittie, ". . . felt vividly in my mind the last morning of our parting the blood rush to my temples, and I had as it was in the store, to lay against the bathroom door for a few minutes to regain command over myself."¹² On another occasion he writes, ". . . yesterday in the afternoon I took a glass of water and found to my astonishment that I had in a measure lost control over my hands . . . before reaching home, I felt as though some malicious individual had placed two coals behind my eyes."¹³ The biographer Carleton Putnam notes, "She [Mittie] also had periodic 'palpitations.' Although at first the latter led her to a 'candid opinion' she had 'some disease of the heart,' she finally decided they were 'entirely nervous' which seems plausible in view of the excitement of her impending marriage."¹⁴ Theodore's concern for Mittie's health is ceaseless: "Remember your promise to tell me exactly all about your health and I will rely fully upon what you say."¹⁵ Somatic states were means of communication between them.

As the wedding date approaches, the language of the letters intensifies. Love is almost more than human and Mittie attaches spiritual significance to their meeting: "Does it not seem strange to think we should have met and became engaged, after only knowing each other time to create passing interest, and then to be separated for almost three years. Sometimes when I think of it all I feel as if it were ordered by some higher power."¹⁶ Theodore is engulfed in a similar spirit. "There seems to be a dreamy shadow of you hovering round and softening my whole existence; it weaves itself, without interfering with any of my pursuits."¹⁷

Besides the themes of concern for Mittie's health and spiritual love, Roosevelt is clearly a man of charity. He frequently identifies himself with others' misfortunes and when possible, gives a helping hand. On one occasion he saw a boy who needed a ride and helped him reach his mother although it took three hours of driving through a blinding rain storm and almost impassible mud.¹⁸ The same month he spent a good deal of time helping his mother recover from a fall from a horse.¹⁹

The successful Georgia wedding took place December of 1853 and Theodore brought his young bride to her New York home. The house was a new brownstone, not one of New York's magnificent homes nor as large or luxurious as Roosevelt's father's, but elegant and comfortable. Roosevelt was now a manager for his father's hardware store interests and his young bride would be well provided for.

By June of 1854, Mittie was pregnant. Unfortunately, few records survive surrounding the birth of Anna, known to the family as Bamie. One occurrence is known: there was some sort of accident in which her back was severely impaired. The cause is mysterious. Putnam believed that she was probably "the victim of an undiagnosed, or at least unacknowledged, attack of poliomyelitis which she was able in time to overcome sufficiently to live an exceptionally active life."²⁰ But the family occasionally referred to the fact that she had been dropped by a nurse while bathing and would probably never be able to walk.²¹

Theodore verbalized his grief. He observed a little child who lost an eye and remarked: "A little child sat in our pew this morning that had lost one of its eyes. A person evidently the father was with it and it was almost painful to see the way in which he took care of it. I could not help thinking all the time that might be in store for us—poor little thing. I never think of Bamie without pain. It seems such a dreary dreary life that is in store for her. We must try to teach her as soon as we can to fix her hopes of happiness far above this little world of ours."²²

But Bamie was not the only member of the family in need: there was Mittie. With the help of nurses, she tried to do her duty towards her daughter but not much time passed before she felt more insecurities. It was a difficult goal to achieve success both as a beautiful ornament and mother, and as her maternal duties increased, she worried more about

the former. That May, when Theodore's business required a trip from New York, Mittie felt utterly desolate and abandoned. There was some trouble with the nurse and Mittie had to cope with the household for a while on her own:

I am in a great deal of trouble at present. I dismissed Bridgett this morning to leave on the first of June and I suppose I shall have to advertise for a nurse and *that immediately*. I am going to try to get Mary Roosevelt to help me. . . . I dreamed again that you were attached and loved someone else.²³

There is a fear that she is losing her husband and she reaches out for closeness, "Without you Thee I feel as though life would lose its charm." They must draw closer: "Thee, I wonder if you feel as I do but I want our interests to become more and more the same. I do not want the least shadow of reserve to be between us."²⁴ Theodore, as usual, is careful to reassure her of his love: "You know darling you ought not to blame me for trying to enjoy myself to the utmost" and in reference to his time alone while Mittie visited her family he continues, ". . . while it is a pleasure trip to you it is by no means a pleasant stay-at-home to me even with every amusement I can find."²⁵

Evidently Mittie's trip back to the womb of the South was a much needed respite from the pressures of modern family life. There she regained her chivalrous confidence and joked to her friends how Thee carried her up stairs but was afraid of straining his back. She was again cared for by her sister Anna who "has rubbed me with camphor every night since I have been unwell . . . my hair has not stopped dropping in the least and is painfully thin but Anna thinks she sees some fine hair coming."²⁶

Two years before the birth of the Roosevelt's second child, Mittie's mother came to live with her daughter and son-in-law. It is through her eyes, preserved in a series of detailed letters to her daughter, Susan, that it is possible to reconstruct the crucial first few months of the life of Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. During 1858, Mittie had to cancel her carriage drive because of pains although she did not believe birth was imminent. Martha Stewart Bulloch was by her side and related to Susan:

. . . when the different servants were flying about for doctors and for Susan Newberry, the nurse, I was almost the whole time alone with Mittie—Anna had taken Bamie over to Lizzy Ellis—I sent over for her, but she was too unwell to come—I could not bear the idea of having no female friend with me, so sent for Mrs. Roosevelt and she came over. Mittie continued to get worse and worse until quarter to eight in the evening when the birth took place. She had a safe but severe time. She is this morning as well as one could wish to see her. It is as sweet and pretty a young

baby as I have ever seen; weighed eight pounds and a half before it was dressed. No chloroform or any such thing was used, no instruments were necessary, consequently the dear little thing has no cuts or bruises on it . . . Mittie says I must tell you she thinks the baby hideous. She says it is a cross between a terrapin and Dr. Young.²⁷

During the crucial first month of life, the baby "Teedie" had the advantages of a secure beginning. By November second, when he was a week old, Grandma Bulloch would observe, "Mittie's doing remarkably well, the baby's sleeping better at night and is of presently in just fine health." Mittie was able to nurse her own child, which indicates she must have been fairly comfortable in her maternal role. ". . . Mittie suffers less from her new vocation of 'nursing mother' than any person I have ever known. I am convinced there is more in skillful nursing in respect to the flow of milk than persons generally imagine."²⁸

During Teedie's first month, Mittie nursed her baby herself. Grandma Bulloch wrote to Susan: "Mittie continues as well as could be . . . as for the baby, like other babies, he makes a little fuss at night, is a fine little fellow and appears in perfect health. Mittie has a great overflow of milk, has a plenty for him and it gives her, as you, little or no trouble."²⁹ There was little or no overt problem with sibling rivalry: "Bamie is delighted with the baby . . . she says she has two babies now . . . her little dog . . . she says he is a cunning little fellow . . . I think they will name him Theodore."³⁰ But the nursing paradise would not last long. When he was not yet a month old, Mittie would name Teedie the "little berserker"³¹ and the household would soon have a difficult time meeting his expanding needs. His mother began to withdraw, and the custom of nurse care invaded his little world.

The Roosevelts' first dry nurse, Susan Newberry, was well recommended. Martha Stewart Bulloch describes a woman of magnanimous nature: "Mary, . . . in one of her charitable rounds found a woman who tho' poor herself, had taken charge of one or two children who had actually been deserted by their parents . . . and the poor children but for this woman would have perished. This is the woman Mittie has engaged for a nurse. She has other recommendations, also."³²

Yet by December household tensions began to rise. Grandma Bulloch had been living in the house since Teedie's birth and wanted now to go to her own home. But Mittie would not have it. Apparently, the grandmother had been the organizing force who kept the children and their affairs in order. Martha commented that Mittie, "thinks with a young baby, and Bamie suffers so . . . , that she ought not to be left alone."³³ The fact that she would live nearby was not enough, for she was needed to help in the day-to-day chores.

Mittie had an attack of influenza in addition to her headaches in December and soon had an argument with one of the nurses. Dr. Davis would come in to adjust the braces and there was a regiment of baths and exercises. One morning, Mittie asked a nurse to wipe more softly. In a rare moment of rebellion, the nurse flung a towel at Bamie and told Mittie to wipe herself for she had not been rough. Mittie accepted her apologies the next day but only agreed to keep her until she could find a new nurse.³⁴

Teedie's days in intimate contact with his mother were over by one month. For some mysterious reason, he now found himself in the hands of his grandmother and a succession of nurses, a bottle was replacing the breast, and he was soon to be required to train his excretory functions as the laws of society began to descend. Even when he was ill, either the nurse or the grandmother attended to his needs; Martha Bulloch wrote when he was four months old: "He is a fine little fellow and has become quite fat and larger. He cries a good deal. She [Mittie] has a very nice nurse for the boy . . . the boy could be placed entirely under her care now, only that his measles are not quite well—and Mittie prefers my attending to it."³⁵

During February of 1860, when Teedie was 15 months old, a third child was born to the Roosevelt home. Ellie's start in life was not as easy as his older brother's. Although Mittie tried, she was not able to nurse him at her breast. Though the family thought it best for Mittie to nurse him with a bottle, the doctor insisted on a wetnurse. Unfortunately, according to Martha Bulloch, the wetnurse was a real "bog-bottom." Martha was put off by the circumstances surrounding the birth of the girl's own child, Patrick. Martha related, "She said that her husband's name is Smelley but her name is Connie Sheron—that she does not go by her husband's name at all. But I suppose Patrick will rejoice in the name of Smelley, a name very suggestive of the want of soap and water and plenty of clothes to change."³⁶

Martha continued the narrative of Ellie's first few months of life, "Little Ellie is not so well—his vaccination is at its height." By October 9, 1861, Ellie would see the last of his formula; weaning was difficult and painful and he lost some weight. She observed of Ellie that, "He is not satisfied at present with any person to take care of him but myself. A wonder he has permitted me to come upstairs to write this note."

Things developed to the point at which Martha observed, "I am obliged to keep out of his sight, when it does not suit me to hold him." Mittie was not one to hesitate at delegating duties: "If sister only lived next door, how often I would turn them over to her for a few hours each day."³⁷ Ellie eventually stopped rebelling against his nurse Delia, but to his grandmother's eyes, seemed reconciled but not happy. He

grew to be the prettiest in the family and liked to play with his older brother Teedie. But there was a real sensitivity. Martha wrote, "Ellie asked me this morning if I was sometimes lonesome without him. I told him yes."³⁸

Mittie continued to have difficulty with life's stresses. Before her mother made a trip to the south to visit her son who had been wounded fighting for the Confederacy, Mittie was stricken with many intense chest pains. She felt similar pains when her husband left for his war-time administrative job in Washington. She wrote to Theodore, "I wish you were not so good. It makes me feel so sad. I am not so strong-minded as you know, and feel so dependent."³⁹ G. Wallace Chessman summarized Mittie's intensified anxieties as follows:

... as the family's activities broadened and intensified, Mittie retreated more often to her room. It was said that her health was delicate, and likely she welcomed an excuse to get away. Somehow she had kept up before, but the case was getting too much for one accustomed to more leisurely Southern ways. Increasingly she showed a passion for cleanliness, an incompetence at money matters and housekeeping, a disposition to be late for appointments. When she appeared at parties, so immaculately groomed in her beautiful gown, she impressed all with her charm, but she just couldn't manage life efficiently. . . .⁴⁰

The biographer of Mittie's eldest daughter, Lilian Rixey, described how Mittie's headaches allowed her to find retreat in her room for several hours until excitement calmed down. Some time later, somatic symptoms took a compulsive turn, and she found she was not able to leave the house until taking two baths, one for washing and one for rinsing. Another writer related that, "she had a sheet spread on the floor each night next to her bed so that she might say her prayers in comfort and not be conscious of the possibility of dirt when addressing the Lord. When ill and the doctor came, a sheet would be spread over the chair where he was to sit."⁴¹

The Civil War must have been a confusing event for the Roosevelt children. Teedie was a military child from the very start. As he was active, he was difficult to hold still for fitting of clothes. "Are me a soldier laddie?" the child asked his mother. She answered in the affirmative so that he could be fitted. Teedie knew his father was gone and that his mother behaved strangely when he voiced sympathy for the Union soldiers.⁴² Teedie was a bit young to understand why he antagonized his mother when he marched up and down the living room floor in triumph to the sound of every Union victory, but he could not help notice her reaction.

Age four was really Teedie's watershed time. Before then, he developed a sense of trust in the world, an ability to absorb his surroundings

and a profound interest in exploration. Although his health was never robust, his list of ailments was not far worse than the average childhood diseases of the time. If Ellie reacted to an inconsistent mother and father taken away by circumstances of war by extreme sensitivity and attachment to his grandmother, and Bamie by a need to emulate her parents, Teedie remained active and searching; his solution was yet to be attempted, but he was quite willing to try a variety of life strategies and weigh their effect. There was certainly mischief and vitality; at the same time there was sickness and nonactivity. Mittie was aware of the active side from an early date: "Teddie is the most affectionate and endearing creature in his ways, but begins to require Papa's discipline rather sadly. He is brimming full of mischief and has to be watched all the time. . . ."⁴³

He showed a precocious intelligence and could often delight an adult audience with his humor. Once, during his fourth birthday party, he remarked that he "loved chicken, roast beef, and everything that was good better than salt water."⁴⁴ On another occasion he was left in a room alone with the dignified Dr. William Adams and said while pointing to a painting of the Transfiguration, "There, Dr. Adams, see Jesus a-flootin' up to Heaven wiv his coat-tails behind!"⁴⁵

Yet on the other hand, from the fall of 1861, when Teedie was just three, accounts of stomach problems and colds in addition to the typical childhood illnesses were all too frequent. His father wrote with utmost concern that "Teedie is too much sick. It worries me, and while I hope a great deal for next summer, I cannot help feeling that there must be something about the furnace or something that prevents them all from being healthy."⁴⁶

Central to the childhood and character of Theodore Roosevelt is the problem of his asthma. A strong case can be made that Roosevelt's asthma was psychosomatic, caused by personality factors which can in turn be related to his great quantity of personal aggression, his idolization of his father, attitudes towards women, need to bring himself to the point of possible death countless times, and bizarre episodes played out in the American West.

The starting point lies in something very basic to Roosevelt's personality, the concept of oral rage. This will be seen to be the pressure cooker, a source of the aggression observers found of almost unbelievable intensity. Although our documentation of his earliest years is limited, the assumption of oral deprivation sufficient to provide a permanent source of oral rage is confirmed by all that we do have in our evidence. The fragile personality of his mother, her withdrawal from his intimate care when he was only one month old, her somatization of feelings, her compulsive fear of dirt, her dependency on her mother, her fear of abandonment by her husband, and the confusing shifts of care-taking between grandmother and the different nurses all contributed to

the establishment of oral rage in his first year. Besides this there is only the information that when he was ten months old he had a lot of trouble with his teeth,⁴⁷ but beyond this we have no further evidence from his first year, and must reach forward to his adult personality for further indications of oral rage.

Soon after Roosevelt's death, an article appeared which was entitled, "The Man Built Around a Set of Teeth."⁴⁸ Its author was amazed at the frequency and intensity Roosevelt used his teeth to show his aggressivity. To many, the fierce shining molars became a symbol for Roosevelt's very being. During 1898 he received a letter in New York mailed from Arizona with nothing on the envelope but a drawing of a set of teeth and a pair of spectacles.⁴⁹

Jacob Arlow speaks of oral symbols and relates teeth to tools: "Because the teeth are so intimately related to the discharge of oral drives, especially aggression, symbols for the teeth seem to be chosen primarily according to their functional significance . . . certain tools, therefore, are especially suited to represent the extension of the functions of the teeth in discharging of oral drives."⁵⁰ The "big stick" now takes on added significance. In each of the cartoonists' pictures, Roosevelt's mouth is open. The entire body is poised as an instrument of aggression; there is often a weapon in hand, and the stance leans forward, ready to pounce. His arm is raised and the hand most often clenched.

Oral images from Roosevelt's life are prominent in all accounts of him. Reformer Jacob Riis related how TR "snapped his teeth together and defied the party leaders."⁵¹ One poet composed the following couplet:

So Teddy came runnin' with his glasses on his nose
And when the Spaniards saw his teeth, you may well believe they
froze.⁵²

Another observed that when TR was on the way to the rostrum to make a speech and the way was blocked, "The candidate flashed his favorite grin and bit his way to the stage."⁵³ On another occasion he was heard to say, "I have a horror of people who bark but don't bite!"⁵⁴ He often used phrases as, "in the teeth of opposition," or else, "If the fathers cause others to eat bitter bread, the teeth of their own sons shall be out on edge."⁵⁵

This material concerning oral rage may shed light on the question of why Teedie, about the time of age four, began to wheeze. Asthma may be caused by a variety of conditions, but most psychiatrists and psychologists isolate the following categories: there is genetic or inherited cause. This would be analogous to say the disease leukemia in which certain factors are missing in the individual's genetic structure for production of chemical equipment needed to ward off the disease. Asthma may be

caused by allergic reaction to vegetation or infection by bacteria or a virus. Finally, there is the case, often interrelated with one or more of the above, of psychosomatic induction.

Psychosomatic induction is defined in simplest terms as a real physiological disorder whose roots lie in psychic function. Mittie Bulloch's headaches and chest constrictions have already been mentioned, as has the tendency of both parents to communicate via somatic language. The two most common psychosomatic illnesses are the peptic ulcer and asthma, two illnesses which troubled Roosevelt's youth.

The following research in the area of asthma will be brought to bear on the scanty factual knowledge concerning the time of first onset of Teedie's wheezing. Franz Alexander and Thomas M. French found a preponderance of the oral personality in young children whose asthma came soon after a separation from the mother. The asthma was a turning inward of the frustration and began as a suppressed cry for the mother so that eventually the child cannot breathe.

Strongly correlated with this type of asthma is the "urge to prove fearlessness." In group studies, these authors also found that the mother was the rejecting type and many of her functions had been taken over by the father. Also, oddly enough, almost all of the cases evidenced the birth of a sister before age four. The greatest disposing factor is the loss of a secure situation such as from regular breast to the bottle in early infancy. The mechanism is basically oral aggressive response to oral longings, guilt and anxiety, overcompensation for oral aggression by successful accomplishments in responsible activities, increased unconscious oral-dependent cravings as reaction to excessive effort, and hyperactivity.⁵⁶

Goldberg's study of psychosomatic disease led him to conclude that in many cases of ulcers in young children, the mother had been prudish and had compulsive tendencies. Cleanliness was overdone and she would illustrate psychosomatic illness herself, the most frequent being headache.⁵⁷ Lindy Burton's study of asthma yielded similar results. Most often there was a faulty mother-child relationship. The mother is unable to accept her maternal role and the child reacts by defiance. The triad is orality-dependency-masochism. Oral fixations are followed by a real need for the mother which is frustrated and follows by an inward-turning of sadistic impulse which results in body disorder.⁵⁸

Laparello's work found exaggerated dependence on the mother, frustration and aggression as central motives, Sachar related oral strivings and Knapp found that when there are psychic gains for assuming the asthmatic role, asthma is increased. McDermott and Cobb's study of fifty cases of asthmatic children displayed a pattern of consistently improved physical condition when taken out of their troubled homes. Adler found a statistical vulnerability to the second-born of the family

(Roosevelt's position) to asthma. Mutter and Schliefer studied a group of forty-two families whose children were hospitalized for asthma with a control group of families of similar socio-economic position and found a startling consistency of emotive problems within the families whose children had asthma: "We see that families with ill children were more poorly organized in their psychological and social functioning, they exposed their children to a wider range of threatening social changes, producing a greater stress for which the children were less prepared." In another of his studies Franz Alexander stressed the maternal component. In case "Q" a young doctor related his feelings of sexual attraction to his stepmother at approximately the same time that his asthma attacks began. Alexander postulated from this and many similar cases: "From our studies of bronchial asthma we have found that throughout the life of patients subject to psychogenic asthma attacks, there seems to run as a continuous undercurrent, sometimes deeply suppressed, a fear of estrangement from the mother or mother substitute." This adds empirical support to Freud's classic approach to asthma which emphasizes if it occurs during the oedipal stage it can be thought of in terms of rage against the father who has a more complete access to the mother; the rage is manifested in what David Bakan terms bodily processes which do not heal but can appear in self-destructive forms as asthma.⁵⁹

The time of the onset of Teedie's asthma is important to the role it played and what it can say of his personality development. There has been disagreement as to the date of the onset, but evidence had been vague. Carleton Putnam wrote that the asthma occurred while Teedie was still in infancy although there is no documentation of this fact.⁶⁰ Norman Kiell dated the asthma as occurring at age two, but again gives no proof.⁶¹

Fortunately, though, the abundance of correspondence by Martha Bulloch, Mittie Roosevelt and Theodore Roosevelt, Sr. makes it possible to state with reasonable assurance that the asthma began about when Teedie was in the middle of his fourth year. All of these individuals included a great amount of detail concerning the health of the children in their letters. There was chicken pox, colds, fevers and other childhood problems, but the first mention of the word asthma came June 22, 1863. As far back as January of that year Teedie's health had degenerated; he had more fevers, colds, and poor appetite for certain periods. In May of 1863, Martha Bulloch wrote: "Teedie was very much benefited by his trip to the country." But from Long Beach the next month comes, "They had sent Teedie back on the previous Thursday as the physicians thought his attack of asthma was over. The doctors were mistaken . . . he had the same symptoms of difficulty breathing as soon almost as he returned to Long Beach."⁶² It is difficult to believe that a woman as Martha who wrote in the greatest detail to her daughter

Susan concerning the colds and aches of her grandson would not have mentioned the asthma if it had occurred at an earlier time. Whether the mother accompanied the boy as he was shifted out to the country and back is not certain, but if she did not, the "cure" of fresh country air probably intensified rather than relieving his asthma. A further factor was the father's growing absence for war duties during the year prior to the outbreak of the asthma.

Of the few records remaining concerning the fourth year of Teedie's life, it is possible to examine one incident of significance. The importance of the event in Roosevelt's own eyes is illustrated by the fact that he chose to describe the event in his own autobiography. Roosevelt relates the incident in some detail:

I bit my elder sister's arm. I do not remember biting her arm, but I do remember running down to the yard, perfectly conscious that I had committed a crime. From the yard I went into the kitchen, got some dough from the cook and crawled under the kitchen table. In a minute or two my father entered from the yard and asked where I was. The warm-hearted Irish cook had a characteristic contempt for "informers," but although she said nothing she compromised between informing and her conscience by casting a look under the table. My father immediately dropped on all fours and, having the advantage of him because I could stand up under the table, got a fair start for the stairs, but was caught halfway up them.⁶³

The wrath of Theodore Roosevelt, Sr. must have been great, indeed. His son Teedie had touched a soft spot which caused the eruption. Roosevelt had a protectionist feeling towards women in general and had based much of his existence around helping little children in need. The man who helped set up the Children's Aid Society and Orthopedic Hospital, who sat with his ailing daughter for hours on end and was brought almost to tears by the sight of a handicapped child would not sit still as his boisterous son attacked Bamie. From Teedie's eyes, it must have seemed that he unleashed a fearful monster.

It is now possible to propose a mechanism for the asthma which followed soon after. Roosevelt, Sr. played, under these circumstances, both maternal-paternal functions. There was no way to get closer to his mother and Teedie was not satisfied to take Ellie's strategy of extreme attachment to the surrogate of his grandmother. Teedie felt the intense devotion and increased affection his father felt towards children in need. His aggressive orality had been under severe control and he was taught not to harm others, especially girls. As a result, the aggression went inward. The difficulty breathing was an extremely successful stifled cry for closeness and care, and during his attacks he found his father's love intensified.

The asthma created attention. He wrote in his autobiography how "I was a sickly, delicate boy, suffered much from asthma, and frequently had to be taken away on trips to find a place where I could breathe. One of my memories is of my father walking up and down the room with me in his arms at night when I was a very small person, and of sitting up in bed gasping, with my mother and father trying to help me."⁶⁴ He did not go to school, but was instead privately instructed at home. His father wrote Mittie, "Omit no effort to relieve him."⁶⁵ Lincoln Steffens would later be told by TR, "I remember, I think I remember—him carrying me in my distress, in my battle for breath, up and down the room all night. Handsome dandy that he was, the thought of him now and always has been a sense of comfort. My father—he got me lungs, strength—life."⁶⁶ Grandma Bulloch told of how Mittie and Thee would take Teedie on special trips to help relieve him. It was consistent that Teedie's asthma was worse when separated from his father and the instructions Mittie requested were rarely as effective as his presence for quieting the ailment.

By the time he was ten years of age, his parents' attitudes towards him changed. As Teedie became Theodore, his father viewed his oldest son less as a suffering child and more as a youth whose convalescence was very much in his own power. Roosevelt, Sr. kept training the boy and pushing his vital force outwards. Theodore must get into shape. His diaries are filled with descriptions of hunting with his father in which twenty-mile hikes were common. It was clear Theodore felt he had to keep up. On one excursion during his trip to Europe in 1868, the young asthmatic hiked thirteen miles and climbed a mountain which was eight thousand feet above sea level. Keeping up with his father was no easy task, for Roosevelt, Sr. was a man who said of himself, "I never seem to get tired."⁶⁷ Just as asthma was once the means of asking for love, physical perseverance was now necessary.

During the trip of 1869, an incident occurred which is reflective of the psychodynamics. This incident is similar to another person who felt intense ambivalencies towards his father—Woodrow Wilson. Wilson's father insisted on his son showing guests signs of his manhood by displaying to them new hairs on his mustache. On September 26, 1869, when the ten-year-old boy had an attack of asthma, his father made him smoke a cigar while in bed.⁶⁸

It is evident that Roosevelt's time had come. His father was asking him to become a man, as was his mother who looked forward to a second male protector in the family. The day after Theodore's first smoke he was left behind when the family went on a sightseeing tour. It is not surprising that one of the only dreams Theodore recorded—as an exception to Hofstadter's observation that he "fled from repose and introspection was a desperate urgency that is sometimes pitiable"⁶⁹—was a

nightmare that evening. He wrote, "The Devil was carrying me away and I have cholera morbus [gastro-intestinal disorder]." ⁷⁰ The young man was being punished for his physical condition. Yet the diaries indicate no feeling of conscious hostility towards his mother and father.

Roosevelt, Sr. kept his boy training to turn the aggression outwards, and it was now Theodore and not Elliott who dominated and directed play with his siblings. The climbing continued through his European trip. He explored, climbed an 8,000-foot mountain during his stay in Germany and fought off his asthma and intestinal disorders. The more he did outwardly, the less he suffered inwardly. One day he walked twenty miles though his father tired after twenty-two. ⁷¹

Theodore was beginning to direct his intensity outward. He was victorious in combative play with his brother, chased and cornered dogs, and was active in mock battles. Below is a facsimile of a drawing Theodore made during 1869. The omnipresent teeth are drawn as instruments of aggression. One is further inclined to see it as a self-view because of the small size of the eyes.

After the European tour, another incident bears examination. Theodore's father came to him and said, "Theodore you have the mind but you have not the body, and without the help of the body the mind cannot go as far as it should. You must make your body. It is hard drudgery to make one's body, but I know you will do it." According to later memories of his sister Corinne, "The boy looked up, throwing back his head in characteristic fashion, then with a flash of those white teeth which later in life became so well known . . . said, 'I'll make my body!'" ⁷² The only vestige of rage was shown in the fact that Theodore



Figure 1 ⁷³

replied to his father's challenge through the defiant gestures of throwing back his head and flashing his teeth.

For physical development, Theodore worked furiously at Wood's gymnasium. His schooling was provided by private tutors. Of all the

books he was exposed to, Roosevelt had keenest interest in *The Last of the Mohegans*, the tale of a race dying out under the onslaught of a fitter civilization.⁷⁴

The family planned a second European trip for the fall of 1872. For this trip, Theodore had two new possessions which would prove vital for his functioning. When he received a gun from his father he discovered he was severely myopic. The problem was detected and a pair of glasses prescribed.

By late November, the Roosevelts' ship had reached the Mediterranean. After a brief reunion with Mittie's expatriated Confederate brothers in Liverpool, and some travel on the continent, they headed for a new area, Egypt of the Ottoman Empire. Theodore recorded his first reactions to Alexandria in his diary:

Alexandria. How I gazed on it! It was Egypt, the land of my dreams; Egypt, the most ancient of all countries! A land that was old when Rome was bright, was old when Babylon was in its glory, was old when Troy was taken! It was a sight to awaken a thousand thoughts, and it did.⁷⁵

Theodore could be proud of the fruits of his physical training. Now it was his father who wrote: "I feel as if I must keep up with Teedie."⁷⁶ When they climbed a pyramid, "Father was so exhausted that we were almost afraid he would faint."⁷⁷ It was not long before Theodore and his father began hunting birds together. On the 583-mile journey to the First Cataract they devoted a few hours almost every day to the sport. This consistency illustrates a sort of initiation, almost a puberty rite. It is not known where Elliott was during this time, for only the father and eldest son went out each day with guns in hand.

Theodore recorded the first bird he killed, "One of these was the first bird I had ever shot and I was proportionably delighted."⁷⁸ Corinne observed, "The boy of fourteen was already leading his equally indomitable father into different fields of action."⁷⁹ Although Roosevelt later wrote, "This bird collecting gave me what was really the chief zest of my Nile journey. . . . The birds I obtained up the Nile and in Palestine represented merely the usual boy's collection,"⁸⁰ this was simply not the case. In a remarkably short time, he killed hundreds of birds.⁸¹

Although the environment was barren, Theodore was filled with life. His physical growth continued at an astonishing rate. Pringle writes, "He seemed miraculously to add an inch or two during the brief journey up the Nile, and when the expedition returned to Cairo a complete set of new clothing had to be obtained."⁸² Now Elliott was becoming delicate. He did not have his brother's Spartan attitude and longed for the time he could "sit down to breakfast, dinner, and lunch in our own house."⁸³ Though Theodore had three asthma attacks, none had stopped his vigorous activity, while Elliott had been incapacitated three times.

The Egyptian portion of the trip had been completed, the Roosevelt family was given a view at the cradle of civilization and their elder son had looked with open eyes. He came out with hundreds of birds, many of which were skinned and dissected. He had learned not to be intimidated and was at home in a variety of cultures; he could deal with an Arab merchant using only the language of his hands or play games with a Syrian sailor.

His pubertal rite accomplished, Theodore could now be asked to live away from his parents. The children were taken to Dresden, where they lived with German families for five months. Roosevelt, Sr. was able, through connections with American council, to contact Dr. Minkwitz, City Counselor and member of the Reichstag. He agreed to take the children into his home.

There were also plans for Mittie. Her health had deteriorated as family responsibilities became more complex. Her chest pains and headaches had grown more intense in addition to bouts of consumption. During this period she would look in on her children in Dresden while living in England with her brother. The family reunion would take place in New York after a five-month period.

For a family man like Roosevelt, Sr., who would be in New York alone, such a change meant adjustment. But health came first. If, in the recesses of his mind there was some wish to spend time alone, there was no overt indication of it. As many men of his period and class, he perceived his wife as one of the children:

I felt dreadfully to think that I was leaving you yesterday to try to take care of yourself for the first time in your life. I have no doubt you are just as well able to do it as I am to take care of you, but I have always been accustomed to think of you as one of my little babies.⁸⁴

He reminds her to write twice a week and to seek help from Bamie if it is necessary. There is almost a fear that Mittie had reached a maturity which would render her an adult:

I am afraid to call you my dear little baby; now after three weeks of independence I may be addressing a strong-minded woman. I do not believe it, however, and after writing three letters to each of the exiles in Dresden, I write this to the little girl who seems most to need my care, and whose place should be on my knee even if it turned Connie off.⁸⁵

A letter of Mittie's soon before reunion with her husband illustrates some of the complexities of their relationship:

I love you and wish to please you more than anyone else in the whole world and will do everything I can to please you that is not

unreasonable. I think that you have been perfectly lovely to me in your care of me always and so good and indulgent and thoughtful and I am so proud of you and honor and respect you so *don't be too hard upon me*. I have decided that your dear letters are just a little plaintive and it rather comforts me to receive the "private" letter to see that you have one little scrap of the devil in you yet, but I wish my darling husband that you understand that I am open to reason and if he can really point out the bad influence I will try to do all I can to please him. I perfectly well understand who influenced you to write me but I am going to *try* to love you just the same whether you do as I desire or not.⁸⁶

Mittie reaffirms her childish position after what must have been a more than usually forward move by her husband to request her to take responsibilities. The indirect reference to the "devil in you" might have been a reply to the only indirect note by Thee that he missed his wife's pleasures.

The younger Theodore prospered in the German atmosphere:

They were the very kindest family imaginable. I shall never forget the unwearied patience of the two daughters. The father and mother, and a shy, thin student cousin who was living in the flat, were no less kind. Whenever I could get into the country I collected specimens industriously and enlivened the household with hedgehogs and other small beasts and reptiles which persisted in escaping from partially closed bureau draws.⁸⁷

Discipline and hard work characterized his stay. He rose at six-thirty and studied until nine after breakfast. Then came a short break until more study which lasted until twelve. After lunch, more study until three followed by exercise or visits about the city for the remainder of the afternoon. Study was continued after supper until bed at ten.⁸⁸ His health, rather than being the fearful subject it had been, while still plagued by asthma, could now be joked about:

Dearest Motherling:

Your unhappy son had his third attack of asthma, accompanied by a violent headache, the day before yesterday. He has given that up and has gone into another disease now. Picture to yourself an antiquated woodchuck, his voice hoarse from gargling and a cloth resembling in texture and cleanliness a secondhand dust man's cast-off stocking around his head; picture yourself that, I say, and you will have a good likeness to your hopeful offspring while suffering from an attack of the mumps.⁸⁹

Theodore continued to develop in spite of some sickness. When his mother came to visit, he walked on the outside "in a protective manner" and told her of his delight with his new boxing gloves. As his aggressive nature found expression in hunting birds while the family

was in Egypt, he now turned to boxing. Mittie remarked during her visit, "Teedie has a bloody nose, and Ellie a knock on the head of which they were proud," or else, "The children have just left another boxing match in which bleeding noses and swelled lips were common."⁹⁰ A little later she added, "Teedie's eye is perfectly black this morning."⁹¹ By the time the stay at Dresden was finished, Theodore would return more toughened by both the German stoicism and his own continuing fight to turn his aggression outward.

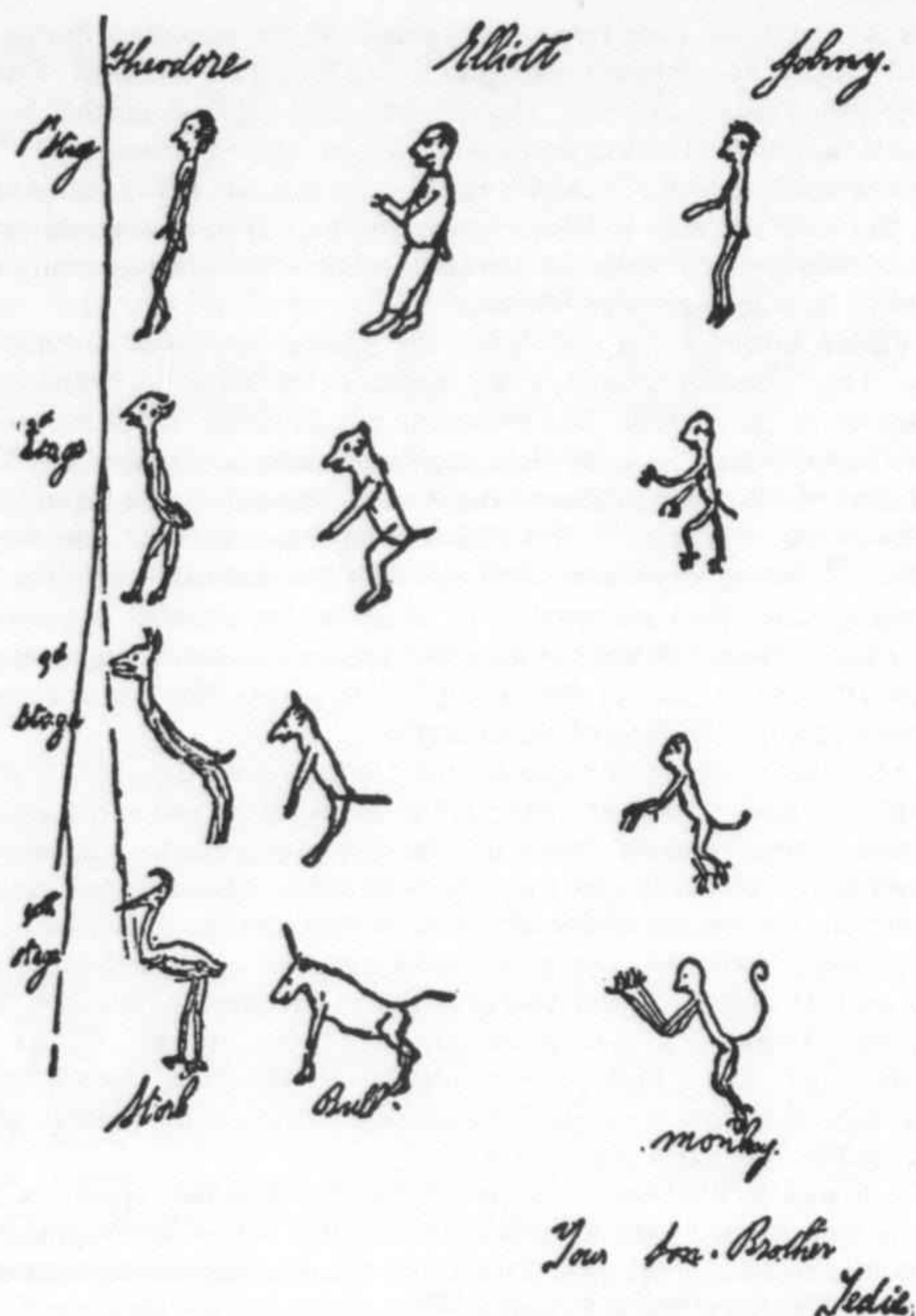
Elliott, however, did not absorb the Spartan aspects of German culture. The "Dresden Literary Club" described by Mittie illustrates Ellie's position in the family. She remarked on the story Theodore wrote: "'A Jackal Hunt' . . . , a thrilling, highly sarcastic account of his shooting a cat on the plain of Sharen between Gaffa and Ramelegh, which he mistook for a jackal."⁹² Yet Ellie's story was entitled "The Bloody Hand."⁹³ In it, a woman observed that her husband was behaving strangely, and when she went in to check on her children she saw him cut their throats, but he then knocked her out and the woman was subsequently put in jail for the crime.⁹⁴ It is a story filled with anxiety, ambivalence and feelings of abandonment.

As Elliott's anxiety continued to be focussed inward and his physical health declined, Theodore continued to focus energy outwards, and the brothers' roles reversed. Much can be said about this from a series of drawings completed during the stay at Dresden. Theodore had decided to picture his interpretation of the Darwinian theory of evolution, and in so doing presented a symbolic representation of his self-concept as well as that of his younger brother Elliott. Theodore dominates. In all pictures, Theodore's back is to Elliott. Though in one, Elliott was transformed into a bull, he is staring up at Theodore (turned stork) searching to follow his lead. Theodore's evolution is purposeful, assertive, and has objective (see Figure 2).

In Figure 3, Theodore is confronted with a problem. There is a tree. He is transformed into an upreaching giraffe whose development allows him to obtain the goal. Theodore's favorite song while in Dresden became, "My love, She is a Giraffe."⁹⁵

In Figure 4 he is looking at a fish but the growth of a beak allows him to devour it. Also evident is the fact that the instrument that gives Theodore newly developed power is the growth of a long protruding shape on the anterior side of his body. The phallic meaning of this will be clearer in the context of drawings which follow.

The separation from his parents had strengthened his phallic defenses. He was even able to express a note of criticism of his father. One of the few comments not filled with unconditional adulation towards his father came May 29th in a letter to his mother: "Father was considered very pretty and his German exceedingly beautiful,

Figure 2⁹⁶

neither of which statement I quite agree with."⁹⁹ He began to show a capacity to laugh at himself and could even joke about his own illness. For the first time in his life he stayed in a regular school for a while.

It is in this atmosphere of growth that Figures 5, 6 and 7 were created. The purpose of the drawings was described by Theodore in a letter to an aunt in which they appeared. He had been angered that the

*Further Illustrations of the
Darwinian Theory*



Figure 4⁹⁸

women of the house in Dresden were dismayed by his habit of bringing dead animals into the house. He writes:

My arsenic was confiscated and my mice thrown (with the tong) out of the window. In cases like this I would approach a refractory female, move in hard, corner her, and hang the mouse very near her face until she was thoroughly convinced of the wickedness of her actions.¹⁰⁰

There are several layers of meaning to this. For one, it is clear that Theodore gains great delight in proving his bravery, showing the courage to go near what frightens others. Also clear is forward, assertive and combative behavior. The enemies come, but Theodore is ready for them with a mocking grin. On a deeper level, there is something else in action here. Just as the development of the beaks attract attention in the evolu-



Figure 5¹⁰¹

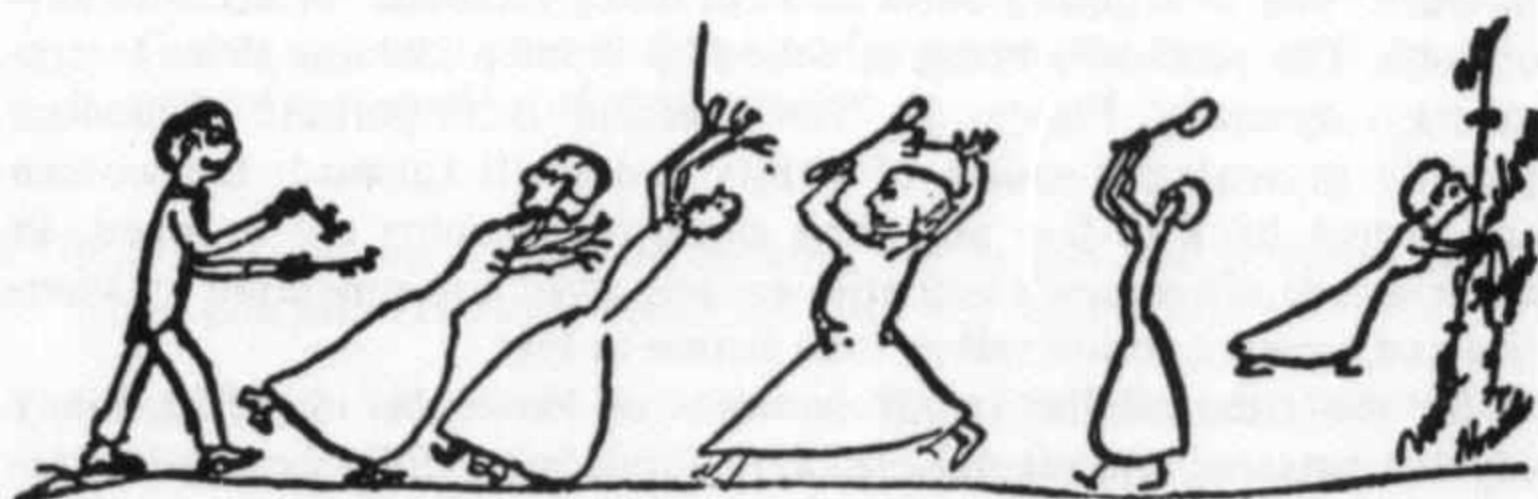
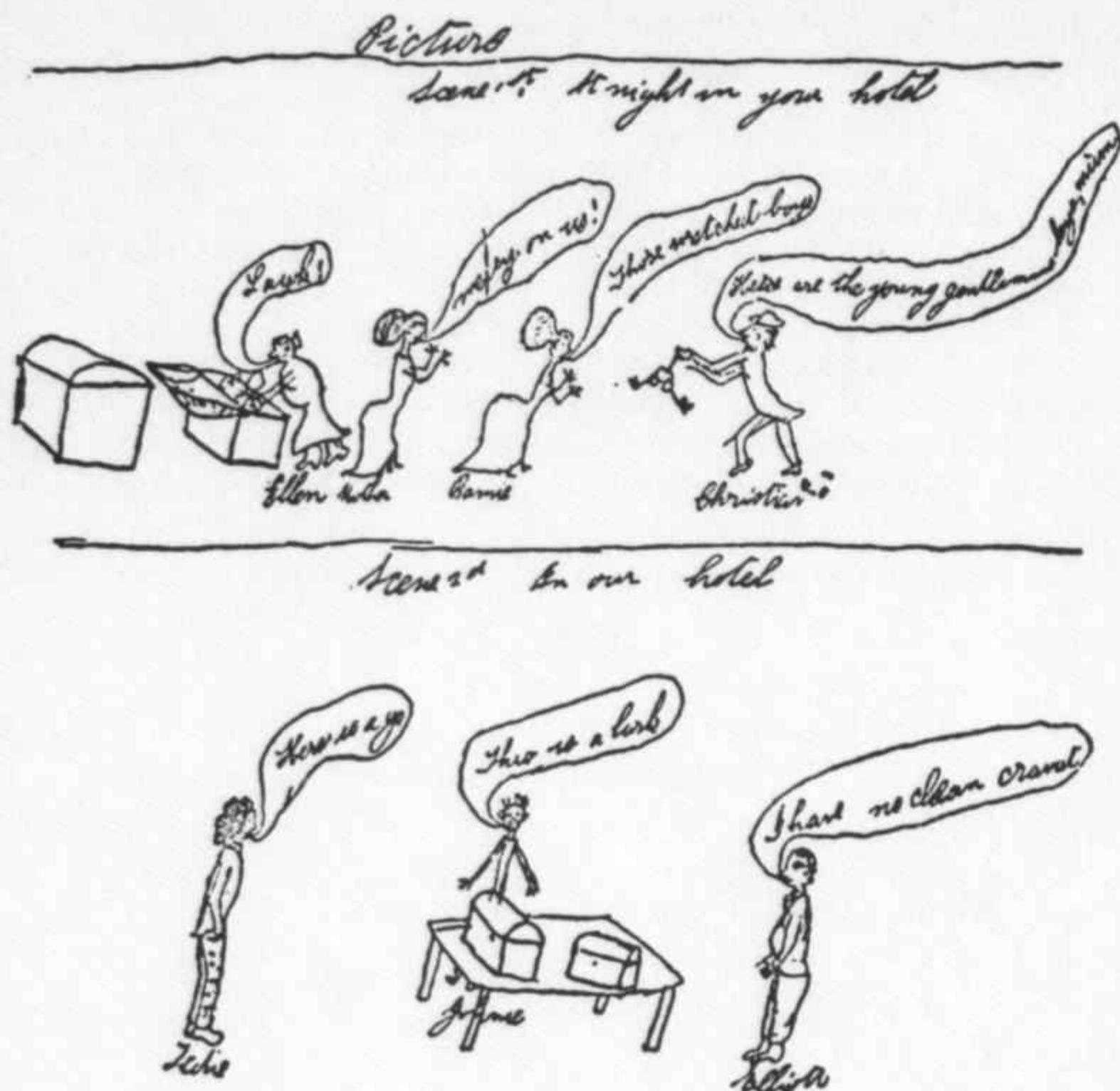


Figure 6¹⁰²

Figure 7¹⁰³

tion pictures, the objects of defense in Figures 5, 6 and 7 are also significant. The developing adolescent is being attacked for his mischievousness. The phallus is being attacked by women yielding sharp instruments (especially Figure 6). The reaction is important. Theodore proudly presents his object of virility and struts forward: the women are turned back in fear and their sharp instruments are dropped. In other words, Theodore's activities are preserved and generated by assertive and forward action rather than shame or fear.

By the time of the family reunion of November 5, 1872, many psychic patterns and resolutions were formulated. Ellie's resolution involved coping with rage and anxiety inwardly. The psychic costs were sometimes steep. Soon after his return from Europe, Roosevelt, Sr. wrote of his son's strange illness, "Its foothold conquers the brain with all its attendant horrors of delirium etc. The doctor says that there is no

cause for anxiety as it is only necessary to avoid all excitements for two or three years and he will entirely outgrow it." A week later he added, "He evidently has a fear of being left alone at night (i.e. he is nervous) although he stoutly denies it, he sleeps in my bed. I think it would be very wise for Theodore and himself to occupy the large bed in the room for a while together; I should be afraid to leave him alone." Three days later he added, "Ellie is looking and feeling better again and of course hope springs forth as he improves. It certainly seems to show that there is nothing organic at present which the doctor can be positive of. This last attack seemed to him to be hysteria. . . . There is one fortunate feature connected with Ellie's sickness. Anything like a dispute seems worse for him than any other excitement. . . , to grumble reduces his spirits to zero at once."¹⁰⁴

The evolution and tragedy of Elliott's inward and self-destructive strategy can be briefly traced, for in many ways it is the antithesis of his brother Theodore's. As Theodore defied his asthma, repressed the rage towards his parents, and paid the price of intensive externalized aggression throughout his years, Elliott remained closer to his feelings of abandonment, yet further from a workable resolution.

Later when Elliott was sent West, his health improved. He rode, hunted, and gained respect among the cowboys of the dude ranch at which he was staying. Soon before reaching this oasis, he included the following in a letter:

Oh, Father, will you ever think *me* a "noble boy," you are right about Tede he is one and no mistake a boy I would give a good deal to be like in many respects. If you ever see me not stand by Thee you may know I am entirely changed, no Father I am not likely to desert a fellow I love as I do my Brother even you don't know what a good noble boy he is and what a splendid man he is going to be as I do. No, I love him. Love him very *very* dearly and will never desert him and if I know him he will *never* desert me.

Father my own dear Father God bless you and help me to be a good boy and worthy of you, goodbye.

Your Son

P.S. This sounds foolish on looking over it but you touched me when you said always to stand by Thee in your letter.¹⁰⁵

Elliott began this letter by acknowledging his father as the ultimate authority, and poured forth his unqualified praise at the same time he hid his frustrations for not living up to the standards of his idol. The game of competition was not for Elliott and he claimed he could not study with his brother simply because they were not at the same level. The tone of the letter grew increasingly heavier as Ellie's repressions

wore thinner. Freud called the process of converting a feeling to its opposite reaction formation and it is this dynamic which fills the letter. Although he was soon to leave school because of a nervous breakdown, he said his life was "free of care."

The material concerning Theodore is the heart of the letter. Ted is a "noble boy" and he refuses to admit there are feelings of hostility or jealousy concerning his brother. "No, I love him," are the words he insists on convincing himself with as he converts the unacceptable emotion into its opposite. He was determined to consistently love his brother, even at the cost of internal discord, and he believed he meant his words.

By the next decade, Elliott continued to make stringent emotional demands on himself. His personal diary of 1883 includes the following:

When my worship for women began I cannot tell . . . or perhaps when the poor little mother turned to Connie on that night and called me her loving son and only comfort—maybe when as the years have gone by and I have seen the two sisters unselfishly and with only thought for us boys . . . [following phrase illegible] My darling Anna [his wife]—a child in years, a woman in experience and knowledge—a Christian in deed and fact . . . in beauty and grace of figure is only a shadowing of the perfect loveliness of . . . God's great goodness growing with the love of this dear woman . . . She seems so pure and high and ideal that in my roughness and unworthiness I do not know how I can be happy. . . . How can I . . . who have been but a wanderer and self-amusing dilettante ever command the love from ever of so earnest and true a woman. . . . Dear old Brother Thee I envy and *love* you . . . [the following pages are ripped from the diary]¹⁰⁶

The next ten years held intense disillusionment for Elliott. Anna held high standards for the behavior of her husband, both socially and vocationally, and Elliott could not measure up. Hunting accidents increased in number, his life as a business man became inconsistent, and drinking became a problem. During 1889 he panicked and ran away to the South without contacting his family. Perhaps he remembered the comfort he derived when his father sent him to Texas, away from his achieving brother. Anna threatened divorce but agreed to stay married if Elliott would go to France for cure of his alcoholism. A court order turned the \$175,000 estate to her. Anna's health declined and she refused until death to see her husband. Elliott soon disappeared and during 1893 died anonymously, living in drunken squalor with a mistress on West 102nd Street. His brother Theodore had long since given up on him and had continually urged Corinne to leave him be. He communicated to his sister Bamie, "But I do wish Corinne could get a little of my hard heart about Elliott; she can do, and ought to, nothing for him. He can't be helped and he must simply be let go on his own gait. He is now

laid up from a serious fall; while drunk he drove into a lamp post and went out on his head. Poor fellow! If only he could have died instead of Anna!"¹⁰⁷

Theodore's course continued to take an almost antithetical nature to Elliott's after the family's return from Europe during 1872. He scheduled intense activity with almost a compulsion and began a pattern of avoidance of introspection about which John Chamberlain has called philosophical irresponsibility. His revolt against his own bodily weaknesses had created an action which served as a drug; the result was a fear of reflection, the negative of spiritual courage.¹⁰⁸

The young man's conscience was becoming as disciplined as his body. He lived the stringent Victorian morality of the times with greater consistency than most. For example, he read avidly the magazine *Our Young Folks* which was mainly composed of transparent moralistic stories supporting the view that women should be good and innocent, and moral virtues are always clear and simple. As late as 1913, Roosevelt would believe this "the very best magazine in the world."¹⁰⁹ His friend of pre-Harvard days, Frances Theodora Parsons, remarked that to some he was known as a prig because he violently disapproved of boys and girls who did not absolutely behave "under the moon" when not being watched.¹¹⁰ His diaries would later be filled with incidents in which he was proud he had preserved his moral integrity. His view that sexual relations should be severely limited and mostly associated with procreation was later reflected by a disdain for bachelors, disapproval of families without many children if the finances and health of the parents were sufficient, and hatred of any sort of loose living, whether from diplomat or Bowery bum.

Theodore continued building his body with the fervor that he displayed in hunting, dissecting and stuffing. At sixteen, he recorded in his diary that he was five feet and eight inches in height with a thirty-four inch chest and twenty-six and one half inch waist. Putnam describes, "He gave the impression of a taut vitality and a will which had begun to transcend the slightness of his physique."¹¹¹ The diaries from this period are also filled with exact records of his defeats and victories in competitive sports.

Several years later, when Theodore left for Harvard, he was encouraged by his father to live up to all his potential. He was advised to take care of his morals, health and studies in that order and requested to send a copy of his schedule. His father gave him the following quotation, "... prepare the boy to take the father's place in the great battle of life."¹¹²

As the second half of his sophomore year came to pass, Roosevelt had good reason for confidence. He could look towards a family whose standards he was successfully meeting. Yet he was not made aware that

his father was dying. A malignant fibrous tumor of the bowel had been growing rapidly and was located in such a way that the doctors could not operate. It was Bamie who did her best to protect her oldest brother. She had increasingly taken Mittie's place in doing household chores. It had been Bamie who had gone with Theodore to Harvard to establish a room. She made sure he received a second floor apartment to protect his considerably improved asthma from ground floor dampness. Theodore had been home Christmas of 1877, and knew his father's health was not good. He merely assumed he was overworked, and as befitting a man who "never does think of himself," in need of a rest.

Two months later, when his father finally died, Theodore, as the rest of the family, went into an initial period of numb shock. He could not get himself to write entries in his diary. Finally on February 12 he managed to say:

He has just been buried. I shall never forget these terrible three days; the hideous suspense of the ride; the dull, inert sorrow, during which I felt as I had been stunned, or part of my life taken away; and the two moments of sharp, bitter agony when I kissed the dear, dead face and realized that he would never again on this earth speak to me or greet me with his loving smile, and when I heard the sound of the first clod dropping on the coffin holding the one I loved dearest on earth. He looked so calm and sweet. I feel that if it were not for the certainty, that as he himself has so often said, 'he is not dead but gone before,' I should almost perish. With the help of God I will try to lead the life as he would have wished.¹¹³

On one level, Theodore had already been meeting parental demands. As Putnam put it "During the Christmas vacation of 1877, the elder Theodore had told him that he never caused him a moment's pain, and that he was 'the dearest of children to him.' Theodore had returned affection with, 'I do not think there is a fellow in college who has a family that loves him as much as you do me, and I am *sure* that there is no one who has a father who is also his best and most intimate friend, as you are mine. I have kept the first letter you wrote me and shall do my best to deserve your trust.'"¹¹⁴

The shock of mourning was followed by an aching sorrow:

Sometimes when I fully realize my loss I feel as though I should go wild—my joys he shared and in sharing them doubled them and soothed all the sorrows I ever had; every event in my life is bound up with him; he was as pure and unselfish as he was wise and good.¹¹⁵

Yet, accompanying this were intense feelings of inferiority by comparison:

I often feel badly that such a wonderful man as Father should have a son of so little worth as I am . . . during services today I could not help recollecting sadly of how little use I am, or shall ever be in this world, not through lack of perseverance and good intentions but through sheer inability. I realize more and more every day that I am as much inferior to Father morally and mentally as physically.¹¹⁶

Theodore Roosevelt entered the stage of manhood with a stable constellation of psychic defenses against his oral rage. Unlike his brother Elliott, Theodore was able to construct a personality which integrated his father's demands to be "hard" and phallic with his own biting rage resulting from his mother's personality. That these qualities and these experiences were shared by many of his contemporaries, that his ability to project his personal conflicts onto the political and cultural sphere brought him near-mystical adulation from an entire nation, and that these years of childhood throw new light on the Progressive Era are all topics which must be left to the second half of this article, to be published in the next issue of this Journal.

Glenn Davis received his training in history at Oberlin College and Columbia University, and has completed a book entitled Theodore Roosevelt and an Epoch: A Study in Psychology and History.

REFERENCES

I would like to thank Lloyd deMause for his help during the research and writing stages of this paper.

1. Corinne (Roosevelt) Robinson, "My Brother Theodore Roosevelt: The Nursery and its Duties," Unsigned typed manuscript, Harvard University, Houghton Library, bMS Am1785.3 #11.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Letter, Theodore Roosevelt to Martha Bulloch, Sept. 16, 1853, 65M-11 bMS Am1785.7 #38.
4. Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921).
5. Letter, Silas Weir Roosevelt to Hilbourne West, Sept. 16, 1847, 65M-65.1 #98.
6. Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years, 1858-1886* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), p. 1.
7. *Ibid.*, 7.
8. *Ibid.*, 3.
9. *Ibid.*, 3.
10. Letter, Theodore Roosevelt to Martha Bulloch, May 31, 1853, bMS Am1785.2 #100.
11. Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 3.
12. *Ibid.*, 12.
13. *Ibid.*, 13.
14. *Ibid.*, 13.
15. Letter, Theodore Roosevelt to Martha Bulloch, May 31, 1853, bMS Am1785.2 #100.
16. Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 2.
17. *Ibid.*, 13.

18. Letter, Theodore Roosevelt to Martha Bulloch, Aug. 4, 1853, 65-11 bMS Am1785.7 #38.
19. Letter, Theodore Roosevelt to Martha Bulloch, Aug. 18, 1853. 65M-11 bMS Am1785.7 #38.
20. Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 20.
21. Lilian Rixie, *Bamie: Theodore Roosevelt's Remarkable Sister* (New York: David McKay Co., 1963) p. 4.
22. Letter, Theodore Roosevelt to Martha (Bulloch) Roosevelt, May 31, 1857, 65M-11 bMS Am1785.7 #38.
23. Letter, Martha (Bulloch) Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt, May 11, n.d. 65M-65.2 #97.
24. Letter, Martha (Bulloch) Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt, May 23, n.d., 65M-65.2 #97.
25. Letter, Theodore Roosevelt to Martha (Bulloch) Roosevelt, May 16, 1855, bMS Am1785.7 #38.
26. Letter, Martha (Bulloch) Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt, May 15, 1855, 65M-111 bMS Am1785.7 #34.
27. Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 23.
28. Letter, Martha (Stewart) Bulloch to Susan (Elliott) West, Nov. 2, 1858, 65M-11 bMS Am1785.7 #3.
29. Letter, Martha (Stewart) Bulloch to Susan (Elliott) West, Nov. 1, 1858, 65M-11 bMS Am1785.7 #3.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Letter, Martha (Stewart) Bulloch to Susan (Elliott) West, Nov. 2, 1858, Houghton, 65M-11 bMS Am1785.7 #3.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Letter, Martha (Stewart) Bulloch to Susan (Elliott) West, Dec. 1858, 65M-11 bMS Am1785.7 #3.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Letter, Martha (Stewart) Bulloch to Susan (Elliott) West, March 12, 1862, 65M-11 bMS Am1785.7 #3.
36. Letter, Martha (Stewart) Bulloch to Susan (Elliott) West, May 7, 1860, 65-11 bMS Am1785.7 #3.
37. Letter, Martha (Stewart) Bulloch to Susan (Elliott) West, Sept., 1861, 65-11 bMS Am1785.7 #3.
38. Letter, Martha (Stewart) Bulloch to Susan (Elliott) West, Nov. 29, 1862, 65M-bMS Am1785.7 #3.
39. Letter, Martha (Bulloch) Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt, June 2, 1873, 65M-111 bMS Am1785.7 #34.
40. G. Wallace Chessman, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Power* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co.) p. 14.
41. Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 53.
42. Lilian Rixey, *Bamie*, 10.
43. Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 24.
44. *Ibid.*, 24.
45. *Ibid.*, 25.
46. Letter, Theodore Roosevelt to Martha (Bulloch) Roosevelt, Jan. 8, 1862, 65-11 bMS Am1785.7 #38.
47. Letter, Martha (Stewart) Bulloch to Susan (Elliott) West, Aug. 22, 1859, 65M-bMS Am1785.7 #3.
48. Max Trell, "The Man Built Around a Set of Teeth," *Gateway to Health* (Nov., 1925).
49. Noel F. Busch, *TR: The Story of Theodore Roosevelt and his Influence on Our Times* (New York: Reynal and Co., 1963) p. 144.
50. Jacob A. Arlow, "Notes on Oral Symbolism," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, XLV, No. 1 (1955), p. 71.
51. Jacob A. Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt the Citizen* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1903), p. 56.
52. Charles Hanson Toune, ed., *Roosevelt as the Poets Saw Him* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923) p. 24.

53. Joseph Gardner, *Departing Glory: Theodore Roosevelt as Ex-President* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973) p. 22.
54. Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt*, 163.
55. Theodore Roosevelt, *American Ideals*, Vol. XIII of *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, ed. by Hermann Hagedorn (20 Vols; New York: Scribner's Sons, 1926) p. 122.
56. Thomas M. French and Franz Alexander, *Psychogenic Factors of Bronchial Asthma* (Menashe: George Banta, 1941).
57. E. M. Goldberg, *Family Influence and Psychosomatic Illness* (London: Lavistock, 1958).
58. Lindy Burton, *Vulnerable Children* (New York: Schocken, 1968), 180.
59. Thomas J. Luparello et al., "Psychogenic Factors and Bronchial Asthma," *New York State Medical Journal*, LXXI, No. 18 (Sept. 15, 1971), pp. 2161-2165; Edward J. Sachar, "Some Current Issues on Psychosomatic Research," *Psychiatric Annals*, VIII, No. 2 (1972), pp. 22-35; Peter H. Knapp, "Psychosomatic Medicine: an Interpretation," *Psychiatric Annals*, II, No. 8 (1972), pp. 22-36; Neil McDermott and Stanley Cobb, "A Psychiatric Survey of Fifty Cases of Bronchial Asthma," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, I, No. 2 (1939); A Adler, *The Practice and Theory of Individual Psychology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1927); Arthur Z. Mutter and Maxwell J. Schleifer, "The Role of Psychological and Social Factors in the Onset of Somatic Illness in Children," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, XXVIII, No. 4 (1966), pp. 333-343; Franz Alexander, *Psychoanalytic Therapy: Principles and Application* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1946), p. 135; David Bakan, *Disease, Pain and Sacrifice: Towards a Psychology of Suffering* (Chicago: Beacon Press, 1968).
60. Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 26.
61. Norman Kiell, "Effects of Asthma on the Character of Theodore Roosevelt," paper made available by Lloyd deMause.
62. Letter, Martha (Stewart) Bulloch to Susan (Elliott) West, June 22, 1863, 65M-bMS Am1785.7 #3.
63. Theodore Roosevelt, *Autobiography* (New York: Macmillan, 1913) pp. 8-9.
64. Theodore Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, 12.
65. Letter, Theodore Roosevelt to Martha (Bulloch) Roosevelt, Aug. 14, 1873, bMS Am1785.2 #100.
66. Lincoln Steffins, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffins*, Vol. I (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1931) pp. 350.
67. C. Wallace Chessman, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Power*, 15.
68. *Theodore Roosevelt's Diaries of Boyhood and Youth* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928) p. 74.
69. Richard Hofstadter, "Theodore Roosevelt: The Conservative as Progressive."
70. *Theodore Roosevelt's Diaries of Boyhood and Youth*, 74
71. Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 66.
72. Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt*, 50.
73. Theodore Roosevelt's diary, 1869, bMS Am1541.
74. Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 87.
75. *Theodore Roosevelt's Diaries of Boyhood and Youth*, 276.
76. Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1956) p. 14.
77. Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 86.
78. *Theodore Roosevelt's Diaries of Boyhood and Youth*, 291.
79. Corine Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt*, 57.
80. Theodore Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, 19.
81. *Theodore Roosevelt's Diaries of Boyhood and Youth*, 275-320.
82. Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 15.
83. Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 27.
84. Letter, Theodore Roosevelt to Martha (Bulloch) Roosevelt, May 3, 1873, bMS Am1785.2 #100.
85. Letter, Theodore Roosevelt to Martha (Bulloch) Roosevelt, June 22, 1873, bMS Am 1785.2 #100.
86. Letter, Martha (Bulloch) Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt, Oct. 15, 1873,

- 65M-111 bMS Am1785.7 #32.
87. Theodore Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, 21
 88. Elting E. Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (8 Vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954) Vol. I, 10.
 89. Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 107.
 90. Letter, Martha (Bulloch) Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt, n.d. 65M-111 bMS Am1785.7 #34.
 91. Letter, Martha (Bulloch) Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt, June 18, 1873, 65M-111 bMS Am1785.7 #34.
 92. Letter, Martha (Bulloch) Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt, June 8, 1873, 65M-111 bMS Am1785.7 #34.
 93. *Ibid.*
 94. "The Dresden Literary Club," 1873, bMS Am1541 #288.
 95. Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt*, 59.
 - 96-98. Included in Fifteen Diaries, 1869-1910, bMS Am1541 and Letters from Dresden, 1873, bMS Am1540 #516. Sketches also published in Corinne Roosevelt Robinson's *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt*.
 99. Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt*, 76.
 100. *Ibid.*, 77-78.
 - 101-103. Letters from Dresden, 1873, bMS Am1540 #516.
 104. Letter, Theodore Roosevelt to Martha (Bulloch) Roosevelt, Nov. 27, 1873, bMS Am1785.2 #100
 105. Joseph P. Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin*, 32.
 106. Diary, Elliott Roosevelt, Feb., 1883, bMS Am1785.7 #47.
 107. Elting E. Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, Vol. I, 392.
 108. John Chamberlain, "The Progressive Mind in Action."
 109. Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 17.
 110. Francis Theodora Parsons, *Purchance Some Day* (Limited private printing, 1951).
 111. Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 126.
 112. C. Wallace Chessman, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Power*, 22.
 113. Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 148.
 114. Elting E. Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, Vol. I, 18.
 115. Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 149.
 116. *Ibid.*, 151.

FROM THE SOURCES

Portrait of a Good Girl (11th Century):

"The child grew and was weaned, and as it grew in strength so it made progress in virtue. Hence it came about that while she was still too young to see the difference between right and wrong, she beat her own tender body with rods whenever she thought she had done something that was not allowed."

The Life of Christina of Markyate: A Twelfth Century Recluse. Trans. C. H. Talbot. Oxford, 1959.

Religion and the Conception of Youth in Seventeenth- Century England

STEVEN R.
SMITH

This journal and the growing literature elsewhere testify to the attention currently being given by historians to the study of children in history. The articles which have appeared in this and other journals have thrown new light on the status of children in the past.¹ This article deals with another aspect of the history of childhood: the history of adolescence as distinct from childhood, and it focuses on seventeenth-century England, a time and place for which Joseph Illick has described childhood. Illick has suggested that child-rearing practices in England showed an increasing awareness of self and represented a shift towards more contractual arrangements within the family.² If there were greater awareness of self in seventeenth-century England, the stage of life following childhood would be vitally important, for it is in adolescence that an individual becomes even more aware of his identity and, ideally, emerges from adolescence into adulthood with his ego fully integrated and developed. Yet some historians have denied that early modern Europeans had any conception of adolescence.

One of the most complete surveys of youth in early modern Europe is that of Philippe Ariès, who argued that sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europeans lacked a complete conception of adolescence, though he did suggest that in this period Europeans began to recognize youth as different from children as well as adults. Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, in their study of childhood and youth in England, con-

cluded that in the early modern period, there was no distinction between religious training for children and that for adults, attributing this to "ignorance of developmental psychology." They singled out the Puritans: "It was indeed no part of Puritan practice to make concessions to the immaturity of the young or the exuberance of youth." Pinchbeck's and Hewitt's conclusion agrees with Sanford Fleming's observation that New England Puritans had no understanding of child psychology and that children and youth were seen "simply as miniature adults, and the same means and experiences were considered as suitable for them as for those older." Fleming attributed this to the "general attitude of the times," that maturity came very early and "to the doctrine of total depravity." Joseph Kett is in substantial agreement; he has chosen the nineteenth century as the time when a conception of adolescence developed. Acknowledging that Cotton Mather and others wrote for youth and occasionally preached to them, Kett believes that the Puritans used the word *youth* "more as a noun than a concept," and that they had no clear idea of what ages constituted youth. Two other historians, John and Virginia Demos, hold a similar position: "The concept of adolescence, as generally understood and applied, did not exist before the last two decades of the nineteenth century." They argue that the real change came with the beginning of urbanization since children of farmers appeared merely as potential farmers.³

While these historians have provided valuable insights into the past, they may have missed something important. If any conception of youth existed, it would likely be expressed in religious terms. This article examines sermons and guidebooks for young people to determine how preachers and writers perceived youth and then looks at some autobiographical materials to see whether or not youth saw themselves in the same way. Much of the material dealt with here could be termed "puritan," but this should be understood as referring to certain underlying attitudes and convictions which were shared by men of various political persuasions and theological views. As John E. Mason found in his survey of English conduct books, there is little difference between "royalist" and "puritan" writers on the topics of ethics and religious training.⁴ Similarly, there is no reason to think that there would be any difference between the conception of youth held by an archbishop of Canterbury and that of the most outspoken nonconformist.

In a century in which religion was a pervasive and all-powerful force, any conception of youth certainly would have been expressed in religious experience and thought. Kett and other historians who have written about the emergence of the conception of adolescence have pointed out the importance of the religious conversion experience, and Ariès, in his examination of youth in seventeenth century France,

found that the Jansenists, who were the theological equivalents of the English Puritans, emphasized the importance of religious training. The Demos generalization about the importance of urbanization has merit: the seventeenth-century Puritans were concentrated in the urban centers of England and were what Christopher Hill has called "the industrious sort." Certainly not everyone passed through a special stage of life known as youth: the great silent majority in the countryside probably did not, and the sons and daughters of the nobility may well have escaped it, but for the young people in the towns and especially in London, there was a phase of life distinct from both childhood and adulthood.

The seventeenth century did not share the twentieth century's concern for precision, and then, as now, "youth" as well as "children" was often used metaphorically to refer to attitudes rather than ages, as in "children of God" or "young at heart." The definition of youth is not easy, even in the twentieth century with its emphasis on age-grading and its obsession with classifying people and ideas. Kenneth Keniston has argued that there is today a new type of youth, but his definition is somewhat imprecise and refers to only a small minority of American young people.⁵ If twentieth-century social scientists are fuzzy on their conception of youth, seventeenth-century writers, who, for better or worse, were not social scientists, can be excused for some inexactitude. Yet there were attempts in the seventeenth century to set age boundaries for youth. *The Office of Christian Parents* divided life into six stages: infancy (from birth to age seven), childhood (ages 7-14), youth (ages 14-28), manhood (28-50), gravity (50-70), and old age (over seventy), acknowledging that these stages would vary with the individual. The stage of youth, in which "the child is most sensible, full of strength, courage, and activeness," was ended by marriage or by an unmarried person establishing a separate household, rather than by a particular age. The author used six of the commonly accepted "seven ages of man" established in sixth century B.C. and disseminated by a thirteenth-century Latin compilation which enjoyed a revival in the early modern period.⁶ Other seventeenth-century writers combined some of these stages but preserved the distinction between childhood and youth and between youth and adulthood.⁷

The notion of a period of life beginning in the mid-teens and continuing into the twenties would have made sense to seventeenth-century Englishmen, especially those who lived in urban centers. The institution of apprenticeship through which many passed on the way to adulthood spanned some of those years. According to the 1563 Statute of Artificers and to the customs and regulations of the City of London, a proper apprenticeship should end at age twenty-four and therefore ordinarily would have begun at age seventeen.⁸ This rule was ignored by many, but its existence indicated an awareness of the relationship be-

tween the mid-twenties and maturity. The association of the concept of youth and apprenticeship was common: Nathaniel Crouch's *The Apprentice's Companion* consisted in large part of a revision of Samuel Crossman's *The Young Man's Calling*, and, during the civil war era, the London apprentices often associated themselves with the "young men" of the city in political petitions, the young men being journeymen who recently had finished their apprenticeships but who continued to live in the homes of their former masters. The conception of youth implied an unmarried state and many of the guidebooks for youth contained sections on choosing wives and establishing households. They also contained advice on vocational choice and emphasized the doctrine of Calling, which would not have been of interest to either children or adults. Marriage, commonly acknowledged as one of the rites of passage, was the end of a stage of life and the mean age at marriage for seventeenth century men was close to twenty-seven.⁹

Youth, as well as children, were expected to attend church services with their families or households, so that preachers were always addressing themselves in part to young people. Some sermons contained special sections for youth when the preacher wanted to make a special application of his text. But many sermons were preached especially for young people. It is impossible to estimate the number of such sermons, but some of them were printed and since only a small portion of ordinary sermons (as opposed to sermons preached before some official body or some prominent person) were printed, the custom of preaching to youth must have been fairly common. There were also religious manuals and books of devotions for young people and many of the more general or "how-to-be-a-gentleman" guidebooks included sections on religion. Two prominent Puritans felt that whatever attention was being directed to youth was insufficient or poorly conceived. Richard Baxter, in his *Compassionate Counsel to all Young Men*, urged ministers to give more attention to youth in order to make them holy and then keep them holy. He pointed out the importance of youth to society since one generation could undo whatever good the previous generation had done, a timely warning in the post-Restoration era. John Bunyan, in the preface to *A Book for Boys and Girls*, expressed his opinion that improper attention had been given youth.

Our ministers, long time by word and pen,
Dealt with them, counting them not boys but men:
Thunderbolts they shot at them, and their toys:
But hit them not, 'cause they were girls and boys.¹⁰

Special sermons for youth meant that special services for young people were held in addition to the catechism classes held in many churches. William Kiffin, later a Baptist preacher and London business-

man, reported that after his conversion to Puritanism in 1631 while a London apprentice, he and other apprentices went together to lectures at 6 a.m. and met an hour earlier "to spend it in prayer, and in communicating to each other what experiences we had received from the Lord; or else to repeat some sermon which he had heard before." Oliver Heywood, later a Presbyterian minister, noted that he had joined with about twenty other young men in a Christian study group which met every fortnight while he was a student. Another example occurred in May of 1641; while many Londoners attended services of "humiliation and fasting and prayer" to celebrate the execution of the Earl of Strafford, a special service for apprentices was held at Dyers' Hall. About five hundred young men gathered there to listen to six ministers for several hours. Some of the sermons discussed below were preached to special audiences of young people and others at the funerals of youth where a large portion of the mourners would have been young. In addition to these more formal occasions, there were religious societies for apprentices and young journeymen; these associations offered opportunities for young people "to excite and stir up one another."¹¹ All of these occasions would have reinforced the feeling of youth as a separate group. They served the same purpose as twentieth century youth organizations, both religious and secular, and met the need of adolescents for peer approval.

Those who preached to the young on such occasions and those who wrote for them were concerned with impressing their listeners and readers with the desirability of early conversion and holy living. What they said to youth reveals how they perceived youth and an examination of these sermons and books should contribute to an understanding of the seventeenth century's conception of youth. Youth was depicted as fickle, unsettled, unreasonable, and unconcerned about the "big questions of life." Samuel Crossman described youth as a time of doubting and wondering, with "the mind for a long time like the wavering scales, rising and falling, going and coming ere it can settle." Furthermore, he felt that youth did not give enough attention to man's purpose in life or to the difficulty of conversion. Henry Hesketh, in a funeral sermon for a young man, compared youth to "a new ship launching out into the main ocean without helm and ballast or pilot to steer her." For Robert Abbot, who preached at the funeral of William Rogers, a young apothecary, youth was "a most unsettled age." Thomas Brooks' *Apples of Gold for Young Men and Women* characterized youth as rash; "they many times know little and fear less;" and he condemned this rashness as "ungodlike," "effeminate," and "below manhood." After saying that youth is concerned more with the present than with the future and unconcerned about "what we are! and why we were made! or what is our business in the world!" John Shower, in a funeral

sermon, suggested that the reason the devil works more on youth than on either children or adults is because children are "not capable of making a choice" while adults are "fixed and resolved in their ways." Richard Brathwait compared youth to "the horse or mule which hath no understanding," and said that they are "as ready to consent as the devil is to tempt." A similar comparison was William Guild's statement in *A Young Man's Inquisition* that "youth, like an untamed or wild colt, can hardly hear or will obey the strait bridle that restraineth liberty."¹²

Though it was an age characterized by fickleness, youth was also an age full of strength and vigor. Brooks, who had criticized the rashness of youth, also said, "Now your parts are lively, senses fresh, memory strong, and nature vigorous." Francis Fuller, in *Words to Give to the Young Man Knowledge and Discretion*, said that youth is the best time in life "for action, both as to the natural and moral frame of the body and mind," because of its strength and vigor, a purer conscience, and a softer heart than an old man.¹³ Other writers also contrasted the vitality of youth to the dullness of old age and demonstrated a preference for the former condition.

The most prominent characteristic of youth was sinfulness. Of course, preachers also constantly reminded adults of the universality of sin, yet most of the men who directed their attention to youth felt that young people were especially sinful and were subject to greater temptations than adults. Contrary to Pinchbeck's and Hewitt's conclusion that no concessions were made to the young, preachers were well aware of the exuberance and immaturity of youth. Such awareness did not lead to the conclusion that Christianity and morality were impossible for youth, but to the more optimistic conclusion that youth would have to exercise more diligence and care. It is also difficult to agree with Fleming's assertion that Puritans thought that the same means could be used for youth as for adults; Puritans began with the assumption that youth were subject to greater temptation than adults. The Puritan writer, Guild, pointed out that man is sinful in all ages, but youth, he said, "is carried with more headlong force unto vice, lust and vain pleasures of the flesh." Henry Jessey's *A Looking-Glass for Children*, despite the misleading title, was written "chiefly from consideration of my daily observation of youth's great need of all endeavors to prompt them to that which is good, they being naturally addicted to be drawn away through their own inclinations, and the powerful prevalency of Satan to sin and disobedience." Abbot told his youthful audience that "ye are now subject to the horriblest sins," because sin "hath in your age more instruments to bring it to outward appearance, as flourishing wit to invent and dexterity in other members to put in execution."

William Cowper, in a sermon, held that Satan "works most busily and prevails most mightily" on young people, whom he compared to "wild she-asses" and said that of all the ages of man, youth "are nearest and most ready to fall."¹⁴

Not only were youth more likely than children or adults to fall into sin, but there were special types of sins which were characteristic of youth. A great many sins were mentioned and almost all of them fall into the two categories of sensuality and pride. Brathwait found two causes of youthful sensuality: "that natural heat or vigor, which is most predominant in youth," and "want of employment, which begets this distemperature." He warned would-be gentlemen that lust would be increased by rich food, strong drink and evocative literature. Shower issued a similar warning, saying that lust depends on the "temper of the body, heightened by drinks" and condemned it as more animal than human. He pointed out that the sensual pleasures are often insincere or affected and lead to serious feelings of guilt: "look upon the young sinner swelling in pride, or burning in lust, or drowning in sensuality: consider him racked with impatient desires and burdened with avoidable fears, lest his attempt be unsuccessful, or lest he be disappointed in the secrecy of the enjoyment and his shame and folly published to the world, and yet this is the merry life of the sensual Epicure."¹⁵ This concern for the lust and sensuality of youth demonstrated an awareness of youth's newly discovered sexuality. This is a clear indication of a conception of youth as warnings about sexuality would have been inappropriate both for children who had not reached puberty and for married men and women who had found a disciplined and socially approved method of handling their sexuality.

The sins of sensuality included not only those of sexual lust, but, depending on the writer, extended to such as attending the theater, drinking, gambling, and a variety of other activities. What was most reprehensible about these was that they seemed to be more animal than human and resulted from the failure of self-discipline. The sensuality of youth could be attributed to man's basic animal instincts. The great danger was the failure to see that this was only one aspect of man's nature. Too often, youth saw this animal nature as the sole characteristic of man and one which would last forever; thus the moralists frequently used the analogy of youth and spring to show that neither was permanent. Benjamin Keach's *War with the Devil* and Thomas Sherman's *Youth's Tragedy*, both of which dealt with the necessity of early conversion, featured conversations of Youth with such figures as Conscience, Truth, Wisdom, Death, the Devil, etc. Both books begin with Youth comparing himself to spring and proclaiming his intension of fully enjoying the pleasure of life.¹⁶ The ministers' task was to persuade young people that sensuality was but one part of human nature.

The second major category of youthful sin was vanity. Brathwait identified vanity in four areas: demeanor, appearance, speech, and clothing. He said that young men walk and strut with excessive pride, especially when they are with girls, which is completely contrary to God's command to walk "in holiness and integrity." Secondly, youth "is ever noted to show a kind of contempt, expressing by his eye what he conceives in his heart." This appearance of contempt violates God's commands for a good Christian who ought to spend his time in contemplation of God. The third area in which youth express vanity is speech: often they speak without thinking. It is not only a matter of "rashness in resolving:" youth also has a "hastiness in proceeding," rejecting and ignoring advice and remaining "nailed to their own opinion." Finally, Brathwait questioned how any man could be proud of "rags" when all men are such great sinners and clothes ought to be reminders of Adam's sin.¹⁷ Certainly, vanity was not confined to youth; it was the principle sin of adults also. But Brathwait specifically tied his examples to other characteristics of youthfulness such as "hastiness in proceeding" and budding sexuality (walking with girls).

Another characteristic of youth was susceptibility to peer pressure. One of the most common injunctions in the sermons and guidebooks was to avoid bad company. Since youth were fickle and unsettled, it was advisable to avoid compromising situations and associates, but this also indicates the importance of the peer group and the adolescent desire for peer approval. After urging youthful conversions, Brooks raised and answered several objections that youth might have. One of the objections was the young man's fear that he might lose his friends if he gave up the ways of the world and tried to lead a godly life. To this objection, Brooks had four responses: first, it would be an exchange of old friends for new ones; "bad ones for good ones." Secondly, a person would be better off having no friends if those friends cost him his salvation. Thirdly, "the favor and friendship of such carnal persons is very fickle and inconstant." Fourthly, it makes no sense to reject Christ for the friendship of any man. The next objection of the young man was "I shall meet with many reproaches;" to which Brooks replied that many have suffered such reproaches and that anything a young man might suffer would add "pearls to thy crown." He also said that the reproachers would be punished at the final judgement. The next objection was that "we observe that most men mind not these things, but rather give liberty to themselves to walk in ways that are most pleasing to the flesh." Brooks answered that, while there are many bad examples for youth to follow, there were also good examples. Besides "you must not live by example, but by precepts." Finally, Brooks said that the many examples of evil in the world do not justify sin. Earlier in the book, he had said that "young men are very apt to compare themselves

with those that are worse than themselves," and warned against this because it could lead to over-confidence and consequently the letting down of one's guard against sin.¹⁸

Crossman answered similar objections by telling his readers not to shift responsibility for sin to anyone else; the individual must bear the burden of his sins. He suggested that any friend who urged sin was not a true friend and that a young man's true friends (which would include his pastor) and his parents would want him to live a godly life. To the objections that no young person follows religion very strictly, Crossman replied that the objector ought to become an example for them. In Sherman's *Youth's Comedy*, which like his *Youth's Tragedy* was written in dialog form, the recently converted Youth was tempted by his old companions to return to his old ways and lack of belief. They offered him wine and good fellowship, but Youth was saved when his Soul convinced him that his friends were "slaves to lust, captives to Satan's will." A similar experience happened to Youth in Keach's *War with the Devil* except that death intervened before Youth was restored to righteousness. Abbot devoted part of his funeral sermon to a description of the life of the deceased youth and told how Rogers had been taught religion during his childhood but then fell in with bad company. Abbot had tried to convert Rogers and had warned him of the consequences of his action but the young man was too firmly tied to his evil friends. Later in the sermon, Abbot returned to this theme and told how easily many young people fall into sin because of social pressures since they "are loath to offend their wicked companions." He asked his audience to weigh the importance of worldly friends against the importance of God and to consider how much help those friends would be at the time of death. This same theme was part of the sermon preached in 1642 by Samuel Burrowes at the request of "divers young men and apprentices." Burrowes also appealed to the adolescent desire for adult approval, telling the apprentices that one of the chief advantages of early conversion was that the example of young people leading godly lives was a great encouragement to older people, and, near the end of his sermon, urging them to live righteously so that people might "say you have been the better since you came among these Puritans." Baxter also found youthful Christians useful in converting adults; "many children did God work upon at fourteen or fifteen or sixteen years of age; and this did marvelously reconcile the minds of their parents and elder sort to godliness; they that would not hear me would hear their own children."¹⁹

Finally, most writers thought that youth had special favor with God. Daniel Rogers, in *Matrimonial Honour*, a book of advice on marriage, said that youth "is your golden time; each period following will prove worse downward, even brass, iron, and clay;" youth had a "golden op-

portunity" to learn before taking on the responsibilities of adulthood and marriage. Burrowes told his youthful congregation that they must begin early to serve God because God had a special appreciation of first fruits, because "the time of youth is the fittest and most choicest time for to give God your hearts," and because God realizes the great sacrifice that youth must make "if we consider how all manner of pleasure doth invite them." These same points were made frequently by others. John Gore, in a sermon on the text: "I have been young and now am old," urged his listeners to follow the example of the Old Testament David who had used wisely "that time which other young folk waste and melt away in folly and vanity, or in the pleasures of sin." In an appropriate metaphor, he asked them "to bind themselves apprentices to God in their youth," because God "makes more account of a little goodness in a young body than of a great deal more in one that is of a greater age." Fuller urged early conversion because religion and good living come more easily for young people who are strong and vigorous, and also because God is especially pleased with young converts. Brooks' *Apples of Gold* provided a detailed explanation of why youth should live righteously and seek God, and among the reasons was that youth's vitality would enable them to better serve God, who took delight in them: "It is no small honor to you, who are in the spring and morning of your days, that the Lord hath left upon record several instances of his love and delight in young men." He warned that it would be "just" for God "to reserve the dregs of wrath for them who reserve the dregs of their days for him." He went on to say that "the Lord is very much affected and taken with your seeking of him and following him," because as children want fruit as soon as it is ripe, God wants youth and waits impatiently.²⁰ These examples suggest that seventeenth-century preachers had some notion of what later and more secular centuries turned into the idea of youthful innocence. Surely if God gave special approval to youth, man could do no less.

To help God get his first fruits, religious training should begin early in life. The need for this early start was recognized by Puritan ministers ranging from Anglican bishops to radical Quakers. John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, in a sermon on family relations, told parents that they should begin religious training early not only out of a sense of obligation to the children, but out of self-interest since religion was "the best and surest foundation of the duties of all relations and the best caution and security for the true discharge and performance of them." Thomas Horn, in a sermon to the scholars of Eton, gave five reasons for early religious training: (1) it is the "great foundation of wisdom;" (2) it makes a person less liable to error in later life; (3) it is a preventive of sin and the best means of enabling a person to overcome temptation; (4) it makes a man more obedient and socially useful; and (5) chil-

dren dedicated to God receive his blessings and protection. Humphrey Smith, a Quaker, not only urged standard religious training with prayer sessions and Bible study, but felt that if parents instilled the principles of true Christianity in children, the religious problems and struggles of young people would be eased. He described his own childhood and the difficulty he had had in overcoming sinfulness; had he been taught "to do no evil, nor waste the creatures" of God, his childhood would have been more godly and therefore his conversion easier. Much of the domestic literature of the century dealt with the religious training of children and youth and stressed the importance of regular family worship with prayers and Bible reading.²¹ Significantly, religious writers frequently made a distinction between the religious training of children and the religious training of youth, showing that these were considered as separate stages of life. Bishop Gilbert Burnet thought that early training was essential, but he emphasized fourteen as the beginning of a new period of life; "now is the time wherein the governor should with all diligence infuse in the youth's mind, the true and solid principles of the Christian religion," because it is after fourteen that "piety is chiefly to be looked to."²²

Parents and teachers were not the only ones to be told of the significance of early religious training. Young people were reminded that what they did would affect the rest of their lives. Richard Baxter urged young men to reject sinfulness and to accept God so that they would come to adult life "with a clear conscience not clogged, terrified, and shamed with the sin of your youth."²³ The characteristics of youthfulness could be used to support the desirability of early conversion. If it were a time of fickleness and uncertainty, religion would provide assurance and security. The strength and vitality of youth could be used in God's service and would therefore be especially pleasing to God. The great sinfulness of youth supposedly was so obvious that young people would recognize the need for divine mercy and grace. And the notion that youth was somehow a time of special favor with God served as a further inducement to conversion.

One of the most common arguments for early conversion was the ever-present possibility of death.²⁴ Much of what the sermons and guidebooks had to say about youth and to youth emphasized that youth does not last forever and that early death is always possible. This view was often contrasted with the typical youthful interpretation of itself as far removed from death which was associated with old age. John Hynd, in his description of youth, said that youth has a false sense of security, while it was constantly threatened by death; there could be "nothing more fleeting than youth, nothing more movable, for the time of it is unstable, it flieth away little and little without any noise." Baxter urged young men not to expect long life and to act as if

death were imminent. He admitted that many young people doubt life-after-death, but suggested that even the slightest possibility should be sufficient to bring about early conversion. Brooks reminded his readers that death could occur at any time and pleaded with them to consider eternity rather than life on earth. Funeral sermons offered excellent opportunities to hit hard at the possibility of early death; Abbot warned his listeners: "Now is the accepted time, now is the hour of salvation. God hath fired a warning shot from heaven."²⁵ Of course youth's view of itself and the temptations of pleasure might prevail once the power of oratory was forgotten or illness passed, but the reminders from pulpit and page were frequent and vivid.

The emphasis on death should not be taken as evidence of morbidity nor dismissed merely as an appeal to youthful emotions. In a broadside reporting a dialog between the devil and a young man, the devil suggested that "some nice preacher hath raised those needless fears" of death in youth,²⁶ but such fears were hardly "needless". One of the inescapable facts of seventeenth-century life was the high mortality rate; a young person would have been much more familiar with death than a young person in the twentieth century. By his mid-teens, he probably would have experienced at least one death in his family and perhaps the death of a friend his own age. The ministers and writers were concerned that he not interpret youthful vitality as a guarantee of long life, as indeed it was not. Having survived infancy, the young person had escaped the years of greatest danger, but death during the teens and early twenties was a very real possibility. Historians should keep in mind seventeenth century mortality rates when interpreting warnings about the dangers of early death.

Fear of death combined with youth's special qualities and special favor with God, as well as the commands of God, all required early commitment to Christianity and the godly life. But with youth's propensity to sin, how was sin to be avoided and conversion effected? Both the sermons and the guidebooks suggested that meditation was one of the principal means and presses turned out a number of devotional books for young people. Many of the general collections of prayers included sections for youth. For example, Thomas Dekker's *Four Birds in Noah's Ark* had a section entitled "Dove," which consisted of twenty prayers for the young and "simple sort;" of these twenty, one was for students and one for apprentices. One of the century's most popular religious books, Lewis Bayly's *The Practice of Piety* was dedicated to the young Prince of Wales and urged early commitment to God. *The Prentice's Practice in Godliness*, a similar work specifically designed for youth, was written by an apprentice who wanted to tell his fellow apprentices about the joys of Christianity. Another apprentice wrote a pamphlet describing how he had succumbed to the devil's entreaties

until his master brought a minister to him; he hoped other masters would do the same for their apprentices. Francis Cockin, author of *Divine Blossoms*, also asserted his youthfulness and his confidence that young people would not resent a fellow youth telling them how to behave and how to pray, while they might resent the same advice from an older person. Such devotional books as these contained in addition to model prayers and devotional suggestions, lists of moral injunctions. Nathaniel Crouch's *The Apprentice's Companion* had brief chapters on such topics as evil company, drunkenness, whoredom, profanity, lying, gambling, etc. The rules were sometimes very detailed and repetitious as in Fuller's book, when, under the heading of lying, he urged: "Do not lie at any time." "Do not lie upon any account." "Do not lie for anything." "Do not lie to anyone." "Do not lie for anyone."²⁷ To help young Christians, many of the books provided models in the form of examples of religious youth in history. Crossman's examples included Isaac, Joseph, two Roman martyrs, Edward VI, Jane Grey, and Henry, Prince of Wales, among others. Brooks used several from Greek and Roman history as well as Biblical characters and figures from English history.

There was also advice on how to deal with sensuality and how to achieve grace. To the objections of youth that they ought to be allowed to indulge themselves in pleasure and that religion was too serious and grave for them, the ministers replied that worldly pleasures were not as satisfying as the true joys of Christianity. Shower admitted that many young people thought of Christians as "sad and unsociable, melancholy and dejected . . . [who] lead a life of continual complaints and sorrows." He answered by arguing that Christianity is full of pleasure because it gives assurance of future life and peace of mind, and that communion with God could give a man pleasure despite any adversity. He also said that sensual pleasures "hath but the appearance of joy" because they are short-lived and leave "a sting in the conscience." Guild outlined a program for achieving salvation in which the young man would first "enter into a diligent examination and inquisition of his ways . . . with and before God alone." After accepting his sinful nature, he must strive to know the way of righteousness and to live a truly godly life. One of the ways he could avoid sin was to avoid idleness; "Idleness is the door to let in sin and the devil even in the godliest." Brooks provided a fifteen point program leading to salvation. In addition to warning against the ensnarements of sensuality, his suggestions pointed to the insecurity of youth, warning them against flattery, rationalization ("carnal reason"), and comparison with others. He advised young people to model themselves after Christ and to choose only godly people as human examples.²⁸ Though much that he said might also have applied to adults in need of conversion, he was particularly

appealing to youth who were passing through a stage of life full of doubts and concerned about self-image.

It seems clear that preachers were interested in the salvation of young people and that they saw youth as possessing distinctive characteristics. But literary evidence, while answering some questions, raises others. It is not easy to determine the appropriateness or the effectiveness of what was being said to and about young people. One test of both the appropriateness and effectiveness is autobiographical materials. These can show whether or not the dialogues featured in several guide-books were realistic, and whether the moralists were concerned with the problems experienced by young people.

Though they were usually remembering their youth from the vantage point of adulthood or old age, many autobiographers agreed with the general characterizations of youth. Of his own experience, Oliver Heywood wrote, "I may say that childhood and youth are vanity, yea and next akin to brutish stupidity and atheistical blasphemy." He also acknowledged the importance of peer pressure; when he joined a group of young friends for regular religious study, he was afraid of the reaction of his schoolmates, thinking he would "be derided for it." Sydnam Poyntz wrote that while serving an apprenticeship, he realized "how near youth and rashness are of affinity." Walter Pringle recorded that when he left home for school at the age of fourteen, "then did youthful lusts and corruptions begin to prevail over me, being stronger in me than the grace of God." Thomas Raymond, who became an apprentice in London at the age of fifteen, recalled "the great danger young lads do undergo at their first coming to London through bad company, counsels, and indiscrete masters." Ralph Josselin, the diarist, claimed that he had been virtuous as a young man because God had preserved him "from many untowardnesses that young boys fall into."²⁹

More significantly, the limited autobiographical materials reveal that many young persons did experience serious religious crises. In his study of the autobiographical writings of the century, Paul Delany found that there was a "falling-off in intensity from youth to maturity" in the religious fervor of the writers of diaries and autobiographies:

The crisis of religious belief and anxiety over election usually comes between the ages of ten to twenty-five, after which the soul endures less torment and uncertainty; the excitement of the early crisis cannot be maintained indefinitely, external events gradually take on more importance, the presence of both God and the Devil makes itself felt less vividly.³⁰

The conversions experienced by youth usually followed the pattern described by Keach in *War with the Devil*. In the beginning of this book,

Youth, contemplating the enjoyment of life, refused to listen to and self-confidently denounced Conscience:

Speak not another word, don't you perceive
There's scarce a man or woman will believe
What do you say, you're grown so out of date?³¹

But faced with Conscience's persistence, Youth agreed to talk with Truth, hoping that Truth would agree that Youth might enjoy the pleasures of the world without any danger. Truth, however, said that God requires the prime of life and commanded Youth to give up worldly pleasures. Youth tried to silence Truth by saying that such "heavy stuff" was unsuitable for youth, but by this time, Youth realized that the conversations had so unsettled him that he could never enjoy life with the reckless abandon of the past. Conscience and Truth each spoke at length to convince Youth of his sinfulness and of the necessity of sincere repentance. Youth agreed and promised that he would give up his sinful pleasure and rely on the advice of Conscience. The Devil then appeared and asked Youth to reconsider what he was about to give up. The Devil enlisted the assistance of Old Companions who argued with Youth, telling him that it was foolish to give up his fun. To avoid their reproaches, Youth gave in and went back to his old ways until he became ill and feared death. Again he repented and promised Conscience and Truth that he would now make a serious reformation. This reformation, though it amazed his old friends, was only outward; in his heart Youth remained unconverted. Conscience and Truth tried to tell him this, but Youth insisted on his sincerity. Conscience confronted him again and again, arguing that lust remained in his heart:

Thy secret lust and what is done i' th' night
Which thou ashamed art should come to light.³²

After much argument, Youth confessed that he was not yet truly converted and asked for Jesus' help. He admitted his baseness and corruption and prayed for grace and a new birth. Finally Jesus accepted him, and Conscience proclaimed that Youth was fully converted. In one final attempt, the Devil returned and tried to tempt Youth, but Youth resisted and the "war" ended with Youth lifting his voice in hymns of praise.

One of the most detailed autobiographical descriptions of youthful conversion is that of Richard Norwood, who described himself as outwardly religious during childhood, but not truly converted. He sinned frequently, often in company with his school companions. At the age of fifteen, he was apprenticed in London first to a fishmonger and later to a shipmaster. It was during his years as an apprentice that "the corruption of my heart showed itself abundantly in lust" with several maids

and with his master's daughter, and he sinned further by reading "vain and corrupt books." Norwood left his apprenticeship and served for a time as a soldier in the Netherlands before beginning several years' travel on the continent. He faked conversion to Roman Catholicism and made a journey to Rome, to see that city and to learn more about the religion. During the trip to Rome he began to suffer anxiety about his sinfulness:

... after my entering into Italy, I began first to be troubled with that nightly disease which we call the mare, which afterwards increased upon me very grievously that I was scarce any night free from it, and seldom it left me without nocturnal pollutions; besides, whilst it was upon me I had horrible dreams and visions. Oft-times I verily thought that I descended into Hell and there felt the pains of the damned, with many hideous things. Usually in my dreams me thought I saw my father always grievously angry with me. . . . And sometimes I seemed to see a thing on my breast or belly like a hare or cat, etc.; whereupon I have sometimes taken a naked knife in my hand when I went to sleep, thinking therewith to strike at it, and it was God's mercy that I had not by this means slain myself.³³

These experiences began during his late teens and continued until his conversion which took place when he was twenty-six. Norwood returned to London when he was twenty and had thought himself converted shortly thereafter when he fell under the influence of powerful preaching, but this proved to be his outward reformation. True conversion eluded him and his sins continued for several years while he was at sea. Not until after he had gone to live in Bermuda did Norwood experience the final phase of conversion, complete with "heavenly raptures."

Norwood's nightmares were clearly sexual in nature. Such nightmares were apparently a common feature of seventeenth-century youthfulness. William Lilly, later a well-known astrologer, recorded in his autobiography that "in the sixteenth year of my age, I was exceedingly troubled in my dreams . . .; in the nights I frequently wept, prayed and mourned for fear my sins might offend God." Norwood, Lilly and other young men probably suffered deep feelings of guilt stemming from masturbation and sexual desires. Masturbation usually was referred to in an oblique manner; one of the autobiographers to be explicit was George Trosse who reported that while he was an apprentice, "a lewd fellow servant led me to practice a sin which too many young men are guilty of and look upon it as harmless; though God struck Onan dead in the place for it." Christian moralists considered masturbation to be a serious sin, but it was not until the early eighteenth century that explicit printed warnings became common. During the seventeenth century,

it was subsumed under the more general and euphemistic rubric of youthful lust.³⁴

Gervase Disney did not detail any youthful nightmares, but his conversion followed the standard pattern. Apprenticed to a London merchant at the age of nineteen, he fell into a life of sins which he catalogued in his autobiography: wasting his master's time, neglecting his duties, lying, occasionally stealing money from his master, missing church services, wasting time at an alehouse during working hours, leading a fellow apprentice into sin, and visiting bawdy houses (on the pretense of increasing his abhorrence of sin). Yet though often tempted, he was able to avoid fornication. During a serious illness Disney resolved that if he recovered he "would (through grace) mind religion as my business and follow the Lord fully." This was the start of his outward reformation, but sin continued until at age twenty-five, "the Lord was pleased again to check and stop me in my career of sin, to awaken my drowsy conscience." Still he could not free himself from sin, especially the youthful sin of vanity, manifested in fancy clothes. On a visit to his hometown, he was led back into a life of revelry by some of his former companions. Not until "after some reproofs and advice from parents and serious friends," did Disney once more mend his ways and achieve conversion.³⁵

Another years-long process was described by William Kiffin, who, while serving an apprenticeship in London, was bothered by his great sinfulness and therefore began attending "the most powerful preaching" he could find. This marked the start of his outward reformation, which he once mistook for true conversion until he realized that his "heart was so carnal so that it was a burden to me." He concluded that he did not have grace and was deeply disturbed until he heard a sermon which made him think that perhaps he did have a little grace. From this small beginning, by diligent reading of the Bible and attendance at sermons, he gradually increased grace and eventually arrived at a state of true conversion.³⁶

John Bunyan described his conversion in his spiritual autobiography, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*. His "natural life" before conversion was given over to sin to such an extent that God "did scare and affright me with fearful dreams and did terrify me with dreadful visions." He recorded that when he was about ten years old, "I did still let loose the reins to my lust and delighted in all transgressions against the law of God; so that until I came to the state of marriage, I was the very ring-leader of all the youth that kept me company, into all manner of vice and ungodliness."³⁷ Since Bunyan married when he was about twenty years old, he used the term "youth" to refer to the years from ten to twenty, which means that he displayed youthful characteristics rather

early. After his marriage, he became outwardly religious and finally experienced full conversion. His outward reformation began after his period of youth, but it was during his youth that he experienced the anxiety connected with conversion and which characterized youth.

Samuel Clarke's *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*, which described the lives and works of nineteen English divines, several Scottish divines and fifteen prominent laymen, including nine women, provided several accounts of youthful conversion. Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston was reported as having been converted in his youth; during "the very time when others of his rank and quality gave up themselves to the greatest degrees of licentious wantonness and immoderate excesses, pretending that the heat of nature and strength of the lusts of youth produce a sufficient apology and discharge for the same," Barnardiston was leading a godly life, which led Clarke to praise all young gentlemen who converted in youth despite their greater sensuality and their "brisker nature." In describing the conversion of Edmund Staunton, who later became a Puritan divine, Clarke quoted from a letter which Staunton had written when he was twenty: he reported "many sad and serious thoughts" about religion, until he read a religious book which explained man's sinful nature. He then began a period of self-examination and recognized his own sinfulness. For about two months, Staunton was "under a spirit of bondage, being full of fears and inward trouble," until God answered his prayers and gave him grace. A third youthful conversion recorded by Clarke was that of his wife, Katherine, who found "the seeds of grace in her heart" at the age of fifteen, but this marked the beginning only of her outward reformation, for the "heavenly sparks" were soon cooled by vanity. At the age of seventeen, she was sent as a servant to the home of a gentleman in another county. While there, "so far from my near and dear relations, and meeting with some other discouragements in the family . . . I grew very melancholy," which was the beginning of her true conversion. She realized her great sinfulness and, after her return home, suffered spiritual anguish until, under the tutelage of her parents, she grew in grace.³⁸

The experiences of Katherine Clarke must have been typical of many young men and women since the practice of sending young people out of the home as apprentices or servants was widespread. This practice in itself played an important role in the lives of adolescents. Especially in the case of apprenticeships, many young people were exposed for the first time in their lives to the opportunities and temptations of life in the city. Those whose horizons had previously been limited to their own families and their own home towns were given the opportunity of broader experience and contacts. Alan Macfarlane has suggested that this was one of the chief advantages of the whole system. Another advantage was that one "source of tension, the changes in patterns of

authority as the children approached adulthood, would also be diminished." Another of Macfarlane's suggestions touches on the sexuality of adolescence: any incestuous temptations would be removed. Joseph Illick has suggested that one of the motivations was the prevention of parents developing an "overfondness" for their children.³⁹ Whatever the reasons for the system, it seems likely that the removal of young people from the family and community might have caused them to seek the security of religious conversion.

Another possible cause of the religious anxieties and struggles of youth may have been the dominant theology of the period. The sermons and guidebooks for youth were certainly capable of inducing such experiences. There was no special theology for the young; the pattern of conversion was the same regardless of age. Where the eternal decrees of God were concerned, there was no distinction between youth and adults. But the question is not whether there was a different theology for youth, but whether the society even had a conception of youth which was revealed through and in religious training and experiences. The question is not whether religion heightened or even created anxieties in young people, but whether religion did anything to help youth with their special problems.

Efforts at conversion began in childhood rather than in youth and continued as long as a person lived. In an era of precocity, a "fully" converted child of six or seven years was a possibility, but the general pattern was for the conversion experience to begin in youth. Since it was such an important stage of life, society needed to have a fairly concrete conception of youth. It would be anachronistic to think that seventeenth-century men would express that conception in statistics or in terms of twentieth-century psychology. They did not romanticize youth as later centuries did, but they saw youth as a special period of life and one which somehow found favor with God despite the great sinfulness of youth. Youth was characterized as a time of strength and vigor; this was hardly a condemnation. It was characterized as fickle and uncertain and whatever security youth might claim, Puritans dealt with by warning of death and the eternal fires of hell; this was realistic, given the theology and mortality of the era. Youth was characterized as more animal than human; this was simply another way of saying that youth lacked self-discipline. Self-discipline was a virtue much admired by Puritans and they were determined that it should begin in youth. The domestic literature of the time as well as law and custom allowed parents and masters of apprentices to punish young people in the same way they punished children, or, in other words, to respond to their animal or undisciplined natures. On the other hand, a high degree of self-discipline, with only occasional correction by church or state, characterized adulthood. Youth were admonished to substitute human, ra-

tional behavior for animal, irrational behavior, and, in this sense, youth was perceived as a time of transition from childhood to adulthood.

Proper moral behavior was stressed during this time of transition. While the morality taught to young people was the same morality taught to children, the autobiographical writings show that many who had extensive religious and moral training in childhood experienced sinful periods of youth; there was a need for continued training and the characteristics of youth gave special significance to moral training, and the conversion experiences of youth created a need for more intensive religious training. Many of the young people would have been away from home as apprentices or servants and thus experiencing a new and different environment. In some cases this might mean greater freedom, and, for a young person from a rural community, an urban setting, especially London, would offer opportunities for testing childhood moral precepts. Much of what the moralists had to say to young people was directed at these situations, just as much of it was appropriate for the budding sexuality of youth. Keach's warning against "secret lusts . . . i' th' night" would have been meaningful to those young people who fought to reconcile the accepted moral code with their newly discovered sexuality, but would have had less meaning to children who had not reached puberty. Stern warnings against youthful sexual activities may have added to the problems of youth, and are certainly at odds with twentieth century psychology, but they were consistent with the prevailing religious thinking in the seventeenth century.

Despite important differences, the seventeenth century's conception of youth has some remarkable parallels with that of the twentieth century. Psychologists today associate youth with an "identity crisis,"⁴⁰ which is similar to what religious writers had in mind when they wrote of youth's uncertainty. A major part of a seventeenth-century man's identity was his religion and the religious crises experienced by seventeenth century youth were an important part of establishing their identities. These religious crises were not unlike those teenage conversions during the Second Awakening in the United States, which Joseph Kett has acknowledged as important in forming the conception of adolescence.⁴¹ Nor were these youthful religious crises unlike the vocational crises experienced by many twentieth century youth. Of course, seventeenth-century young people had to make decisions about their life's work and the ministers gave some attention to this, emphasizing the doctrine of "calling" and the desirability of useful work as a deterrent to sin. But the crisis of identity was primarily religious. There were plenty of models on which the young person could base his life; the Puritans insisted on godly models or on no models at all, but the precept of God. They tried to show youth that they must find their

identity as sinners and as persons with a moral and rational nature as well as an animal nature. The Youth in *War with the Devil* compared himself to spring, without care and free to enjoy life; this was his perception of his identity. The author's response was to point out another aspect of Youth's identity; he was also a loathsome sinner.

The seventeenth century's response to the problems of young people was quite different from the response of the twentieth century, but it was in keeping with the religious attitudes of the seventeenth century. This approach forced young people to go through a period of rigorous self-examination in order to achieve salvation, self-discipline and identity. Perhaps it created some anxieties, but it also helped young people come to grips with their emerging sexuality. It might have caused some nightmarish fears of torture in hell, but it helped youth deal with the very present danger of death which they might otherwise have ignored.

The seventeenth century's conception of youth, expressed in religious terms and having as its object the development of Christian adults was useful both to young people and to those who were concerned with religious training. The early modern conception of youth seems to have some similarity with the modern conception in that both recognize some sort of "identity crisis." Furthermore, there is in the early modern conception some foreshadowing of the modern romanticization of youth. Acceptance of these similarities does not violate Kenneth Keniston's warning against applying twentieth-century psychological experiences and conceptions to history, for the differences between the conditions and problems of early modern youth and the conditions and problems of twentieth-century youth cannot be overlooked. These differences were not only in religion, but also in economic arrangements, educational theory and practice, family relationships, and political socialization. Keniston has also suggested that "in societies where adolescence does not occur many of the psychological characteristics which we consider the results of an adolescent experience should be extremely rare."⁴² This is certainly true in the case of seventeenth-century English youth; they did after all become seventeenth-century English adults. The fact that they did not turn out to be twentieth-century adults should not obscure the fact that there was a conception of youth. Those historians who have failed to see this may have heeded Keniston's warning, but have gone too far in stressing the differences. They have stumbled on the religious ideas which seem harsh, but were, in fact, realistic for that time. Building on the basis of this conception of youth, it should be possible to develop an even clearer picture of what it meant to be young in the seventeenth century by correlating the conception with the economic relationships (primarily apprenticeship), educational policy (especially educational reform),

family relationships (for which Alan Macfarlane's study of Ralph Josselin's family life provides an excellent model) and the process of political socialization.

Steven R. Smith teaches history at Savannah State College, and has written several articles and a book, yet unpublished, on youth in the seventeenth century.

REFERENCES

(Part of the research for this article was supported by a grant-in-aid from the Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.)

1. Some of the most provocative essays on the topic appear in Lloyd deMause, ed., *The History of Childhood* (New York, 1974).
2. Joseph Illick, "Childrearing in Seventeenth-Century England and America" in deMause, ed., *Childhood*, pp. 303-350.
3. Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, trans. by Robert Baldick (London, 1962), pp. 123-7. Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, *Children in English Society*, Vol. I: *From Tudor Times to the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1969), pp. 263, 265. Sanford Fleming, *Children and Puritanism: the Place of Children in the Life and Thought of the New England Churches, 1620-1847* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1933), pp. 60-1. Joseph F. Kett, "Adolescence and Youth Culture in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, II (Autumn, 1971), 297, 285. John and Virginia Demos, "Adolescence in Historical Perspective," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, XXXI (November, 1969), 632. On adolescence in the early modern period, see also: David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History: the Psychology of Family Life in Early Modern France* (New York, 1970); Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth Century France," *Past & Present*, No. 50 (February, 1971), pp. 41-75; and Norman Kiell, *The Universal Experience of Adolescence* (New York, 1964).
4. John E. Mason, *Gentlefolk in the Making: Studies in the History of English Courtesy Literature and Related Topics from 1531 to 1774* (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 293.
5. Kenneth Keniston, "Youth as a 'New' Stage of Life," *The American Scholar*, XXXIX (1970), 631-54. Every society uses some age-grading; see Keniston, "Psychological Development and Historical Change," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, II (Autumn, 1971), pp. 329-45.
6. *Office of Christian Parents* (Cambridge, 1616), pp. 44, 135, 192, 204. Ariès, *Childhood*, pp. 18-22.
7. For examples, see Francis Lention, *The Young Gallants' Whirligig* (London, 1629), p. 2; and Ezekias Woodard, *A Child's Patrimony* (London, 1640).
8. The regulation is printed in E. Arber and H. R. Plomer, eds., *Transcripts of the Registers of the Stationers of London, 1554-1708* (London, 1875) I, xli-xlii.
9. Steven R. Smith, "The Social and Geographical Origins of the London Apprentices, 1630-1660," *The Guildhall Miscellany*, IV (April, 1973), 198. Smith, "The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents," *Past & Present*, No. 61 (November, 1973), pp. 149-161. Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (London, 1965), p. 83.
10. Richard Baxter, *Compassionate Counsel to All Young Men* (London, 1681), pp. 11-19. John Bunyan, *A Book for Boys and Girls* (London, 1686), sig. Alv.
11. William Kiffin, *Remarkable Passages in the Life of William Kiffin*, ed. by William Orme (London, 1823), pp. 11-12. Oliver Heywood, *His Autobiographies, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books*, ed. by J. H. Turner (Brighouse,

- 1882), I, 156. Nehemiah Wellington, *Historical Notices of Events Occurring Chiefly in the Reign of Charles I*, ed. by R. Webb (London, 1869), I, 138-9. *A Friendly Letter to All Young Men of the Church of England* (Fifth ed., 1699), p. 22.
12. [Samuel Crossman], *The Young Man's Calling, or the Whole Duty of Youth* (London, 1678), pp. 5, 17. Henry Hesketh, *The Importance of Religion to Young Persons* (London, 1683). Robert Abbot, *The Young Man's Warning Piece* (London, 1657), p. 58. Thomas Brooks, *Apples of Gold for Young Men and Women, and a Crown of Glory for Old Men and Women* (London, 1667), pp. 93, 95. [John Shower], *An Exhortation to Youth to Prepare for Judgment* (London, 1681), pp. 13, 14. Richard Brathwait, *The English Gentleman* (London, 1630), p. 2. William Guild, *A Young Man's Inquisition or Trial* (London, 1607), pp. 26-7.
13. Brooks, *Apples of Gold*, pp. 44-5. Francis Fuller, *Words to Give to the Young Man Knowledge and Discretion* (London, 1685), pp. 51-2.
14. Guild, *Inquisition*, pp. 20-1. Henry Jessey, *A Looking-Glass for Children* (third ed., London, 1673), sig. A2v. Abbot, *Warning Piece*, p. 59. William Cowper, *A Mirror of Mercy in The Works of William Cowper* (London, 1623), p. 485.
15. Brathwait, *Gentleman*, p. 27. [Shower], *Exhortation*, pp. 5, 6, 7.
16. Benjamin Keach, *War with the Devil, or the Young Man's Conflict with the Powers of Darkness* (seventh ed., London, 1683). Thomas Sherman, *Youth's Tragedy* (third ed., London, 1672).
17. Brathwait, *Gentlemen*, pp. 6, 7, 11, 12, 13.
18. Brooks, *Apples of Gold*, pp. 304-8, 201.
19. [Crossman], *Young Man's Calling*, pp. 169, 159. Sherman, *Youth's Comedy, or the Soul's Trials and Triumph* (London, 1680), p. 17. Keach, *War*. Abbot, *Warning Piece*. Samuel Burrowes, *Good Instructions for all Young Men and Maids* (London, 1642). Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (London, 1696), p. 89.
20. Daniel Rogers, *Matrimonial Honour* (London, 1642), pp. 46-7. Burrowes, *Good Instructions*. John Gore, *The Poor Man's Hope* (London, 1646), pp. 2, 4. Fuller, *Words to Give to the Young Man*. Brooks, *Apples of Gold*, pp. 44-5, 105, 122, 134.
21. John Tillotson, *The Works of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson* (ninth ed., London, 1728), p. 483. Thomas Horn, *A Sermon Preached at the Anniversary Meeting of the Eton Scholars* (London, 1680). Humphrey Smith, *To All Parents of Children in A Collection of Several Writings . . . of . . . Humphrey Smith* (London, 1683), p. 127. For a survey of the domestic literature, see Chilton Latham Powell, *English Domestic Relations, 1487-1653*, Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, no. 61 (New York, 1917). On the devotional literature of the century, see Helen C. White, *English Devotional Literature (Prose), 1600-1640*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, no. 29 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1931).
22. Gilbert Burnet, *Thoughts on Education* in John Clarke, *Bishop Burnet as Educationist* (Aberdeen, 1941), pp. 56, 58.
23. Baxter, *Compassionate Counsel*, p. 59.
24. Illick, "Childrearing in Seventeenth-Century England," p. 317.
25. [John Hynd], *The Mirrour of Worldly Fame in The Harleian Miscellany* (London, 1811), VIII, 36. Baxter, *Compassionate Counsel*, pp. 88, 5, 83. Brooks, *Apples of Gold*, p. 28. Abbot, *Warning Piece*, p. 57.
26. *A Dialogue Between Satan and a Young Man* (London, 1700).
27. Thomas Dekker, *Four Birds in Noah's Ark* in *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. by Alexander B. Grossart, The Huth Library, V (London, 1886). Lewis Bayly, *The Practice of Piety* (London, 1640). B. P., *The Prentice's Practice in Godliness and His True Freedom* (London, 1608). A. W., *The Young Man's Second Warning Piece* (London, 1643). Francis Cockin, *Divine Blossoms: a Prospect or Looking-Glass for Youth* (London, 1657). [Nathaniel Crouch], *The Apprentices' Companion*, (London, 1681). *Words to Give to Young Men*, pp. 186-7.
28. [Shower], *Exhortation*, pp. 9, 5, 8. Guild, *Inquisition*, pp. 29, 170. Brooks, *Apples of Gold*, pp. 172-277. In addition to advice on avoiding sin and achiev-

- ing the godly life, many of the guidebooks contained practical advice on worldly affairs. *Youth's Behaviour*, for example, which Francis Hawkins translated from French, contained moral precepts as well as conversation guidelines and table manners. Caleb Trenchfield's *A Cap of Gray Hairs for a Green Head* (London, 1678), written especially for apprentices, contained chapters on religion and morality as well as chapters on how to set up a trade, when to sue, when to borrow money, how to choose a wife, and how to set up housekeeping.
29. Heywood, *Autobiography*, p. 154. Sydnam Poyntz, *The Relation of Sydnam Poyntz, 1624-1636*, ed. by A. T. S. Goodrick (London, 1908), p. 45. Walter Pringle, *The Memoirs of Walter Pringle in Select Biographies*, ed. by W. K. Tweedie (Edinburgh, 1845), I, 423. Thomas Raymond, *Autobiography*, ed. by G. Davies (London, 1917), p. 23. Ralph Josselin, *The Diary of the Rev. Ralph Josselin, 1616-83*, ed. by E. Hockliffe (London, 1908), p. 1.
 30. Paul Delany, *British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1969), p. 70.
 31. Keach, *War*, p. 16.
 32. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
 33. Richard Norwood, *The Journal of Richard Norwood, Surveyor of Bermuda* (New York, 1945), p. 26.
 34. William Lilly, *History of His Life and Times* (London, 1715), p. 6. Delany, *Autobiography*, p. 71. Michael Goodrich, "Childhood and Adolescence Among the Thirteenth Century Saints," *History of Childhood Quarterly* I (Fall 1973), pp. 299-300. E. H. Hare, "Masturbatory Insanity: the History of an Idea," *Journal of Mental Science*, CV III (1962), pp. 1-25. R. A. Spitz, "Authority and Masturbation: Some Remarks on a Bibliographical Investigation," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, XXI (1952), pp. 490-527. deMause, "The Evolution of Childhood," in deMause, ed., *History of Childhood*, p. 48. John F. Benton, "Commentary," *History of Childhood Quarterly*, I (Spring, 1974), p. 587.
 35. Gervase Disney, *Some Remarkable Passages in the Holy Life and Death of Gervase Disney* (London, 1692), pp. 36-48.
 36. Kiffin, *Life*, pp. 4, 6, 11-12.
 37. Bunyan, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, ed. by Roger Sharrock (Oxford, 1962), pp. 6, 7.
 38. Samuel Clarke, *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons* (London, 1683), pp. 106, 160-161, 152-153.
 39. Alan Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, a Seventeenth Century Clergyman: an Essay in Historical Anthropology* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 205-210. Illick, "Childrearing in Seventeenth Century England," p. 321.
 40. Erik Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (Second ed., New York, 1963), pp. 261-263.
 41. Kett, "Adolescence and Youth Culture," p. 289.
 42. Keniston, "Psychological Development and Historical Change," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, II (Autumn, 1971), pp. 341-342.



A Bibliography of Psychohistory

FAYE
SINOFSKY,
JOHN J.
FITZPATRICK,
LOUIS W.
POTTS, and
LLOYD
deMAUSE

This bibliography is designed to aid historians, psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, political psychologists, sociologists, educators and others interested in the literature and sources of the new discipline of psychohistory. The net has been cast widely—citations include journal articles, books, unpublished papers and doctoral dissertations. Psychohistory has been broadly defined as the use of modern psychology in interpreting history. Thus the entries range from the development of theoretical models to their application in the studies of childhood, shared themes, mass behavior and leadership as well as other facets of psychohistory. Psychoanalytic studies of purely literary and of anthropological material have not been included. In order to assist students and others in constructing courses in psychohistory, items of more than usual interest have been marked with an asterisk (*). The bibliography is by author within six sections:

- I. Methodology and General
- II. History of Childhood
- III. Ancient

- IV. Medieval and Renaissance
- V. Modern
- VI. Asia

I. METHODOLOGY AND GENERAL

- Abell, Walter. *The Collective Dream in Art: A Psycho-historical Theory of Culture Based on Relations Between the Arts, Psychology, and the Social Sciences*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957.
- Abraham, Karl. "Observations of the Cult of the Mother and its Symbolism in Individual and Folk Psychology." In his *Clinical Papers and Essays on Psychoanalysis*. New York: Basic Books, 1955.
- Academy of Psychoanalysis, *Violence and War, with Clinical Studies*. Jules Masserman, ed. Vol. 6 of *Science and Psychoanalysis*. New York: Grune & Stratton, 1963.
- Adler, Alfred. "Bolshewismus und Seelenkunde." *International Rundschau*, Zürich, 4 (1918): 15-16.
- Adorno, Theodor W. "Zum Verhältnis von Psychoanalyse und Gesellschaftstheorie." *Psyche* 6 (1952): 4-18.
- *Adorno, Theodor W., et al. *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Harper Bros., 1950.
- Atkin, Samuel. "Notes on Motivation for War: Toward a Psychoanalytic Social Psychology," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 40 (October 1971), 549-83.
- Barber, James D. "The Question of Presidential Character," *Saturday Review*, (September 23, 1972): 62-66.
- Barbu, Zevedei. *Problems of Historical Psychology*. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1960.
- Barnes, Harry Elmer. "A Psychological Interpretation of Modern Social Problems and of Contemporary History: A Survey of the Contributions of Gustav Le Bon to Social Psychology," *American Journal of Psychology*, 31 (1920): 333-69.
- . *Psychology and History*. New York: Century, 1925.
- . "Psychology and History: Some Reasons for Predicting Their More Active Cooperation in the Future." *American Journal of Psychology* 30 (1920): 300-37.
- . "Some Contributions of American Psychology to Modern Social and Political Theory." *Sociological Review* 13 (1921): 152-167; 204-27.
- . "Some Reflections on the Possible Service of Analytical Psychology to History." *Psychoanalytic Review* 8 (1921): 22-37.
- Bartlett, Irving H. and Richard L. Schoenwald, "The Psychodynamics of Slavery," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 4 (Spring 1974), 627-33.
- Bartolomei, Giangaetano, "Psicoanalisi et storiografia: Prospettive per un dibattito," *Nuovo Rivista Storica* 56 (1972), 192-203.
- Barzun, Jacques. *Clio and the Doctors: Psycho-History, Quanto-History and History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- . "History: The Muse and Her Doctors." *American Historical Review* 77 (1972): 36-64. Answering comments by William L. Langer, John J. Fitzpatrick and Peter Loewenberg in "Communications." *American Historical Review* 77 (1972): 1194-197.
- Batstein, William. "From the First Part of the Revelation of Moses the Son of Jehoshar" *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1974): 409-36.
- Beres, David. "Notes on the History of Morality," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, 13 (1965): 3-37.
- Bergmann, Martin S. "The Impact of Ego Psychology on the Study of the Myth." *American Imago* 23 (1966).
- . "Limitations of Method in Psychoanalytic Biography: A Historical Inquiry." *Journal of the Psychoanalytic Association* 21 no. 4 (1973): 833.
- Berkhofer, Robert F. *A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis*. New York: Free Press, 1971.
- Bernard, Harold Wright. *Human Development in Western Culture*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1962.
- Besdine, M. "Jocasta and Oedipus: Another Look." In *Pathways in Child Guidance*. New York: Bureau of Child Guidance, New York City Board of Education, 1968.
- . "Jocasta Complex, Mothering, and Genius." Part I. *Psychoanalytic Review* 55 (1968): 259-77. Part II. *Psychoanalytic Review* 55 (1968-69): 574-600. Part III. *Psychoanalytic Review* 58 (1971): 51-74.

- Besançon, Alain. "Psychoanalysis: Auxiliary Science or Historical Method?" *Journal of Contemporary History* 3 (1968): 149-162.
- . "Histoire et Psychoanalyse." *Annales; Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 19 (1964): 237-49.
- . "Vers une histoire psychoanalytique." *Annales; Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 24 (1969): 594-616 and 1011-33.
- Bettelheim, Bruno. "Individual and Mass Behavior in Extreme Situations, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 38 (1943): 417-52.
- Birnback, Martin. *Neo-Freudian Social Philosophy*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Binion, Rudolph, "My Life with *Frau Lou*," in Perry Curtis, ed., *The Historian's Workshop* (New York, Knopf, 1970), 293-306.
- Bonaparte, Marie. "A Defence of Biography," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 20 (July-October 1939), 231-40.
- . *Myths of War*. London, 1947.
- . "Some Psychoanalytic and Anthropological Insights Applied to Sociology." In *Psychoanalysis and Social Science*. Ed. by Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1962.
- Bourde, André. "Un Essai de Psychologie Historique." *Revue Historique* 228 (1962): 35-44.
- Bouthoul, Gaston, *Les Guerres: Éléments de Polémologie*. Paris, 1951.
- *Brown, Norman O. *Life Against Death: The Psychoanalytical Meaning of History*. Middletown, Ct.: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1959.
- . *Love's Body*. New York: Random House, 1966.
- Bushman, Richard L. "On the Use of Psychology: Conflict and Conciliation in Benjamin Franklin." *History and Theory* 5 (1968): 225-40.
- Bychowsky, Gustav. "Dictators and Their Followers: A Theory of Dictatorship." *Bulletin Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America* 1 (1943): 455-58.
- . "Dictatorship and Paranoia." In *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences*. Edited by W. Muensterberger and S. Axelrod. New York: International University Press, 1955, pp. 127-34.
- . *Dictators and Disciples From Caesar to Stalin: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation of History*. New York: International Univ. Press, 1948.
- Caenegem, R. van. "Psychologische Geschiedenis." *Tijdschrift von Geschiedenis* 78 (1965): 129-149.
- . "Psychologische geschiedenis," *Spiegel Historial* 4 (1969) 47-53.
- Cantril, Hadley. *The Psychology of Social Movements*. NY: Wiley, 1941.
- Casey, Robert F. "Oedipus Motivation in Religious Thought and Fantasy." *Psychiatry* 5 (1942): 219-29.
- . "The Psychoanalytic Study of Religion." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 33 (1938): 437-52.
- Certeau, Michel de, "Ce que Freud Fait de l'histoire, A Propos de 'Une névrose démoniaque ou XVII^e siècle,'" *Annales* 25 (1970): 654-67.
- Christie, R. and Marie Jahoda, eds., *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality"*, New York: Free Press, 1954.
- Claes, Jacques, "Metabletica or a Psychology of History," *Humanitas* 7 (1971) 269-78.
- Coles, Robert. *Erik H. Erikson: The Growth of His Work*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1970.
- . "Shrinking History." *New York Review of Books*, 20 (Feb. 22, and March 8, 1973): 15-21; 25-29.
- and Mazlish, Bruce. "An Exchange on Psychohistory." *New York Review of Books* 26 (May 3, 1973): 36-38.
- Combes, André. "La Psychanalyse Freudienne et la Religion Chretienne." *La Table Ronde* 108 (December, 1956): 88.
- Dalma, Giovanni. *Psicodinamismo del Matricidio*. Psicoanalisi, Rome: Scienza Moderna, 1948.
- Davis, David Brion. "Some Recent Directions in American Cultural History." *American Historical Review* 73 (1968): 696-707.

- de Becker, Raymond. *The Understanding of Dreams and Their Influence on the History of Men*. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1968.
- de Groot, Adrian D. *Saint Nicholas: A Psychoanalytic Study of His History and Myth*. New York: Basic Books, 1965.
- Delaunoy, J. "Marxisme et psychanalyse." *Les Feuillets Psychiatriques de Liege* 3 (1970): 367-85.
- deMause, Lloyd. "The History of Childhood: The Basis for Psychohistory." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973): 1-3.
- *———. "Psychohistory and Psychotherapy." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2 (1975): 408-414.
- Demos, John. "Demography and Psychology in the Historical Study of Family Life: A Personal Report." In *Household and Family in Past Time*. Edited by Peter Laslett. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1972.
- . "Some Conceptual Problems in the Historical Study of Childhood," paper read at the annual convention of the Organization of American Historians, April 17, 1970, at Los Angeles, Calif.
- Dennis, Jack. *Socialization to Politics: A Reader*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1973.
- de Rivera, J. H. *The Psychological Dimension of Foreign Policy*. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1968.
- DeSaussure, Raymond. "Psychoanalysis and History." In *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences* 2. Edited by Geza Roheim. New York: International Universities Press, 1950, pp. 7-64.
- Devereux, George. "Applied Psychoanalysis: Social Sciences." *The Annual Survey of Psychoanalysis* 2 (1951): 493-538.
- . "Charismatic Leadership and Crisis." In *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences*. New York: International Universities Press, 1955, pp. 145-57.
- . *From Anxiety to Method in the Behavioral Sciences*. New York: Humanities Press, 1967.
- Dew, Charles B. "Two Approaches to Southern History: Psychology and Quantification," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 66 (1967): 307-25.
- Dicks, Henry V. "The Authoritarian Personality: A Critical Appreciation," *Human Relations*, 4 (1951): 203-11.
- DiRenzo, Gordon J., ed. *Personality and Politics*. NY: Doubleday, 1974.
- Domhoff, G. William. "Historical Materialism, Cultural Determinism, and the Origin of Ruling Classes," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 56 (1969): 271-87.
- Donald, David H. "Between History and Psychology: Reflections on Psychobiography," unpubl. paper delivered at the meeting of the American Psychiatric Association, May 1972.
- Doob, Leonard W. "The Analysis and Resolution of International Disputes." *Journal of Psychology* 86 (1974): 313-26.
- . *Patriotism and Nationalism: Their Psychological Foundation*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1964.
- Dooley, Lucille. "Psychoanalytic Studies of Genius," *American Journal of Psychology*, 27 (1916): 363-416.
- Dowling, Joseph A. "Psychoanalysis and History: Problems and Applications." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 59 (Fall, 1972): 433-50.
- Durbin, E. F. M. and Bowlby, John. *Personal Aggressiveness and War*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1950.
- Dunn, Patrick P., "Who Stole the Hyphen from Psycho-History?" *Book Forum* 1 (1974): 248-53.
- Easton, David and Dennis, Jack. *Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1969.
- Edel, L. "The Biographer and Psychoanalysis." *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 42 (1961): 458-466.
- Edinger, Lewis J. "Political Science and Political Biography." *Journal of Politics* 26 (1964): 423-39 and 648-76.
- Eiduson, Bernice T. *Scientists: Their Psychological World*. NY: Basic Books, 1962.
- Eisenstadt, S. N. *From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure*. New York, 1956.

- Eissler, Kurt R. "Freud and the Psychoanalysis of History." *Journal of the American Psychoanalytical Association* 11 (Oct., 1963): 605-703.
- Erikson, Erik. *Dimensions of a New Identity: The 1973 Jefferson Lectures in the Humanities*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1974.
- *———. *Childhood and Society*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963.
- . "Ego Development and Historical Change." In *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*. New York: International Univ. Press, 1946.
- . *Identity and the Life Cycle*. New York: International Univ. Press, 1959.
- . "On the Nature of Psychohistorical Evidence: In Search of Gandhi." In *Philosophers and Kings*, pp. 33-68. Ed. by D. A. Rustow. Also in *Daedalus* 97 (Summer, 1968): 695-730.
- . "Psychoanalysis and Ongoing History: Problems of Identity, Hatred and Nonviolence." *Journal of the American Psychiatric Assn.* 122 (1965): 241-50.
- . "Verstehen and the Method of 'Disciplined Subjectivity,'" in Leonard I. Krimerman (ed.), *The Nature and Scope of Social Science: A Critical Anthology*. NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969, 721-35.
- Faber, Michael L. "The Problem of National Character: A Methodological Analysis," *Journal of Psychology*, 30 (1950): 307-316.
- Falk, Avner. "Border Symbolism" *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 43 (1974): 650-59.
- Farber, Maurice L. "Psychoanalytic Hypotheses in the Study of War." *Journal of Social Issues* XI (1955).
- Farrell, Brian. "On Freud's Study of Leonardo," in Morris Philipson (ed.), *Leonardo da Vinci: Aspects of the Renaissance Genius* (NY: Braziller, 1966), 224-75.
- Fearing, F. "Psychological Studies of Historical Personalities." *Psychological Bulletin* 24 (1927): 520-39.
- Feinstein, Howard. "An Application of the Concept of Identification for the Historian," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 6 (1970): 147-50.
- Feldman, A. Bronson. *The Unconscious in History*. NY: Philosophical Library, 1959.
- Feuer, Lewis S. *The Scientific Intellectual: Psychological and Sociological Origins of Modern Science*. NY: Basic Books, 1963.
- Field, George A. "The Unconscious Organization," *The Psychoanalytic Review* 61 (1974): 333-54.
- Fischer, David Hackett. "Fallacies of Motivation." In *Historians' Fallacies Toward a Logic of Historical Thought*. NY: Harper & Row, 1970, 187-215.
- Flugel, John C. *The Psychology of Clothes*. London: Hogarth, 1930.
- Formisano, Ronald P. "History and the Social Sciences: A Review Essay." *Historical Methods Newsletter* 4 no. 3 (1971): 84-87.
- Fornari, Franco, ed. *Dissacrazione della Guerra*. Milan, 1969.
- . *Psicanalisi della Guerra Atomica*. Milan, 1964.
- *———. *The Psychoanalysis of War*. NY: Anchor, 1974.
- Frank, J. D. *Sanity and Survival: Psychological Aspects of War and Peace*. NY: Random House, 1967.
- Freeman, Richard. *Repentance and Revolt: A Psychological Approach to History*. Cranbury, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson Univ. Press, 1970.
- *Freud, Sigmund. "Civilization and Its Discontents." *Standard Edition* Vol. XXI 64-148.
- *———. "The Future of an Illusion." *Standard Edition* Vol. XXI, 5-58.
- *———. "Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego." *Standard Edition* Vol. XVIII, 69-144.
- . "Thoughts for the Times on War and Death" *Standard Edition* Vol. XIV, 275-302.
- . "Why War?" *Standard Edition* Vol. XXII, 203-15.
- *Fromm, Erich. *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*. NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973.
- . *The Crisis of Psychoanalysis: Essays on Freud, Marx and Social Psychology*. NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970.
- . *The Dogma of Christ and Other Essays on Religion*. NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1963.
- *———. *Escape From Freedom*. NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941.
- . "Individual and Social Origins of Neurosis." *American Sociological Review*

- 10 (August, 1944): 380-84. Reprinted in *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*. Ed. by C. Kluckhohn and H. Murray. NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953.
- . "The Limitations and Dangers of Psychology." *Religion and Culture*. Ed. by W. Leibrecht. (Essays in Honor of Paul Tillich.) NY: Harper & Bros, 1959.
- . *Marx's Concept of Man*. NY: Frederick Ungar Publ. Co., 1961.
- . "Die Psychoanalytische Charakterologie und Ihre Bedeutung für die Sozialpsychologie." *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* 1 (1933): 253-77. Published in English in *The Crisis of Psychoanalysis*, 1970.
- . "Psychoanalyse und Soziologie." *Zeitschrift für Psychoanalytische Pädagogik* 3 (1929): 268-70.
- . *Psychology and Culture*. NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1963.
- . *The Sane Society*. NY: Rinehart & Co., 1955.
- *———. (With Michael Maccoby). *Social Character in a Mexican Village*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970.
- . "Theoretische Entwürfe über Autorität und Familie." *Studien über Autorität und Familie*, pp. 77-135; 230-38. Ed. by Max Horkheimer. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1936.
- . "Zur Psychologie des Verbrechers und der Strafenden Gesellschaft." *Imago* 17 (1931): 226-51.
- Garrahy, John A. "The Interrelations of Psychology and Biography." *Psychological Bulletin* 51 (November, 1954): 569-82.
- . "Preserved Smith, Ralph Volney Harlow, and Psychology." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 15 (1954): 456-65.
- Gedo, John E. "The Methodology of Psychoanalytic Biography." *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 20 (July, 1972): 638-49.
- George, Alexander L. "Power as a Compensatory Value for Political Leaders," *Journal of Social Issues*, 24 (1968): 29-49.
- . "Some Uses of Dynamic Psychology in Political Biography," in Fred I. Greenstein and Michael Lerner, eds., *A Source Book for the Study of Personality and Politics*. Chicago: Markham, 1971.
- and Juliette L. George, "Psycho-McCarthyism," *Psychology Today*, 7 (June 1973), 94-98.
- Goblot, Jean-Jacques. "Histoire et Psychologie." *Pensée* 124 (1965): 86-90.
- Goldenweiser, A. A. *History, Psychology and Culture*. NY: Knopf, 1933.
- Gorer, Geoffrey. "The Concept of National Character." in Kluckhohn, Clyde et al., eds., *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*. NY, 1948.
- Gottschalk, Louis, Kluckhohn, Clyde and Angell, Robert. *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology*. NY: Social Science Research Bulletin, no. 53, 1945.
- Graham, Thomas F. *Anatomy of Aggression: Basis of War*. Akron: Beacon-Bell, 1968.
- Greenacre, Phyllis, "Treason and the Traitor." *American Imago* 26 (1969): 199-232.
- Greenstein, Fred. *Children and Politics*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1961.
- . *Personality and Politics: Problems of Evidence, Inference and Conceptualization*. Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1969.
- . "Private Disorder and the Public Order: A Proposal for Collaboration between Psychoanalysts and Political Scientists," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 37 (1968): 261-81.
- and Michael Lerner, eds. *A Source Book for the Study of Personality and Politics*. Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1971.
- Grinspoon, Lester, "Psychological Constraints on the Important Decision Maker," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 125 (1969): 1074-82.
- Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, "The VIP with Psychiatric Impairment," VIII, Report no. 83, Jan. 1973.
- Gruhle, Hans Walter. *Geschichtsschreiben und Psychologie*. Bonn: H. Bonvier, 1953.
- Grunberger, Bela. "The Anti-Semite and the Oedipal Conflict." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 45 (1964).
- Gurevich, A. Ia. "Nekotorye Aspekty Izerchernia Sotsial'noi Istorii: Obshchestvenno-Istoricheskaia Psikhologia." *Voprosy Istorii* 10 (1964): 51-68.

- Haag, Ernest Van Den. "Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences: Genuine and Spurious Integration." In *Psychoanalysis and Social Science*. Edited by Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek. NY: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1962.
- Hagen, Everett. *On the Theory of Social Change*. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1962.
- Hall, Robert. "The Psycho-Philosophy of History," *Main Currents* 29 (1972) 54-61.
- Hareven, Tamara K. "The History of the Family as an Interdisciplinary Field." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1971): 399-414.
- Hargrove, Erwin C. *Presidential Leadership: Personality and Political Style*. N.Y.: Macmillan, 1966.
- Hartmann, Heinz. "The Application of Psychoanalytic Concepts to Social Science." In *Psychoanalysis and Social Science*. Edited by Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek. NY: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1962.
- Hitschmann, Edward. "Die Bedeutung der Psychoanalyse für die Biographik," *Psychoanalytische Bewegung*, 2 (1930): 305-13.
- . *Great Men: Psychoanalytic Studies*. NY: International Univ. Press, 1956.
- . "Some Aspects of Biography." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 37 (1956): 265-269.
- . "Some Psychoanalytic Aspects of Biography." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 37 (1956): 265-69.
- Hoffs, Joshua A. "Comments on Psychoanalytic Biography with Special Reference to Freud's Interest in Woodrow Wilson." *Psychoanalytic Rev.* 56 (1969): 402-14.
- Hundert, E. J. "History, Psychology, and the Study of Deviant Behavior." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1972): 453-72.
- Inkeles, Alex. "Social Change and Social Character: The Role of Parental Mediation." *Journal of Social Issues* 11 no. 2 (1955): 12-23.
- Inkeles, Alex and Levinson, Daniel J. "National Character: The Study of Modal Personality and Sociocultural Systems." In *Handbook of Social Psychology*. Edited by Gardner Lindsey. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, 1954.
- Izenberg, Gerald N. "The Logic and Ideology of Psycho-History," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 28, 1971, at New York, N.Y.
- *Jaques, Elliott. "Social Systems as a Defence Against Persecutory and Depressive Anxiety" in Melanie Klein, ed., *New Directions in Psycho-Analysis*. NY: Basic Books, 1957.
- Jekels, Ludwig. "The Psychology of the Festival of Christmas." *International Journal of Psychiatry* 17 (1936): 57-72.
- Jones, Ernest. *Essays in Applied Psychoanalysis*. 2 vol. NY: International Universities Press, Inc., 1964.
- , ed., *Social Aspects of Psychoanalysis*. London: Williams and Norgate, 1924.
- Kallen, Horace, "Political Science as Psychology," *American Political Science Rev.*, 17 (1923): 181-203.
- Kaplan, M. A. "Psychoanalysis Looks at Politics: A Retrospective Tribute to Robert Waelder." *World Politics* 20 (July, 1968): 699-704.
- Kardiner, Abraham. "The Concept of Basic Personality Structure as an Operational Tool in the Social Sciences." In *Personal Character and Cultural Mileu*. Edited by Douglas G. Haring. Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1956.
- , ed. *The Individual and His Society*. NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1939.
- , with the collaboration of Linton, Ralph; Du Bois, Cora; West, James. *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*. NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1945.
- Kelman, Herbert C., ed. *International Behavior: A Social-Psychological Analysis*. NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.
- Kelman, Norman. "Social and Psychoanalytical Reflections on the Father." In *Psychoanalysis and Social Science*. Edited by Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek. NY: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1962.
- Keniston, Kenneth. "Accounting for Change." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7 (1965): 117-26.
- . "Psychological Development and Historical Change." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1971): 329-45. Reprinted in *The Family in History: Inter-*

- disciplinary Essays*. 141-58. NY: Harper & Row, 1973.
- Kéri, Hedvig. "Ancient Games and Popular Games: Psychological Essay." *American Imago* 15 (1958): 41-89.
- Kerr, Madeline. *Personality and Conflict in Jamaica*. Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Press, 1952.
- Kirkinen, Heikki. "Bräiden Psykologian Menetelmien kättämisestä Historiantuki-Muksessa." *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 59 no.1 (1961): 37-43.
- Kirshner, Lewis A. "Joel Kovel and Robert Jay Lifton: Two Psychohistorical Modes." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 60 (Winter, 1973-74): 613-20.
- Kisker, George W., ed. *World Tension: The Psychopathology of International Relations*. NY: Prentice-Hall, 1951.
- Klebinder, Ludwig. "Über den Ursprung der Familie." *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse und Psychotherapie* 3 (1913): 321-26.
- Klineberg, Otto. *The Human Dimension in International Relations*. NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.
- . "A Science of National Character," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 19 (1944): 147-52.
- Knutson, Jeanne, ed., *Handbook of Political Psychology*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973.
- Kovel, Joel. "Erik Erickson's Psychohistory." *Social Policy* (1974). 60-64.
- Kren, George M. and Rappoport, Leon. "Clio and Psyche." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973): 151-63.
- . "Psychohistory: Methodology as Ideology." Unpublished paper delivered at CHERION annual meeting, May 31, 1974.
- Kroner, Bernhard, "Psychologie und Präsentismus," *Das Argument* no. 75 (1972): 56-75.
- Kunstmann, Josef. *The Transformation of Eros*. Edinburgh, 1964.
- Kurth, Gertrude M. "Politics: Unconscious Factors in Social Prejudice and Mass Movements." In *Elements of Psychoanalysis*, ed. by Kurth, Gertrude M. and Herman, Hans. Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Co., 1950, pp. 297-309.
- La Barre, Weston. *The Ghost Dance: Origins of Religion*. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1970.
- Lane, Robert E., "Personality, Political: The Study of Political Personality," in D. Shils, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. NY: Macmillan, 1968.
- . "Political Science and Psychology." In *Psychology: A Study of a Science*, Vol. 6, 583-638. Ed. by S. Koch. NY: McGraw-Hill, 1963.
- Langer, W. L. "Next Assignment." *American Historical Review* 68 (1958): 283-304. Reprinted in *Psychoanalysis and History*, ed. by Bruce Mazlish. NY: Grosset and Dunlap, 1971, 87-107.
- Lasswell, Harold D. *The Analysis of Political Behavior*. London: Kegan Paul, 1947.
- . "Approach to Human Personality: William James and Sigmund Freud." *Psychoanalysis and the Psychoanalytic Review* 47 (1960): 52-68.
- . "The Contribution of Freud's Insight Interview to the Social Sciences." *American Journal of Sociology* 45 (1939): 375-90.
- . "Impact of Psychoanalytic Thinking on the Social Sciences." In *State of the Social Sciences*, pp. 84-115. Ed. by L. D. White. Reprinted in *Psychoanalysis and Social Science*. Ed. by Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek. NY: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1962.
- . "Political Constitution and Character." *Psychoanalysis and the Psychoanalytic Review* 46 (1959): 3-18.
- . *Power and Personality*. NY: Viking, 1948.
- . "Propaganda and Mass Insecurity." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 41 (1954): 78.
- *———. *Psychopathology and Politics*. New edition with afterthoughts by author. NY: Viking Press, 1960.
- . *World Politics and Personal Insecurity*. NY: McGraw-Hill, 1935.
- . "What Psychiatrists and Political Scientists Can Learn from One Another." *Psychiatry* 1 (1938): 33-39.
- and Blumenstock, D. "The Technique of Slogans in Communist Propaganda." *Psychiatry* 1 (1938): 505-20.

- Lederer, Wolfgang, "Historical Consequences of The Father-Son Hostility," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 54 (1967): 52-80.
- Lehner, Fritz, "Zum Thema Biographik und Psychoanalyse," *Psychoanalytische Bewegung*, 5 (1933): 201-02.
- Leites, Nathan, "Psycho-Cultural Hypotheses about Political Acts," *World Politics*, 1 (1948): 102-19.
- Levin, A. J. "The Oedipus Myth in History and Psychiatry: A New Interpretation." *Psychiatry* 11 (1948): 283-99.
- LeVine, Robert A. *Culture, Behavior, and Personality*. Chicago: Aldine, 1973.
- Lévy-Valensi, E. A. "Histoire et Psychologie?" *Annales* 20 (1965): 923-38.
- Lewin, Rom. "Psychoanalysis and Social Change." *Psychoanalytic Review* 54 (1967): 66-76.
- Lifton, Robert Jay. "Comments on Method." *Contemporary Studies in Society and History* 7 (1965): 127-32.
- . *History and Human Survival; Essays on the Young and Old, Survivors and the Dead, Peace and War, and on Contemporary Psychohistory*. NY: Random House, 1970.
- . "On Death and the Continuity of Life: A 'New' Paradigm" *History of Childhood Quarterly*, 1 (1974): 681-96.
- . "On Psychohistory." In *The State of American History*. Ed. by Herbert J. Bass. Chicago: Quadrangle, 1970: 276-92.
- . "Psychohistory." *Partisan Review* 37 no. 1 (1970): 11-32.
- . "Protean Man." In *Psychoanalytic Interpretation of History*. Ed. by B. R. Wolman. NY: Basic Books, 1971.
- , ed. *Explorations in Psychohistory*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975.
- Lipshire, Sidney. "Herbert Marcuse and the Search for a Revolutionary Dialectic: From Marx to Freud and Beyond," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, December 28, 1972, at New Orleans, La.
- Little, Lester K. "Psychology in Recent American Historical Thought." *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 5 (1969): 152-72.
- London, Ivan D. and Poltoratzky, Nikolai P. "The Problem of Contemporary Analysis in History and Psychology." *Behavioral Sciences* 3 (1958): 269-77.
- Lorenz, Emil Franz. *Der Politische Mythen. Beiträge zur Mythologie der Kultur*. n.p.: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1923, 1925, 1931.
- . *Zur Psychologie der Politik*. Klagensfurt: Heyn, 1919.
- Lowenfeld, Henry. "Freud's Moses and Bismarck." In *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, ed. by Ruth S. Eissler, Anna Freud, Heinz Hartmann, and Ernst Kris. NY: International Univ. Press, 1950: 277-90.
- Lowtzky, Fanny. "Mahatma Gandhi: A Contribution to the Psychoanalytic Understanding of the Causes of Wars, and the Means of Preventing Them." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 33 no. 4 (1952): 485-88.
- McClelland, David C. "Why and How to Code the Psychological Content of Historical Documents," paper read at the annual convention of the Organization of American Historians, April 8, 1972, at Washington, D.C.
- Mack, John E. "Psychoanalysis and Historical Biography." *Journal of American Psychoanalytical Association* 19 (1971): 143-79.
- Madden, Edward H. "Explanation in Psychoanalysis and History," *Philosophy of Science*, 33 (1966): 278-86.
- Mandelbaum, D. G. "Study of Life History: Gandhi." *Current Anthropology* 14 (1973): 177-206.
- Mandle, W. F. "Psychology and History." *New Zealand Journal of History* 2, no. 1 (1968): 1-17.
- Manuel, Frank E. "Use and Abuse of Psychology in History." *Daedalus* 100 (1971): 187-213. Reprinted in *Historical Studies Today*, ed. by Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard. NY: Norton, 1972: 211-37.
- . "Toward a Psychological History of Utopia." *Daedalus* 94 (1965): 293-322.
- *Marcuse, Herbert. *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry Into Freud*. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955.
- . *Psychoanalyse u. Politik*. Frankfurt, 1968.
- . "The Social Implications of Freudian Revisionism," *Dissent*, 2 (1955): 221-40.

- Matson, F. W. "History as Act: The Psychological-Romantic View." *Journal of History of Ideas* 18 (1957): 270-79.
- May, Rollo. *Power and Innocence: A Search for the Sources of Violence*. NY: Norton, 1972.
- Mazlish, Bruce. "Autobiography and Psycho-Analysis." *Encounter* 33 (1970).
- . "Clio on the Couch. Prolegomena to Psycho-History." *Encounter* 31 (1968): 46-54.
- . "Group Psychology and Problems of Contemporary History." *Journal of Contemporary History* 3 no. 2 (1968).
- . "History and Psychiatry." In *American Handbook of Psychiatry*. Vol. I. Ed. by Silvana Arieti. NY: Basic Books, 1974: 1034-45.
- . "Inside the Whales." *The Times Literary Supplement* 3361 (July 28, 1966): 667-69.
- * ———, ed. *Psychoanalysis and History*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963. Rev. ed., NY: Grosset & Dunlap, 1971.
- . Review Essay. *The Iron Cage: An Historical Interpretation of Max Weber*. By Arthur Mitzman. NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969. *History and Theory* X no. 1 (1970): 90-107.
- . "Towards a Psycho-Historical Inquiry: The 'Real' Richard Nixon." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 1 (1970): 49-105.
- . "What is Psycho-History?" *Treatises of the Royal History Society* [Great Britain] 21 (1971): 79-99.
- Merriam, Charles E. "The Significance of Psychology for the Study of Politics." *American Political Science Review*, 18 (1924): 469-488.
- Meyer, Bernard C. "Some Reflections on the Contribution of Psychoanalysis to Biography." In *Psychoanalysis and Contemporary Science*, pp. 373-92. Ed. by Robert R. Holt and Emanuel Peterfreund. NY: The Macmillan Co., 1972.
- Meyer, Donald B. "A Review of *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History*." *History and Theory* 1 (1961): 291-97.
- Meyerhoff, Hans. "Freud and the Ambiguity of Culture," in Bruce Mazlish, ed., *Psychoanalysis and History*. NY: Grosset & Dunlap, 1971: 56-68.
- . "On Psychoanalysis and History." *Psychoanalysis and the Psychoanalytical Review* 49 no. 2 (1962): 3-20.
- Mintz, Ira L. "Unconscious Motives in the Making of War." *Medical Opinion and Review* (1968): 88-95.
- Money-Kyrle, Roger E. "The Development of War." *British Journal of Medical Psychology* 16 (1937).
- . *The Meaning of Sacrifice*. London: Hogarth Press, 1929. Reprinted with the permission of the Hogarth Press Ltd. NY: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1929.
- * ———. *Psychoanalysis and Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1951. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1963.
- . "Some Aspects of Political Ethics from the Psychoanalytic Point of View," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 25 (1944): 166-71.
- Morse, Nancy Carter & Allport, F. H. "The Causation of Anti-Semitism; an Investigation of Seven Hypotheses." *Journal of Psychology* 34 (1952): 197-233.
- Murphy, H. B. M. "Social Change and Mental Health." *Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 39 (1961): 385-445.
- Nadel, George. "History as Psychology in Francis Bacon's Theory of History." *History and Theory* 5 no. 3 (1966): 275-87.
- Nelson, Benjamin, ed. *Freud and the Twentieth Century*. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1958.
- . "Psychoanalysis and Psychohistory—An Analytic Perspective." *Book Forum* 1 (1974): 254-62.
- Nissenbaum, Stephen. "Sex, Reform and Social Change," paper read at the annual convention of the Organization of American Historians, April 7, 1972, at Washington, D.C.
- Norwood, William Frederick. "Psychopathology and History." *Medical Arts and Sciences: Journal of Loma Linda University School of Medicine*, 22 (1968): 63-66.

- Obuchowski, Kazimierz, "Zastosowanie hipotez psychologicznych w naukach historycznych." *Studia Metodologiczne* 9 (1972): 57-78.
- Opler, Marvin K., Ed. *Culture and Mental Health*. NY: The Macmillan Co., 1959.
- Orlow, Dietrich. "The Significance of Time and Place in Psychohistory." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 5 (1974): 131-38.
- Ostwald, Wilhelm. *Grosse Männer*. Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1910.
- Parsons, Talcott, "Psychoanalysis and the Social Structure." In *Psychoanalysis and Social Science*. Ed. by Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek. NY: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1962.
- . *Social Structure and Personality*. NY: The Free Press, 1964, 1970.
- Patterson, James T. "The Uses of Techno-Psychohistory." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 no. 4 (1972): 473-76.
- Pear, T. H., ed. *Psychological Factors of Peace and War*. NY: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1951.
- Peeters, H. F. M. "Prolegomena van een psychologische Geschiedenis." *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 80 no. 1 (1967): 23-38.
- Pye, Lucian W. "Personal Identity and Political Ideology," in Bruce Mazlish, ed., *Psychoanalysis and History*. NY: Grosset & Dunlap, 1971: 150-73.
- Pomper, Philip. "Problems of a Naturalistic Psychohistory." *History and Theory* 12 (December, 1973): 367-88.
- Rank, Otto. *Das Inzestmotif in Dichtung und Saga*. Vienna: F. Deuticke, 1912. Translated in Philip Freund, ed. *Myth of the Birth of the Hero*. NY: Random House, 1959.
- Ratner, Sidney. "The Historian's Approach to Psychology." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 2 (1941): 95-109.
- Renshon, Stanley Allen. *Psychological Needs and Political Behavior: A Theory of Personality and Political Efficacy*. NY: Free Press, 1974.
- Reiff, Philip. "The Authority of the Past." In *The Mind of the Moralist*. NY: The Viking Press, Inc., 1959.
- . "The Authority of the Past—Sickness and Society in Freud's Thought." *Social Research* (Winter, 1954).
- . "The Meaning of History and Religion in Freud's Thought," in Bruce Mazlish, ed., *Psychoanalysis and History*. NY: Grosset and Dunlap, 1971: 23-44.
- . "History, Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences." *Ethics* (Jan., 1953).
- . "Psychology and Politics: The Freudian Connection." *World Politics* 7 no. 2 (1955): 293-305.
- . "Toward a Theory of Culture: With Special Reference to the Psychoanalytic Case." In *Imagination and Precision in the Social Sciences*, pp. 97-98. Ed. by T. J. Nossiter et al. London, 1972.
- . "The Triumph of the Therapeutic." In *The Triumph of the Therapeutic*, pp. 238-61. NY: Harper & Row, 1966.
- Reik, Theodor. "Zum Gottesglauben des Kindes." *Zeitschrift für Psychoanalytische Pädagogik* 2 (1927-28): 61.
- Riegel, K. F. "History as a nomethetic Science: Some Generalizations From Theories and Research in Developmental Psychology." *The Journal of Social Issues* 25 (Autumn, 1969): 99-127.
- Roazen, Paul. *Freud: Political and Social Thought*. NY: Knopf, 1968.
- Rogow, Arnold. "Disability in High Office," *Medical Opinion and Review*, 1 (1966): 16-19.
- . "Psychiatry, History and Political Science: Notes on an Emergent Synthesis." In *Modern Psychoanalysis: New Directions and Perspectives*. Ed. by Judd Marmor. NY: Basic Books, 1968.
- . "Psychiatry as a Political Science," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, 40 (1966): 319-32.
- . "Some Psychiatric Aspects of Political Science and Political Life." In *Social Psychology and Political Behavior: Problems and Prospectives*. Ed. by Gilbert Abcarian and J. W. Soule. Columbus: Charles E. Merrill, 1971.
- . "Toward a Psychiatry of Politics." In *Politics, Personality and Social Science in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Harold D. Lasswell*, pp. 123-45. Ed. by Arnold A. Rogow. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

- Roheim, Geza. "The Evolution of Culture." In *Psychoanalysis and History*. Ed. by Bruce Mazlish. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.
- *———. *The Origin and Function of Culture*. Nervous and Mental Disease Monographs No. 69. NY, 1943.
- . "Psychoanalysis and Anthropology." In *Psychoanalysis and Social Science*. Ed. by Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek. NY: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1962.
- . "The Psycho-Analytic Interpretation of Culture." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 22 (1941): 147-69.
- . "The Study of Character Development and the Ontogenetic Theory of Culture." In *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*, pp. 28-293. London: Kegan Paul, 1933.
- . "War, Crime and the Covenant." *Journal of Crim. Psychopath.* 4 (1943): 731-45. *Journal of Crim. Psychopath.* 5 (1944): 143-65; 363-405; 597-626.
- Rolle, Andrew. "Biological Aggression and Human Irrationality," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 28, 1971, at New York, N.Y.
- Roszak, Theodore. "The Historian as Psychiatrist," *The Nation*, 195 (Nov. 24, 1962): 343-48.
- Rutherford, B. "Psychopathology, Decision-Making and Political Involvement," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 10 (1966): 387-407.
- *Saffady, William. "Manuscripts and Psychohistory," *American Archivist*, 37 (1974): 551-64.
- Schaffner, Bertram. Discussion of Lasswell, H. D. "Psychoanalytic Conceptions in Political Science." In *Science and Psychoanalysis*, pp. 76-77. Ed. by J. H. Masserman. NY: Greene and Stratton, 1961.
- Schaar, John H. *Escape From Authority: The Perspectives of Erich Fromm*. NY: Basic Books, 1961.
- Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr. "Can Psychiatry Save the Republic?" *Saturday Review/World*, Sept. 7, 1974, pp. 10-16.
- Schmidl, Fritz. "Psychoanalysis and History." *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 31 (Oct. 1962): 539-43.
- . "Problems of Method in Applied Psychoanalysis." *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 41 (1972): 402-19.
- Schoenwald, Richard L. "Historians and the Challenge of Freud." *Western Humanities Review* 10 (1956): 99-108.
- . "Sigmund Freud: The Origins and Early Development of a Social Theory," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard Univ., 1952.
- . "Using Psychology in History: A Review Essay." *Historical Methods Newsletter* 7 (1973): 9-24.
- Seeley, John R. "The Americanization of the Unconscious." In *Psychoanalysis and Social Science*. Ed. by Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek. NY: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1962, pp. 186-99.
- . "Psychoanalysis: A Model for Social Science." In *Psychoanalysis and Social Science*. Ed. by Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek. NY: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1962, pp. 102-11.
- *Simmel, Ernst, ed. *Anti-Semitism: A Social Disease*. Preface by Gordon W. Allport. NY: International Univ. Press, 1946.
- Singer, J. David. "Man and World Politics: The Psycho-Cultural Interface," *Journal of Social Issues*, 24 (1968): 127-56.
- Smith, Page. "Anxiety and Despair in American History." *William and Mary Quarterly* s3 26 (July, 1969): 416-24.
- Snyder, Milton. "A Survey of Culture and Personality Theory and Research." In *Studying Personality Cross-Culturally*. Ed. by Bert Kaplan. Evanston, 1961.
- Spitzer, Alan P. "The Historical Problem of Generations." *American Historical Review* 78 (December, 1973): 1353-85.
- Stark, S., "Toward a Psychology of Charisma: I. The Innovative Viewpoint of Robert Tucker," *Psychological Reports*, 23 (1968): 1163-66; "Toward a Psychology of Charisma: II. The Pathology Viewpoint of James C. Davis," *Psychological Reports*, 24 (1969): 88-90.
- Strachey, Alix. *The Unconscious Motives of War: A Psycho-Analytical Contribution*. NY: International Universities Press, Inc., 1957.

- . "Psychological Problems of Nationhood." *The Year Book of World Affairs* (1960): 260-85.
- Strickland, D. A. "Non-Vivus Psychoanalysis of Political Figures: A Review." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 11 (1967): 375-81.
- Strout, Cushing. "Ego Psychology and the Historian." *History and Theory* 7 no. 3 (1968): 281-97.
- *Taylor, G. Rattray. *Sex in History*. London: Thames and Hudson, rev. ed. 1959.
- TeSelle, Sallie, ed. *The Family, Communes, and Utopian Societies*. New York, 1971.
- Torres, Mauro. "La Psicología en La Historia." *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico* [Colombia] 13 (1970): 5-15.
- Toynbee, Arnold J. "Aspects of Psycho-History," *Main Currents* 29 (1972): 44-46.
- Treher, Wolfgang. *Hegels Geisteskrankheit, oder das verborgene Gesicht der Geschichte; psychopathologische Untersuchungen und Betrachtungen über das historische Prophetentum*. Emmendingen: W. Treher 1969.
- Trilling, Lionel. *Freud and the Crisis of our Culture*. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955.
- Tuchman, Barbara W. "Can History Use Freud?" *Atlantic Monthly* 219 (1967): 39-45.
- Waelder, R. "Psychoanalysis and History: Application of Psychoanalysis to Historiography." In *Psychoanalytic Interpretation of History*. Ed. by B. R. Wohlman. NY: Basic Books, 1971.
- Walker, Patrick Chrestien Gordon. "History and Psychology." *Social Review* 37 (1947): 37-49.
- Walsh, M. N., "Psychoanalytic Studies of War." *Philadelphia Assoc. of Psychoanalysis Bulletin* 12 (1962).
- Walsh, W. H. "Review Essay of Robert Berkhofer's *A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis* (NY: The Free Press, 1969). *History and Theory* 10 no. 2 (1971): 241-46.
- *Wangh, Martin. "A Psychogenetic Factor in the Recurrence of War." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 49 (1968): 319-23.
- Watson, Goodwin. "Clio and Psyche: Some Interrelations of Psychology and History." In *The Cultural Approach to History*. Ed. by Caroline F. Ware. NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1940.
- Wehler, Hans-Ulrich. *Geschichte und Psychoanalyse*. Cologne, 1971.
- . "Zum Verhältnis von Geschichtswissenschaft und Psychoanalyse." *Historische Zeitschrift* 208 (1969): 529-54.
- Weinstein, Fred and Gerald Platt. "Alienation and the Problem of Social Action," in Edward A. Tiryakian, ed., *The Phenomenon of Sociology*. NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971: 284-310.
- . "The Coming Crisis in Psychohistory," forthcoming in *Journal of Modern History*, June 1975.
- . "History and Theory: The Question of Psychoanalysis." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1972): 419-34.
- . *Psychoanalytic Sociology: An Essay on the Interpretations of Historical Data and the Phenomenon of Collective Behavior*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1973.
- *Weisskopf, Walter A. *The Psychology of Economics*. Chicago, 1955.
- Wilbur, George B. and Muensterberg, Warner, eds. *Psychoanalysis and Culture: Essays in Honor of Geza Roheim*. NY: International Univ. Press, 1965.
- Willcox, William B. "The Psychiatrist, the Historian and General Clinton: The Excitement of Historical Research." *Michigan Quarterly Review* 6 (1961): 123-30.
- Winnik, Heinrich Z. "Psychoanalytical Thought on the Concept of National Character," *The Israel Annals of Psychiatry*, 11 (1973): 173-88.
- , et al., eds. *Psychological Basis of War*. NY: Quadrangle, 1973.
- Wittkower, Rudolf and M. Wittkower. *Born Under Saturn: The Character and Conduct of Artists: A Documented History from Antiquity to the French Revolution*. NY: Random House, 1963.
- Wolfenstein, E. Victor. *Personality and Politics*. Belmont, Calif.: Dickenson, 1969.
- . "Some Psychological Aspects of Crisis Leaders," in Lewis Edinger, ed., *Political Leadership in Industrialized Societies*. NY: John Wiley & Sons, 1967: 155-81.

- Wolman, Benjamin. "Evidence in Psychoanalytic Research." *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 12 (1964): 717-33.
- , ed. *The Psychoanalytic Interpretation of History*. NY: Basic Books, 1971.
- . "Sense and Nonsense in History," in Benjamin B. Wolman, ed., *The Psychoanalytic Interpretation of History*. NY: Basic Books, 1971: 79-114.
- Wyatt, Frederick. "In Quest of Change: Comments on Robert J. Lifton's Individual Patterns and Historical Change." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 6 (1964): 384-92.
- . "Psychoanalytic Biography," *Contemporary Psychology*, 1 (1964): 105-07.
- . "A Psychologist Looks at History." *Journ. of Soc. Issues* 16 (1961): 182-90.
- . "The Reconstruction of the Individual and of the Collective Past." In *The Study of Lives*, ed. by Robert W. White. NY: Prentice-Hall, 1963: 304-20.
- Zaleznik, Abraham. "Charismatic and Consensus Leaders: A Psychological Comparison," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 38 (1974): 222-38.

II. THE HISTORY OF CHILDHOOD

- Abbott, Edith. "A Study of the Early History of Child Labor in America." *The American Journal of Sociology* XIV (1908): 15-37.
- Abbott, Grace. *The Child and the State*. 2 Vols. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938.
- Aland, Kurt. *Did the Early Church Baptize Infants?* London, 1962.
- Alberti, Leo B. *The Family in Renaissance Florence*. Columbia: Univ. of S. Carolina Press, 1969.
- Alpert, Augusta. "Reactions to the Assassination of the President." *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 19 (1964).
- Anderson, John. "Child Development: An Historical Perspective." *Child Development* 27 (1956): 181-96.
- Anshen, R. *The Family, Its Function and Destiny*. Science of Culture Series, Vol. 5. NY: Harper, 1949.
- Antoniadis-Bibicou, H. "Quelques notes sur l'enfant de la moyenne époque byzantine (VI^e-XII siècles)." *Annales de Demographie Historique* (1973): 77-84.
- *Ariès, Philippe. *Centuries of Childhood*. NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962.
- Armengaud, A. "L'Attitude de la société à l'égard de l'enfant au XIX siècle." *Annales de Demographie Historique* (1973): 303-10.
- Arnold, Carl. *Das Kind in der deutschen Literatur des XI-XV Jahrhunderts*. Griefswald, 1905.
- Atkins, Norman B. "The Oedipus Myth, Adolescence, and the Succession of Generations." *Journal of the American Psychoan. Assoc.* 18 (1970).
- Avery, Gillian. *Nineteenth Century Children: Heroes and Heroines in English Children's Stories, 1780-1900*. London, 1965.
- Bach, George R. "Father-Fantasies and Father-Typing in Father-Separated Children." *Child Development* 17 (1946): 63-80.
- *Bakan, David. *Slaughter of the Innocents: A Study of the Battered Child Phenomenon*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971.
- Batany, J. "Regards sur l'enfance dans la littérature moralisante." *Annales de Demographie Historique* (1973): 123-28.
- Bayne-Powell, Rosamond. *The English Child in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Murray, 1939.
- Beck, A. G. *Greek Education: 450-350 B.C.* London, 1964.
- Bedford, Jessie (pseud. Elizabeth Godfrey). *English Children in the Olden Time*. London: Methuen & Co., 1907.
- Benedict, Ruth. "Child Rearing in Certain European Countries." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 19 (1949): 345-46.
- Benjamin, Nancy. *Children in Need*. Cincinnati: Friendship Press, 1966.
- Bennett, H. "Exposure of Infants in Ancient Rome." *Classical Journal* 18 (1923): 341-45.
- Berkner, Lutz K. "Recent Research on the History of the Family in Western Eu-

- rope," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 35 (1973): 395-405.
- Besdine, Matthew. "Jewish Mothering." *Jewish Spectator* 35 (1970): 7-10.
- Bett, Henry. *The Games of Children: Origin and History*. London, 1929.
- Bettelheim, Bruno. *Children of the Dream*. NY, 1969.
- Biraben, J. N. "La médecine et l'enfant au Moyen Age." *Annales de Demographie Historique* (1973): 73-76.
- . "Le médecin et l'enfant au XVIII siècle." *Annales de Demographie Historique* (1973): 215-24.
- Bissel, Linda Auwers, "From One Generation to Another: Mobility in Seventeenth-Century Windsor, Connecticut." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 31 (1974): 79-110.
- Blummer, H. *The Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*. NY: Cooper Square, 1966.
- Boas, George. *The Cult of Childhood*. London, 1966.
- Bolkestein, H. "The Exposure of Children at Athens." *Classical Phil.* 17, 1922.
- Bonde, Amédée. *Etude sur L'infanticide, L'exposition et la condition des enfants exposés en droit romain*. Paris, 1883.
- Bossard, James and Boll, Eleanor. *Sociology of Child Development*. 3rd ed. NY, 1960.
- Braun, Samuel J. and Esther P. Edwards. *History and Theory of Early Childhood Education*. Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing, 1972.
- *Bremner, Robert. *Childhood and Youth in America: A Documentary History*. 3 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1970-74.
- Brenner, Joseph H. and Coles, Robert. *Children of Crisis*. Boston, 1967.
- Brissaud, Y. B. "L'Infanticide à la fin du moyen age, ses motivations psychologiques et sa repression." *Revue Historique de Droit Français et étranger* 50 (1972): 229-56.
- Bronardel, P. *L'Infanticide*. Paris, 1897.
- Bronfenbrenner, Urie. "The Changing American Child: A Speculative Analysis." *Journal of Social Issues* 17 (1961): 6-18.
- . "Socialization and Social Class Through Time and Space." In *Readings in Social Psychology*. Ed. by E. C. Moscovy, et al. NY, 1958.
- . *Two Worlds of Childhood: US and USSR*. NY, 1970.
- Bronson, Wanda S.; Katten, Edith S.; Livson, Norman. "Patterns of Authority and Affection in Two Generations." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 58 (1959): 143-52.
- Brown, Ann Duncan, comp. *Youth Movement in the United States and Foreign Countries*. Washington, D.C., 1936.
- Burgess, Ernest W., Locke, Harvey J., Thomes, Mary Margaret. *The Family: From Tradition to Companionship*. NY: Van Nostrand, 1971.
- Burlingham, Dorothy T. "Precursors of Some Psychoanalytic Ideas About Children in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In *The Annual Survey of Psychoanalysis*, pp. 17-19. Ed. by John Frosch. NY, 1954.
- Calhoun, Arthur W. *A Social History of the American Family From Colonial Times to the Present*. 3 vols. NY, 1945.
- Calvet, J. *Le'enfant dans la littérature française*. Paris, 1930. Reprint of 1870 edition.
- Cameron A. "The Exposure of Children and Greek Ethics." *Classical Review* 46 (1932): 105-14.
- Carsch, H. "The Family, Child-Rearing and Social Controls Among the Aztecs." *International Anthropological and Linguistic Review* 3, 1958.
- Caudill, William and W. in, Helen. "Maternal Care and Infant Behavior in Japan and America." *Psychiatry* 32, 1969.
- Caulfield, Ernest. *The Infant Welfare Movement in the Eighteenth Century*. NY: Paul B. Hoeber, 1931.
- . "Some Common Diseases of Colonial Children." *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* XXXV, 1942-46.
- Chadwick, Mary. *Adolescent Girlhood*. NY: John Day, 1933.
- . "Die Gott-Phantasie bei Kindern." *Imago* 13 (1927): 383-94.
- . "Kinderheitserlebnisse von Pflegerinnen kleiner Kinder." *Zeitschrift für Psychoanalytische Pädagogik* 7 (1933): 322-33.
- Chamberlain, Alexander F. *Child and Childhood in Folk Thought*. Reprint of

- 1896 edition. Ann Arbor, Mich.: The Finch Press, n.d.
- Chamoux, A. "L'enfance abandonnée à Reims à la fin du XVIII^e siècle." *Annales de Demographie Historique* (1973): 263-86.
- Chapman, Arthur H. "Obsessions of Infanticide." *Archive of Gen. Psych.* 1 (1959): 12-16.
- Charpentier, Jehanne. *Le Droit de l'enfance Abandonnée*. Paris, 1967.
- Chateaufort, Louis Benoiston de. *Considerations sur les enfants trouvés dans les principaux états de l'Europe*. Paris, 1824.
- Chrisman, Oscar. *The Historical Child*. Boston: Badger, 1920.
- Comfort, Alex. *The Anxiety Makers*. Los Angeles: Dell Publ. Co., Inc., 1970.
- Corvisier, A. "La société militaire et l'enfant." *Annales de Demographie Historique* (1973): 327-44.
- Coulton, G. G. *Infant Perdition in the Middle Ages*. London: Simpkin, 1922.
- Cournot, L. *La répression de l'infanticide*. Angers, 1885.
- Coveney, Peter. *The Image of Childhood: The Individual and Society: A Study of the Theme in English Literature*. Baltimore, 1967.
- Craig, William Ellwood. "Vincent of Beauvais On the Education of Noble Children." University of Calif., Los Angeles, Ph.D. thesis, 1949.
- Crandall, John C. "Patriotism and Humanitarian Reform in Children's Literature, 1825-1860." *American Quarterly* 2 (1969): 3-22.
- Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education: The Colonial Experience 1607-1783*. NY: Harper & Row, 1970.
- . "The Family as Educator: Some Comments on the Recent Historiography." *Teachers College Record* 76 (1974): 250-65.
- Crump, Lucy. *Nursery Life Three Hundred Years Ago: The Story of a Dauphin of France, 1601-10*. London: George Routledge, 1929.
- Cunningham, Phillis and Buck, Anne. *Children's Costume in England. Thirteen Hundred to Nineteen Hundred*. Scranton, Pa.: Barnes & Noble, 1965.
- Darlington, H. S. "Ceremonial Behaviorism: Sacrifices For the Foundation of Houses." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 18, 1931.
- Davis, Allison and Dollard, John. *Children of Bondage: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South*. Scranton, Pa., n.d.
- Davis, Allison and Havighurst, Robert J. "Social Class and Color Differences in Child-Rearing." *American Sociological Review* 11 (1943): 698-710.
- Davis, Natalie Z. "The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France." *Past and Present* L (1971): 41-75.
- DeHaussy J. *L'Assistance publique à l'enfance. Les enfants abandonnés*. Paris, 1951.
- Delzons, L. *La famille française et son évolution*. Paris, 1913.
- *deMause, Lloyd. "The Evolution of Childhood." In *The History of Childhood*. Ed. by Lloyd deMause. NY: The Psychohistory Press, 1974. Also as symposium in *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1974): 503-606.
- *———. ed. *The History of Childhood*. NY: The Psychohistory Press, 1974. Harper & Row Torchbook, 1975.
- Demos, John. "Developmental perspectives on the History of Childhood." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1971): 315-28. Also in *The Family in History*. Ed. by K. Rabb and Robert Rotberg. NY: Harper & Row, 1971.
- *———. *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony*. NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970.
- and Demos, Virginia. "Adolescence in Historical Perspective." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 31 (1969): 632-38.
- Despert, Juliette Louise. *Children and War*. Washington, D.C., 1943.
- . *The Emotionally Disturbed Child—Then and Now*. NY: Robert Brunner, Inc., 1965.
- . *Preliminary Report on Children's Reaction to the War, Including a Critical Survey of the Literature*. NY, 1942.
- Devereux, E. C., Bronfenbrenner, U. and Suci, G. J. "Patterns of Parent Behavior in the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany: A Cross-National Comparison." *International Social Science Journal* 14 (1962): 488-506.
- Dolto, Françoise. "French and American Children as Seen by a French Child

- Analyst." In *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures*. Ed. by Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein. Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1955.
- Drake, T. G. H. "Infant Welfare Laws in France in the 18th Century." *Annals of Medical History* 7 (1935): 51.
- . "The Wet Nurse in France in the Eighteenth Century." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 8 (1940): 934-48.
- Du Colombier, Cf. P. *L'enfant du Moyen Age*. Paris, 1951.
- Duffy, John. "Masturbation and Clitoridectomy: A Nineteenth Century View." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 186 (1963): 246.
- Dunlop, O. Jocelyn. *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour*. London, 1912.
- Dunn, Dr. Courtenay. *The Natural History of the Child*. NY: John Lane, 1920.
- Dunn, Patrick P. "That Enemy is the Baby: Childhood in Imperial Russia." In *The History of Childhood*. Ed by Lloyd deMause. NY: 1974.
- Earle, Alice M. *Child Life in Colonial Days*. 1899 Reprint. Norwood, Pa., n.d.
- . *Home Life in Colonial Days*. NY: Macmillan, 1910.
- Edwards, C. E. "Calvin on Infant Salvation." *Biblioteca Sacra* 88, 1931.
- Elder, Glen H. Jr. *Children of the Great Depression: Social Structure and Personality*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Eng, Erling. "Cellini's Two Childhood Memories" *American Imago* 13 (1956): 189-203.
- Erlanger, Howard C. "Social Class and Corporal Punishment in Children: A Re-assessment." *American Sociological Review* 39 (1974): 68-85.
- Esler, Anthony. *The Aspiring Mind of the Elizabethan Younger Generation*. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 1966.
- , ed. *The Youth Revolution: The Conflict of Generations in Modern History*. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1974. [With complete bibliography of youth movements.]
- Etienne, R. "La Conscience Médicale Antique et la vie des Enfants." *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1973): 15-46.
- Farber, Bernard. *Guardians of Virtue: Salem Families in 1800*. NY: Basic Books, 1972.
- Field, E. M. *The Child and His Book*. London, 1892. Reprint, Detroit, 1968.
- Findlay, Joseph J. *Children of England: A Contribution to Social History and to Education*. London, 1923.
- Finkelstein, Barbara. "Pedagogy as Intrusion: Teaching Values in Popular Primary Schools in Nineteenth-Century America." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2 (1975): 349-78.
- Fisher, J. D. C. *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West*. London, 1965.
- Flandrin, Jean Louis. "L'attitude à l'égard du petit enfant et les conduites sexuelles dans la civilisation occidentale: Structures anciennes et évolution." *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1973): 143-210.
- . "Mariage tardif et vie sexuelle: Discussions et hypothèses de recherche." *Annales: Economies Sociétés Civilisations* 27 (1972): 1351-78.
- Fleming, Sanford. *Children and Puritanism: The Place of Children in the Life and Thought of the New England Churches 1620-1847*. NY: Arno Press, 1969.
- Fohlen, C. "Révolution industrielle et travail des enfants." *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1973): 319-25.
- Foote, J. "An Infant Hygiene Campaign of the Second Century." *Archives of Pediatrics* 37 (1920): 181.
- Freud, Anna and Burlingham, Dorothy. *War and Children*. NY: Intl. Univ. Press, 1943.
- Frost, J. William. *The Quaker Family in Colonial America*. NY: St. Martin's Press, 1973.
- Furnivall, F. J., ed. *Child Marriages, Divorces and Ratifications 1561-66*. Early English Text Society, Original Series. NY: Keans Reprint Co., 1897.
- Gadoffre, Gilbert. "Conformisme et révolte dans la jeunesse allemande." *Psyché-Paris* 3 (1948): 834-43.
- Gaines, David I. "Story of an English Cotton Mill Lad." *History of Childhood*

- Quarterly* 2 (1974): 249-64.
- Ganiage, Jean. *Sur la Population française au XVIII^e et au XIX^e siècles*. Paris: Société de Démographie Historique, 1974.
- Garland, Madge. *The Changing Face of Childhood*. NY: October House, 1965.
- Garnier, F. L'iconographie de l'enfant au Moyen Age." *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1973): 135-36.
- *Gathorne-Hardy, Jonathan. *The Rise and Fall of the British Nanny*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1973. Pub. in U.S. as *The Unnatural History of the Nanny*. NY: Dial Press, 1973.
- Gauban, O. *De l'infanticide*. Bordeaux, 1905.
- Geiger, H. Kent. *Family in Soviet Russia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1968.
- Gibbs, Mary Ann. *The Years of the Nannies*. London: Hutchinson, 1960.
- Glötz, G. *L'Exposition des enfants, études sociales et juridiques sur l'antiquité grecque*. Paris, 1906.
- Godfrey, Elizabeth. *English Children in the Olden Time*. London, 1907.
- . *Home Life Under the Stuarts, 1603-1649*. NY: E. P. Dutton, 1904.
- Goertzel, V. and Goertzel, M. G. *Cradles of Eminence*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1962.
- Goode, William J. *World Revolution and Family Patterns*. NY: The Free Press, 1963.
- Goodich, Michael. "Childhood and Adolescence Among the Thirteenth-Century Saints." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973): 285-309.
- Goodsell, Willystine. *A History of Marriage and The Family*. NY: 1934.
- Gordon, Michael, ed. *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective*. NY: St. Martin's Press, 1973.
- Gorman, Sister Mary Rosaria. *The Nurse in Greek Life: A Dissertation*. Boston, 1917.
- Gottlieb, David; Reeves, John; Tenn Houten, Warren. *The Emergence of Youth Societies: A Cross-Cultural Approach*. NY: 1966.
- Goubert, Pierre. "Legitimate Fecundity and Infant Mortality in France During the Eighteenth Century: A Comparison." *Daedalus*, Spring, 1968.
- Gouesse, J. M. "En Basse-Normandie aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles: le refus de l'enfant au tribunal de la pénitence." *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1973): 231-62.
- Gouroff, A. *Essai sur l'histoire des enfants trouvés*. Paris, 1829.
- Graff, H. J. "Patterns of Dependency and Child Development in the Mid-Nineteenth Century City: A Sample From Boston, 1860." *History of Education Quarterly* 13 (1973): 129-43.
- *Greven, Philip J., Jr. *Child Rearing Concepts, 1628-1861*. Itasca, Ill., 1973.
- Haffner, Carl. "The Changeling: History and Psychodynamics of Attitudes to Handicapped Children in European Folklore." *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 4 no. 1 (1968): 55-61.
- Hall, Stanley G. *Adolescence—Its Psychology and Its Relation to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*. 2 vol. Reprint of 1905 ed. NY: Arno Press, 1970.
- Handlin, Oscar. *Facing Life: Youth and the Family in American History*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1971.
- *Hare, E. H. "Masturbatory Insanity: The History of an Idea." *Journal of Mental Science* 108 (Jan., 1962).
- Harris, Irving D. *The Promised Seed: A Comparative Study of Eminent First and Later Sons*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1964.
- Harrison, Molly. *Children in History*. 4 vol. Chester Springs, Pa.: Dufour, 1963.
- Hartman, Mary S. "Child-Abuse and Self-Abuse: Two Victorian Cases." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2 (1974): 221-48.
- Hawes, Joseph M. *Children in Urban Society: Juvenile Delinquency in Nineteenth Century America*. Fair Lawn, N.J.: Oxford Univ. Press, Inc., 1971.
- Hélin, E. "Une sollicitude ambiguë: l'évacuation des enfants abandonnés." *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1973): 225-30.
- Heywood, James S. *Children in Care: The Development of the Services for the Deprived Child*. NY: Fernhill House Ltd., 1965.

- Hildebrand, Harold N. *Child Actors: A Chapter in Elizabethan Stage History*. N.p.: Harold N. Hildebrand, 1964.
- Hilgard, J. R.; Newman F.; Fisk, F. "Strength of Adult Ego Following Childhood Bereavement." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 30 (1960): 788-98.
- Hill, Reuben. *Families Under Stress: Adjustment to the Crisis of War Separation and Reunion*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1949.
- Hoffman, Edith. *Children in the Past*. London, n.d.
- Hole, Christina. *English Home-Life, 1500-1800*. London: Batsford, 1947.
- . *The English Housewife in the Seventeenth Century*. London, 1953.
- Homan, Walter J. *Children and Quakerism*. NY: Arno Press, 1972.
- Horn, Klaus. *Dressur oder Erziehung Schlagrituale und ihre gesellschaftliche Funktion*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1970.
- Hostetler, J. and Huntington, G. *Children in Amish Society: Socialization and Community Education*. NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc.
- Hügel, F. S. *Die Findelhäuser und das Findelwesen in Europa*. Vienna, 1863.
- *Hunt, David. *Parents and Children in History*. NY: Basic Books, 1970.
- Hurstfield, Joel. *The Queen's Wards: Wardship and Marriage Under Elizabeth I*. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958.
- Hymanson, A. "A Short Review of the History of Infant Feeding." *Archives of Pediatrics* 51 (1934).
- *Illick, Joseph E. "Child-Rearing in Seventeenth-Century England and America." In *The History of Childhood*. Ed. by Lloyd deMause. NY: Psychohistory Press, 1974.
- Ironside, Charles E. *The Family in Colonial New York: A Sociological Study*. NY, 1942.
- Jacoby, G. P. *Catholic Child Care in the Nineteenth Century*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1941.
- Janney, F. Lamar. *Childhood in English Non-Dramatic Literature From 1557 to 1798*. Dissertation. Johns Hopkins Univ., 1924. Grifswald, 1925.
- Jeremias, J. *Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries*. London, 1960.
- . *The Origins of Infant Baptism*. Naperville, Ill., n.d.
- Josephson, E. *Political Youth Organization in Europe, 1900-1950*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Columbia Univ., 1959.
- Karr, Ch. and Wesley, F. "Comparison of German and U.S. Child-Rearing Practices." *Child Development* 37 (1966): 715-23.
- Kellum, Barbara A. "Infanticide in England in the Later Middle Ages." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973): 367-88.
- Keniston, Kenneth. *The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society*. NY: Dell Publishing, 1970.
- . "Youth: A 'New' Stage of Life." *American Scholar* 39 (1970): 631-54.
- Kern, Stephen. "Explosive Intimacy: Psychodynamics of the Victorian Family." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973): 437-61.
- Kessen, William. *The Child*. NY: John Wiley & Sons, 1965.
- Kett, Joseph F. "Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth-Century America." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1971): 283-99.
- . "Growing Up in Rural New England, 1800-1840." In *Anonymous Americans*. Ed. by T. K. Hareven. Englewood Cliffs, 1971.
- Kiefer, Monica. *American Children Through Their Books, 1700-1835*. Phila.: 1948.
- . "Early American Childhood in the Middle Atlantic Area." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 68 (1944).
- King-Hall, Magdalen. *The Story of the Nursery*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958.
- Klapisch, C. "L'enfance en Toscane au début du XV^e siècle." *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1973): 99-120.
- Klein, Anita. *Child Life in Greek Art*. NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1932.
- Kossak, Margaretha. "Sexuelle Verführung der Kinder durch Diensten." *Sexualprobleme*, 1913.

- Lacey, W. K. *The Family in Classical Greece*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell U. Press, 1968.
- Lallemand, Leon. *Histoire des enfants abandonnés et délaissés*. Paris, 1885.
- Langer, William L. "Checks on Population Growth: 1750-1850." *Scientific American* (1972): 93-99.
- *———. "Infanticide: A Historical Survey." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973): 353-67; 2 (1974): 129-34.
- La Rue Van Hook. "The Exposure of Infants at Athens." *American Philological Association Transactions and Proceedings* 51 (1920): 36-44.
- Laslett, Peter, "L'attitude a l'égard de l'enfant dans l' Angleterre du XIX siècle d'après les sources littéraires, politiques et juridiques." *Annales de Demographie Historique* (1973): 313-18.
- , ed. *Household and Family in Past Time*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1972.
- . *The World We Have Lost: England Before the Industrial Age*. NY: 1965.
- Lebrun, Francois. "Naissances illegitimes et abandons d'enfants au XVIII^e siècle." *Annales: Economies, Societes, Civilisations* 27 (1972).
- Lefebvre, O. *La famille en France dans le droit et dans le moeurs*. Paris, 1920.
- Le Fort L. "De la mortalite des enfants et de l'industrie des nourrices en France." *Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 15, 1870.
- Legasse, Cf. C. *Jésus et l'enfant. Enfants, petits et simples dans la tradition synoptique*. Paris, 1964.
- Le Goff, J. "Petits enfants dans la littérature des XII^e-XIII^e siècles." *Annales de Demographie Historique* (1973): 129-32.
- Legouvé, E. *Les Pères et les Enfants au XIX siècle*. Paris, n.d.
- Lehnhoff, Wilhelm. *Spiele und Streiche aus den Kindheitstagen der Dichter und Meister*. Leipzig: Brandstetter, n.d.
- Le Vine, Robert A.; Klein, Nancy H.; and Owen, Constance F. "Modernization and father-child relationships." In *A Modern Introduction to the Family*. Ed. by Norman W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel. NY: The Free Press, 1968.
- Levinson, Abraha. *Pioneers of Pediatrics*. NY: Froben Press, 1943.
- Lipton, Earle L.; Steinschneider, Alfred; Richmond, Julius B. "Swaddling, a Child Care Practice: Historical, Cultural and Experimental Observations." *Pediatrics* 35 (1965): 521-67.
- Lochhead, Marion. *Their First Ten Years: Victorian Childhood*. London, 1956.
- Lopez, Manuel D. "A Guide to the Interdisciplinary Literature of the History of Childhood." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1974): 463-94.
- Lorence, Bogna W. "Parents and Children in Eighteenth Century Europe." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2 (1974): 1-30.
- Lumpkin, Katherine D. and Douglas, Dorothy W. *Child Workers in America*. N.p.: Books For Libraries, 1937.
- Lyman, Richard B. Jr. "Barbarism and Religion: Late Roman and Early Medieval Childhood." In *The History of Childhood*. Ed. by Lloyd deMause. NY: The Psychohistory Press, 1974.
- McCleary, George F. *The Maternity and Child Welfare Movement*. London, 1935.
- McClinton, Katherine Morrison. *Antiques of American Childhood*. NY: Bramhall House, 1970.
- McCurdy, Harold. "The Childhood Pattern of Genius." *Horizon* 2 (1960): 33-38.
- McDaniel, Walton B. *Conception, Birth and Infancy in Ancient Rome and Modern Italy*. Coconut Grove, Florida, 1948.
- MacFarlane, Alan. *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, A Seventeenth-Century Clergyman*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1970.
- McLaughlin, Mary Martin. "Survivors and Surrogates: Children and Parents From the Ninth to the Thirteenth Centuries." In *The History of Childhood*. Ed. by Lloyd deMause. NY: The Psychohistory Press, 1974.
- Macquoid, Percy. *Four Hundred Years of Children's Costumes From the Great Masters, 1400-1800*. London: The Medici Society, 1923.
- Madison, Bernice. "Russia's Illegitimate Children." *Slavic Review* XXII (1963): 82-95.
- March, Hans. "Sexuelle Konflikte in den Reifejahren." (Onanie). *Psyche, Zehendorf*, 1949, 30 p.

- Mare, Walter de la. *Early One Morning in the Spring: Chapters on Children and on Childhood*. London: Faber and Faber, 1935.
- Margolius, A. *Mutter und Kind im Altbiblischen Schrifttum*. Berlin, 1936.
- Marples, Morris. *Princes in the Making*. London: Faber and Faber, 1965.
- Marrou, H. I. *A History of Education in Antiquity*. NY: 1956.
- Martin, L. C. "Henry Vaughan and the Theme of Infancy." In *Seventeenth Century Studies Presented to Sir Herbert Grierson*. Oxford, 1938.
- *Marvick, Elizabeth Wirth. "Nature Versus Nurture: Patterns and Trends in Seventeenth Century French Child-Rearing." In *The History of Childhood*. Ed. by Lloyd deMause. NY: The Psychohistory Press, 1974.
- Mayer, Henry. "From Young Man to Adolescent: Social Control and the Concept of Adolescence 1880-1905," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 29, 1971, at New York, N.Y.
- Mead, Margaret and Wolfenstein, Martha. *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures*. Chicago, 1966.
- Mercier, Roger. *L'enfant dans la société du XVIII^e siècle*. Université de Dakar, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines. Dakar, 1951.
- Metraux, Rhoda. "Parents and Children: An Analysis of Contemporary German Child-Care and Youth-Guidance Literature." In *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures*. Ed. by Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein. Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1955.
- Miller, Daniel R. and Swanson, Guy E. *The Changing American Parent: A Study in the Detroit Area*. NY: Wiley & Sons, 1958.
- Mogen, John M. "A Century of Declining Parental Authority." *Marriage and Family Living* 19 (1957): 234-39.
- Moller, Herbert. "Youth as a Force in the Modern World." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* X (1968): 237-60.
- Morgan, Edmund S. *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Rev. ed., NY: 1966).
- . *Virginians at Home: Family Life in the Eighteenth Century*. Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1952.
- Nichols, R. H. and Wray, F. H. *The History of the Founding Hospital*. London, 1935.
- Niedzielski, Zygmunt. *The Athenian Family from Aeschylus to Aristotle*. Doctoral Dissertation. Univ. of Chicago, 1955.
- O'Brien, Edward J. *Child Welfare Legislation in Maryland, 1634-1936*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1937.
- Olden, Christine. "Notes on Child Rearing in America." *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 7, 1952.
- Parker, Clifford Stetson. *The Defense of the Child by French Novelists*. Menasha, Wisc.: George Banta Publishing, 1925.
- Patlagean, C. "L'Enfant et son avenir dans la famille byzantine." *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1973): 85-94.
- *Payne, George H. *The Child in Human Progress*. Ann Arbor, Mich: Finch Press, 1916.
- *Peiper, Albrecht. *Chronik der Kinderheilkunde*. Leipzig, 1966.
- . *Quellen zur Geschichte der Kinderheilkunde, zusammengestellt, eingeleitet und kommentiert von Albrecht Peiper*. Bern: Humber, 1966.
- Pentikainen, Juha. *The Nordic Dead-Child Traditions*. Helsinki, 1968.
- *Pinchbeck, Ivy and Hewitt, Margaret. *Children in English Society*. Vol. I—From Tudor Times to Eighteenth Century. Vol. II—From the Eighteenth Century to the Children's Act 1848. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, 1970, and London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973.
- Pinchbeck, Joy. "The State and the Child in Sixteenth Century England." *British Journal of Sociology* 7 (1956): 273-85; 8 (1957): 59-74.
- Piponnier, F. "Les Objets de l'enfance." *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1973): 69-72.
- Plant, Margorie. *The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*. Edinburgh: University Press, 1952.

- Platt, Anthony M. *The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency*. Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1969.
- Post, L. A. "Dramatic Infants in Greek." *Classical Philology* 34, 1939.
- Powell, Chilton Latham. *English Domestic Relations, 1487-1653*. NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1917.
- Rabb, Theodore K. and Rotberg, Robert, eds. *The Family in History: Interdisciplinary Essays*. NY: Harper & Row, 1971.
- Rabbie, J. M. "A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Relationships in the United States and West Germany." *The British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 4 no. 4 (1965): 298-310.
- Radbill, Samuel X. "A History of Child Abuse and Infanticide." In *The Battered Child*. Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968.
- Raden, Max. "Exposure of Infants in Roman Law and Practice." *Classical Journal* 20 (1925): 342-43.
- Raichle, Donald R. "The Abolition of Corporal Punishment in New Jersey Schools." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2 (1974): 53-78.
- Rapson, Richard. "The American Child as Seen by British Travellers, 1845-1935." *American Quarterly* XVIII (1965): 520-34.
- Remacle, Bernard. *Des hospices des enfants trouvés en Europe, et principalement en France*. Paris, 1838.
- Rendle-Short, John and Rendle-Short, Rowena. *Father of Child Care: The Life of William Cadogan, 1711-1797*. Briston: John Wright and Sons, Ltd., 1966.
- Rendle-Short, John. "Infant Management in the Eighteenth Century With a Special Reference to the Work of William Cadogan." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* XXXIV no. 2 (March-April, 1960).
- Renouard, Yves. "La notion de génération en histoire." *Revue historique* 260 (1953): 1-23.
- Riché, Pierre. "L'enfant dans le haut Moyen Age." *Annales de Demographie Historique* (1973): 95-98.
- . "L'enfant dans la société monastique au XII^e siècle." In *Actes du Colloque de Cluny*, 1972.
- . "L'enfant dans la société monastique aux XI^e et XII^e siècles." *Actes, Colloque international, Pierre Abélard-Pierre le Vénérable*. Paris, 1974.
- Robertson, Priscilla. "Home As a Nest: Middle Class Childhood in Nineteenth-Century Europe." In *The History of Childhood*. Ed. by Lloyd deMause. NY: The Psychohistory Press, 1974.
- Rodgers, R. R. "Changes in Parental Behavior Reported by Children in West Germany and the United States." *Human Development* 14 (1971): 208-24.
- Roe, Frederick Gordon. *The Georgian Child*. London, 1961.
- . *The Victorian Child*. London, 1959.
- Roller, Bert. *Children in American Poetry, 1610-1900*. Nashville, 1930.
- Ross, Helen. "Children in Wartime." *Junior League Magazine*, Oct., 1941.
- Ross, J. B. "The Middle-Class Child in Urban Italy, Fourteenth to Early Sixteenth Century" in *The History of Childhood*, Lloyd deMause, ed. NY: The Psychohistory Press, 1974.
- Rothman, David J. "Documents in Search of a Historian: Toward a History of Childhood and Youth in America." In *The Family in History*. Ed. by Theodore K. Rabb and Robert Rotberg. NY: Harper & Row, 1971.
- and Sheila Rothman, eds. *The Colonial American Family: Collected Essays*. NY: The Arno Press, 1972.
- Royaume de Belgique. Ministère de l'Intérieur. *Enquête sur la condition des classes ouvrières et sur le travail des enfants*. Brussels, 1846-1848.
- *Ruhrah, John, comp. & ed. *Pediatrics of the Past: An Anthology Compiled and Edited . . .* NY: Paul B. Hoeber, 1925.
- Rusk, Robert R. *A History of Infant Education*. London: Univ. of London Press, 1951.
- Ryan, William Burke. *Infanticide: Its Law, Prevalence, Prevention, and History*. London: J. Churchill, 1862.
- Ryerson, Alice Judson. *Medical Advice on Child Rearing, 1650-1900*. Unpubl. Harvard Thesis, 1960.

- Sanders, Wiley B. ed. *Juvenile Offenders For a Thousand Years*. Selected Readings From Anglo-Saxon Times to 1900. Chapel Hill: Univ. of N. Carolina, 1970.
- *Sangster, Paul. *Pity My Simplicity*. London: Epsworth Press, 1963.
- Santiago, Luciano C. *Children of Oedipus: Brother and Sister Incest in Psychiatry, Literature, History and Mythology*. Roslyn Heights, L.I.: Libra Publishers, Inc., 1973.
- Saveth, Edward N. "The Problem of American Family History." *American Quarterly* 21 (1969): 311-29.
- Schattner, B. *Father Land: A Study of Authoritarianism in the German Family*. NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1948.
- *Schatzman, Morton. *Soul Murder: Persecution in the Family*. NY: Random House, 1973.
- Schnucker, R. V. "The English Puritans and Pregnancy, Delivery and Breast Feeding." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1974): 637-658.
- Schucking, Levin L. *The Puritan Family: A Social Study From the Literary Sources*. NY: 1970.
- Scudder, Horace E. *Childhood in Literature and Art*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1894.
- Sears, Robert R., et al. *Patterns of Child Rearing*. NY: Harper & Row, 1957.
- Sémichon, E. *Histoire des enfants abandonnés depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'à nos jours: le tour*. Paris, 1880, 344 p.
- Seth, Ronald. *Children Against Witches*. London: Robert Hale, 1969.
- Shepherd, Katherine K. *Better Unborn Than Untaught: Sixteenth-Century Popular Advice on Child Rearing in England*. Columbia Univ. Master's Thesis, 1965.
- Shorter, Edward. "Infanticide in the Past." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973): 178-80.
- Skolnick, Arlene S. and Jerome H. *Family in Transition: Rethinking Marriage, Sexuality, Child Rearing and Family Organization*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.
- Silverman, Henry J. "Youth of the 1930s and the 1960s," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 28, 1973, at San Francisco, Calif.
- Simeral, Isabel. *Reform Movement in Behalf of Children in England of the Early Nineteenth Century, and the Agents of Those Reforms*. Clifton, N.J., 1971.
- Slater, Peter G. *Child Rearing Practices in New England, Late Eighteenth, Early Nineteenth Centuries*. Doctoral Dissertation. U.C. Berkeley, 1971.
- Smith, Steven R. "Religion and the Conception of Youth in Seventeenth-Century England." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2 (1975): 493-516.
- Sommerville, John C. "Towards a History of Childhood and Youth." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 3 (1972): 438-447.
- Sous, G. *Histoire des enfants trouvés de Bordeaux*. Bordeaux, 1865.
- *Spitz, Rene A. "Authority and Masturbation: Some Remarks on Bibliographical Investigation." *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 21, 1952.
- . "Frükindliches Erleben und Erwachsenkultur bei den Primitiven." *Imago* 21 (1935): 367-87.
- Spitzer, Alan. "The Historical Problem of Generations." *American Historical Review* 78 (1973): 1353-85.
- Steere, Geoffrey H. "Freudianism and Child Rearing in the Twenties." *American Quarterly* 10 (1968): 759-67.
- Stern, Bernhard J. *Family, Past and Present*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Finch Press, 1938.
- Stern, Erich. "L'enfant de la maison d'enfants. Essai Psychologique." *Zeitschrift für Kinderpsychiatrie* 16 (1949): 17-24; 33-43.
- Stickland, Irina, comp. *The Voices of Children 1700-1914*. NY: Barnes & Noble, 1973.
- *Still, George. *History of Pediatrics*. London: Dawson of Pall Mall, 1953.
- Stolz, Lois Meel, et al. *Father Relations of War-Born Children*. NY: Greenwood Press, 1968.
- Stone, Lawrence. "The Massacre of the Innocents." *New York Review of Books* (Nov. 14, 1974): 25-31.
- Stone, Michael H. "The History of Child Psychiatry Before the Twentieth Century." *International Journal of Child Psychotherapy* 2 (1973): 264-308.
- . "Mesmer and His Followers: The Beginnings of Sympathetic Treatment of

- Childhood Emotional Disorders." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1974): 659-80.
- and Kestenbaum, Clarice. "Maternal Deprivation in Children of the Wealthy: A Paradox in Socioeconomic vs. Psychological Class." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2 (1974): 79-106.
- Strickland, Charles. "A Transcendentalist Father: The Child-rearing Practices of Bronson Alcott." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973): 4-51.
- Strong, Bryan. "Ideas of the Early Sex Education Movement in America, 1890-1920." *History of Education Quarterly* 12 (1972): 129-61.
- Stuart, Dorothy M. *Child's Day Through the Ages*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Finch, 1941.
- Sudhoff, Karl. *Erstlinge der pädiatrischen Literatur*. Munich, 1925.
- Sunley, Robert. "Early Nineteenth-Century American Literature on Child Rearing. In *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures*. Ed. by Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein. Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1955.
- Tamm, Alfhild. "Die Eltern und die Onanie ihrer Kinder." *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik* 2 (1927-28): 187-88.
- *Taylor, Gordon Rattray. *The Angel-Makers: A Study in the Psychological Origins of Historical Change, 1750-1850*. London: William Heinemann, 1958.
- Tenenti, A. "Temoignages toscans sur la mort des enfants autour de 1400." *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1973): 133-34.
- Terme, J., and Monfalcon, J. B. *Histoire des enfants trouvés*. Paris, 1840.
- Thirsk, Joan. "Younger Sons in the Seventeenth Century." *History* LIV (1969): 359-77.
- Thrupp, John. *The Anglo-Saxon Home: A History of the Domestic Institutions and Customs of England. From the Fifth to the Eleventh Century*. London, 1862.
- Tilly, Charles. "Population and Pedagogy in France." *History of Education Quarterly* 13 (1973): 113-28.
- Tobey, James A. *Children's Bureau: Activities and Organization*. Reprint of 1925 ed. NY: AMS Press Inc., n.d.
- Toledano, A. D. *La vie de famille sous la Restauration et la Monarchie de Juillet*. Paris, 1943.
- Tolley, Howard B., Jr. *Children and War: Political Socialization in International Conflict*. NY: Teachers College Press, Columbia Univ., 1973.
- Toursch, V. *L'enfant français à la fin du XIX^e siècle, d'après ses principaux romanciers*. Paris, 1939.
- Trattner, Walter I. *Crusade for the Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America*. Chicago, 1970.
- Trexler, Richard. "Infanticide in Florence." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973): 98-117.
- . "The Foundlings of Florence, 1395-1455." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973): 259-84.
- Tucker, M. J. "The Child as Beginning and End: Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century English Childhood." In *The History of Childhood*. Ed. by Lloyd deMause. NY: The Psychohistory Press, 1974.
- Vann, Richard T. "Nurture and Conversion in the Early Quaker Family." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 31 (1969): 639-43.
- Valentine, Alan, Ed. *Fathers and Sons: Advice Without Consent*. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1963.
- Walle, Etienne van de. "Recent Approaches to Past Childhoods." In *The Family in History*. Ed. by Theodore K. Rabb and Robert Rotberg. NY: Harper & Row, 1971.
- *Walzer, John F. "A Period of Ambivalence: Eighteenth Century American Childhood." In *The History of Childhood*. Ed. by Lloyd deMause. NY: The Psychohistory Press, 1974.
- Waters, Elinor and Vaughn J. Crandall. "Social Class and Observed Maternal Behavior from 1940 to 1960." In *Readings in the Psychology of Parent-Child Relations*. Ed. by Gene R. Medinnus. NY: Wiley & Sons, 1967.

- Weber-Kellermann, Ingeborg. *Die Deutsche Familie Versuch einer Sozialgeschichte*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1974.
- Wechsler, Eduard. *Die Generation als Jugendreihe und ihr Kampf um die Denkform*. Leipzig, 1930.
- Werner, Oscar H. *The Unmarried Mother in German Literature*. NY: AMS Press, 1966.
- Whitebread, Nanette. *The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.
- White, Morton, S. "Social Class, Child Rearing Practices, and Child Behavior." *American Sociological Review* 22 (1957): 704-12.
- Whiting, John W. M. and Child, Irwin L. *Child Training and Personality: A Cross-Cultural Study*. New Haven, 1953.
- Wickes, Ian. "A History of Infant Feeding." *Archives of Disease in Childhood* XXVIII (1935): 232.
- Wilson, Elizabeth A. *Hygienic Care and Management of the Child in the American Family Prior to 1860*. Duke Univ. Master's Thesis, 1940.
- Winnik, Heinrich Z. and Horowitz, M. "The Problem of Infanticide." *British Journal of Criminology* 2 (1961): 40-52.
- Wishy, Bernard. *The Child and the Republic*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Penn. Press, 1972.
- Wolfenstein, Martha. "Fun Morality: An Analysis of Recent American Child-Training Literature." In *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures*. Ed. by Margaret Mean and Martha Wolfenstein. Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 1955.
- Wood, Robert. *Children 1773-1890*. NY: International Publ. Service, 1968.
- Zander, Alfred. "Onaniebekämpfung vor 120 Jahren." *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik* 5 (1931): 465-66.

III. ANCIENT

- Abraham, Karl. "Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton): A Psychoanalytic Contribution to the Understanding of His Personality and the Monotheistic Cult of Ahn." *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 4 (1935): 537-69.
- Allwohn, A. *Die Ehe des Propheten Hosea in Psychoanalytischer Beleuchtung*. Giessen: A. Töpelman, 1926.
- Bainton, Roland. "Luther: A Psychiatric Portrait," *Yale Review*, 48 (1959): 405-10.
- . "Psychiatry and History: An Examination of Erikson's *Young Man Luther*," *Religion in Life*, 40 (1971): 450-78.
- Bakan, David. "Moses in the Thought of Freud: An Ambivalent Interpretation," *Commentary* 26 (1958): 322-31.
- Barag, Gerda. "The Mother in the Religious Concepts of Judaism." *American Imago* 4 (1946): 32-53.
- Beck, Samuel J. "Abraham's Ordeal: Creation of a New Reality." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 50, 1963.
- Berguer, Georges. *Some Aspects of the Life of Jesus From the Psychological and Psychoanalytical Point of View*. NY: Harcourt Brace, 1923.
- Boven, William. "Alexander der Grosse." *Imago* 8 (1922): 418-39.
- *Bradley, Noel. "Primal Scene Experiences in Human Evolution and Its Phantasy Derivatives in Art, Proto-Science and Philosophy." *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society* 4, 1967.
- *———. "The Vulture as Mother Symbol: A Note on Freud's Leonardo." *American Imago* 22, 1965.
- Bronner, Augusta Fox. "Psychiatric Concepts of the Early Greek Philosophers." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 2 (1932): 103-13.
- Brown, Norman O. "Rome—A Psychoanalytical Study." *Arethusa* 7 (1974): 95-101.
- Bunker, Henry A. "The Bouphonia, or Ox-Murder: A Footnote to Totem and Taboo." *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences* I, 1947: 165-69.

- Bychowski, Gustav. "Julius Caesar and the Death of the Republic." *Journal of Clinical Psychopathology* 7 (1946): 679-96.
- Cárcamo, Celes Ernesto. "La Serpiente Emplumada; Psicoanálisis de la Religión Maya-Azteca y del Sacrificio Humano." *Revista de Psicoanálisis*, Buenos Aires, I (1943): 5-38.
- Clark, L. Pierce. "A Psychohistorical Study of Akhnaton, First Idealist and Originator of a Monotheistic Religion." *Archives of Psychoanalysis* 1 (1927): 241-254.
- . "A Psychohistorical Study of the Sex Balance in Greek Art." *Medical Journal and Rec.* 20, Feb. 6, 1924.
- . "Unconscious Motives Underlying the Personalities of Great Statesmen and Their Relation to Epoch-Making Events: The Narcism of Alexander the Great." *Psychoanalytic Review* 10 (1923): 56-69.
- Coriat, Isadore Henry. "Totemism in Prehistoric Man." *Psychoanalytic Review* 21 (1934): 40-48.
- Desmonde, William H. "The Bull-Fight as a Religious Ritual." *American Imago* 9, 1952.
- . "Compulsive Aspects of Ancient Law." *American Imago* 11 (1954): 85-110.
- . "The Murder of Moses." *Abs. Review* 41 (1954): 374-75.
- . "The Origin of Money in the Animal Sacrifice." *Journal of Hillside Hospital* 6 (1957): 7-23.
- Deutsch, Helene. *A Psychoanalytic Study of the Myth of Dionysus and Apollo: Two Variants of the Son-Mother Relationship*. NY: International Press, 1969.
- Devereux, George. "Belief, Superstition and Symptom." *Samiksa* 8 (1954): 210-15.
- . "La psychoanalyse et l'histoire: une application à l'histoire de Sparte." *Annales* 20 (1965): 18-44.
- . "Sociopolitical Functions of the Oedipus Myth in Early Greece." *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 32, 1963.
- Dimont, M. I. *Jews, God and History*. NY: New American Library, 1962.
- Dittes, James E. "Continuities Between the Life and Thought of Augustine." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 5 (1965-6): 130-40.
- Dodds, E. R. *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Berkeley: Univ. of Cal. Press, 1964.
- . *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*. Cambridge: Univ. of Cambridge, 1965.
- Dover, K. J. "Classical Greek Attitudes to Sexual Behavior." *Arethusa* VI (1973): 59-74.
- Dreifuss, Gustav. "Isaac, The Sacrificial Lamb: A Study of Some Jewish Legends." *Journal of Analytic Psychology* 16 (1971): 69-78.
- Engle, Bernice S. "The Amazons in Ancient Greece." *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 11 (1942): 512-54.
- Engle, B. and French, T. "Some Psychodynamic Reflections Upon the Life and Writings of Solon." *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 20 (1951): 253-74.
- Feldman, Arthur A. "The Davidic Dynasty and the Davidic Messiah." *American Imago* 17 (1960): 163-178.
- Feldman, Sandor S. "The Sin of Reuben, Firstborn Son of Jacob." In *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences* 4, pp. 282-287. Ed. by W. Muensterberger and S. Axelrod. New York, 1955.
- Freeman, Derek. "Totem and Taboo: A Reappraisal." *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society* 4, 1967, pp. 9-33.
- *Freud, Sigmund. *Moses and Monotheism*. Standard Edition, Vol. 23, pp. 7-269.
- Fromm, Erich. "The Oedipus Complex and the Oedipus Myth." In *The Family: Its Functions and Destiny*. Ed. by R. N. Anshen. NY: Harper & Bros., 1949.
- . "Der Sabbath." *Imago* 13 (1927): 223-34. Reprinted in *The Forgotten Language*, 1951, pp. 241-49.
- . "Dauernde Nachwirkung eines Erziehungsfehlers." *Zeitschrift für Psychoanalytische Pädagogik* 10 (1927): 372-73.
- . "Robert Briffault's Werk über das Mutterrecht." *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* 2 (1933): 382-87.

- . "Die Sozialpsychologische Bedeutung der Mutterrechtstheorie." *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* 3 (1934): 196-227. Published in English in *The Crisis of Psychoanalysis*, 1970.
- Gomperz, Heinrich. "Psychologische Beobachtungen an griechischen Philosophen." *Imago* 10 (1924): 1-92.
- Halpern, Sidney. "The Mother-Killer." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 52, 1965.
- Hofling, Charles K. "Notes on Raychandhuri's 'Jesus Christ and Sree Kisna.'" *American Imago* 15 (1958): 213-26.
- Isaac-Edersheim, E. (Messias, Golem, Ahasver; drei mytische Gestalten des Judentums.) I. "The Messiah." *Internationale Zeitschrift für ärztliche Psychoanalyse* 26 (1941): 50-80. II. "The Golem." *Internationale Zeitschrift etc.* 26 (1941): 179-213. III. "The Wandering Jew." *Internationale Zeitschrift etc.* 26 (1941): 286-315.
- Jelgersma, H. C. "Der Kannibalismus und seine Verdrängung in Alten Ägypten." *Imago* 14 (1928): 275-92.
- Jenichen, Richard. "Über den Alptraum in der sächsischen Sagenwelt." *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse und Psychotherapie* 4 (1914): 481-85.
- Jones, Ernest. "Moses and Monotheism." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 21 (1940): 230-240.
- June, Carl Gustav. *Essays on a Science of Mythology: The Myth of the Divine Child and the Mysteries of Eleusis*. NY: Pantheon Books, 1949.
- Kaplan, Leo. "The Baal Schem Legend." *Psyche and Eros* 2 (1921): 173-83.
- Karpas, Morris J. "Socrates in the Light of Modern Psychopathology." *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 10 (1915): 185.
- Kluckhohn, Clyde. "Recurrent Themes in Myths and Mythmaking." *Daedalus* 88 (1959): 268-79.
- Laughlin, Henry P. "King David's Anger." *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 23 (1954): 87-95.
- *Lederer, Wolfgang. *The Fear of Women*. New York: Greene & Stratton, 1968.
- Leeuwe, Jules de. "Über die Entstehung religiöser Vorstellungen." *Internationale Zeitschrift für ärztliche Psychoanalyse* 25 (1940): 430-443.
- Leipolt, Johannes. *Die Frau in der antiken Welt und im Ur-Christentum*. Berlin, 1962.
- Leschnitzer, Adolf F. "Faust and Moses." *American Imago* 6 (1949): 229-43.
- Levin, A. J. "Oedipus and Sampson, the Rejected Hero-Child." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 38, 1957.
- Levin, Max. "Psychoanalytic Interpretation of Two Statements From the Talmud." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 11 (1930): 94-95.
- Lorenz, Emil Franz. "Die Träume des Pharao, des Mundschenken und des Bäckers." *Psychoanalytische Bewegung* 2 (1930): 33-45.
- McConnell, U. H. "The Symbol in Legend." *Psyche* 13 (1933): 94-137.
- Malev, Milton. "The Jewish Orthodox Circumcision Ceremony." *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 14, 1966.
- Meier, Carl Alfred. "The Dream in Ancient Greece and Its Use in Temple Cures (Incubation)." In *The Dreams and Human Societies*. Ed. by G. Greenbaum and R. von Caillois. Berkeley/Los Angeles: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1966.
- More, Joseph. "The Prophet Jonah: The Story of an Intrapsychic Process." *American Imago* 27 (Spring, 1970): 3-11.
- O'Meara, John J. *Young Augustine*. Staten Island, N.Y.: Alba House, 1965.
- Peto, Andrew. "The Demonic Mother Imago in the Jewish Religion." *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences*, 1958.

- . "The Development of Ethical Monotheism." *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society* 1, 1960.
- Pruyser, Paul W. "Psychological Examination: Augustine." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 5 (1965-6): 284-89.
- Rank, Otto. *Myth of the Birth of the Hero and Other Essays*. NY: Random House, 1959.
- *Reik, Theodor. *Myth and Guilt: The Crime and Punishment of Mankind*. NY: George Braziller, Inc., 1957.
- . *Pagan Rites in Judaism: From Sex Initiation, Magic, Mooncult, Tattooing, Mutilation, and other Primitive Rituals to Family Loyalty and Solidarity*. New York: Farrar Straus, 1964.
- . *Ritual: Psycho-Analytic Studies*. NY: International Univ. Press, 1946.
- Roheim, Geza. *Animism, Magic and the Divine King*. London: Kegan Paul, 1930.
- . "The Covenant of Abraham." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 20 (1939): 452-59.
- . "Cu-Chulainn and the Origin of Totemism." *Man* 25 (1925): 85-88.
- . *The Riddle of the Sphinx*. London: Hogarth Press, 1934.
- . "Some Aspects of Semitic Monotheism." *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences* 4, 1955.
- *Sachs, Hans. "The Delay of the Machine Age." *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 2 (1933): 404-24.
- Sarnoff, Charles A. "Mythic Symbols in Two Precolumbian Myths." *American Imago* 26 no. 1 (1969): 3-20.
- Saussure, Raymond de. *Le Miracle Grec. Étude Psychoanalytique sur la Civilisation Hellénique*. Paris: Denöel, 1939.
- Schestow, Leo. "Alexander und Diogenes." *Almanach* (1931): 117-119.
- Schirren, Julius. "Das Archaiion. Die Frage nach dem Geist." *Psyche* 2 (1948): 284-94.
- Schneiderman, Leo. "The Death of Apsyrtus." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 54, 1967.
- Schneiter, C. "Ein Traum Julius Caesars." *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse und Psychotherapie* 3 (1913): 557.
- Segal, B. "Serpent-Staffs of Antiquity." *Hebrew Medical Journal* 2 (1963): 229-31.
- Seidenberg, Robert. "Sacrificing the First You See." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 53 (1966): 52-60.
- Sillman, Leonar R. "Monotheism and the Sense of Reality." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 30 (1949): 124-32.
- *Slater, Philip E. *The Glory of Hera: Greek Mythology and the Greek Family*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1968.
- . "The Greek Family in History and Myth." *Arethusa* 7 (1974): 9-44.
- Stokes, Adrian. *Greek Culture and the Ego: A Psychoanalytic Survey of an Aspect of Greek Civilization and of Art*. London: Tavistock Publications, 1958.
- Strunsky, S. "The Scandal of Euclid: A Freudian Analysis." *Atlantic Monthly* 124 (1919): 332-37.
- Sunden, Hjalmar. "Die Persönlichkeit der Heiligen Birgitta: Versuch einer 'Rollenpsychologischen' Untersuchung." *Archiv für Religions-psychologie* 10 (1971): 249-59.
- *Tarachow, Sidney. "St. Paul and Early Christianity." *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences* 4, 1955.
- Velikovsky, Immanuel. *Oedipus and Akhnaton, Myth and History*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1960.
- Vernant, Jean-Pierre. *Mythe et Pensee Chez les Grecs*. Maspero, 1965.
- Veszy-Wagner, L. "The Independent Fledgling." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 50, 1963.
- Weigert-Vorwinkel, Edith. "The Cult and Mythology of the Magna Mater From the Standpoint of Psychoanalysis." *Psychiatry* 1, 1938.

Weyl, Nathaniel. "Some Possible Genetic Implications of Carthaginian Child Sacrifice." *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 12 (1968): 69-78.

- Zeligs, Dorothy F. "Abraham and the Covenant of the Pieces. A Study in Ambivalence." *American Imago* 18 (1961): 173-86.
- . "A Character Study of Samuel. In *The Annual Survey of Psychoanalysis*, pp. 409-411. Ed. by J. Frosch. N.Y.: Intern. Univ. Press, 1955.
- . "The Family Romance of Moses: The 'Personal Myth.'" *American Imago* 23 (1966): 110-31.
- . "Moses Encounters the Daemonic Aspect of God." *American Imago* 27 (1970): 379-392.
- . "Moses in Midian: The Burning Bush." *American Imago* 26 (1969): 379-400.
- . "The Personality of Joseph." In *The Annual Survey of Psychoanalysis*, pp. 408-09. Ed. by J. Frosch. NY: Intern. Univ. Press, 1955.
- . *Psychoanalysis and the Bible*. NY: Bloch Publishing Co., 1974.
- . "The Role of the Mother in the Development of Hebraic Monotheism." *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society* 1, 1960.
- . "Solomon: Man and Myth." *Psychoanalysis and the Psychoanalytic Review* 48 (1961): 77-103; no. 2 (1961): 91-110.

IV. MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE

- Benton, John. "Clio and Venus; an Historical View of Medieval Love," in *The Meaning of Courtly Love*, Francis X. Newman, ed. Albany, 1968, 19-42.
- . ed. *Self and Society in Medieval France: The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent*. NY: Harper & Row, 1970. Intro. also in *Psychoanalytic Review* 57 (1970-1): 361-82.
- Blanchard, William. "Medieval Morality and Juvenile Delinquency." *American Imago* 13 (1956): 383-98.
- Bonney, F. "Jean Gerson: Un nouveau regard sur l'enfance." *Annales de Demographie Historique* (1973): 137-42.
- Byman, Seymour. "Suicide and Alienation: Martyrdom in Tudor England." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 61 (1974): 355-73.
- Coleman, Emily R. "Medieval Marriage Characteristics: A Neglected Factor in the History of Medieval Serfdom." In *The Family in History*. Ed. by Theodore K. Rabb and Robert Rotberg. NY: Harper & Row, 1971.
- Domhoff, William G. "Two Luthers: The Traditional and the Heretical in Freudian Psychology." *Psychoanalytic Review* 57 (1970): 5-17.
- *Eissler, Kurt R. *Leonardo Da Vinci: Psychoanalytic Notes on the Enigma*. NY: International Univ. Press, Inc., 1961.
- *Erikson, Erik H. *Young Man Luther: A Study of Psychoanalysis and History*. NY: Norton, 1958, 1962.
- Fife, Robert H. *Young Luther*. (Reprint of 1928 ed.) NY: AMS Press, Inc., 1970.
- Flugel, J. C. "On the Character and Married Life of Henry VIII," in Bruce Mazlish (ed.), *Psychoanalysis and History*. NY: Grosset & Dunlap, 1971: 124-49.
- Freud, Sigmund, "Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of His Childhood." *Standard Edition* Vol. XI 63-137.
- Forbes, Thomas R. *The Midwife and the Witch*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1966.
- Graham, Thomas F. *Medieval Minds: Mental Health in the Middle Ages*. London, 1967.
- Halverson, John. "Amour and Eros in the Middle Ages." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 57 (1970).
- Kligerman, Charles. "A Psychoanalytic Study of the Confessions of St. Augustine." *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 6 (1957): 469-84.

- Lawrence, W. J. "The Phallus on the Early English Stage." *Psyche & Eros* 2 (1921): 161-65.
- Leclercq, Jean. "Modern Psychology and the Interpretation of Medieval Texts." *Spectrum* 48 (1973): 476-90.
- Lindbeck, George A. "Erikson's *Young Man Luther*: A Historical and Theological Reappraisal." *Soundings* 56 (1973): 210-27.
- Lombillo, Jose R. "The Soldier Saint: A Psychological Analysis of the Conversion of Ignatius de Loyola." *Psychiatric Quarterly* 47 (1973): 386-418.
- Lomer, Georg. *Ignatius von Loyola: Vom Erotiker zum Heiligen; eine pathographische Geschichtsstudie*. Leipzig: Barth, 1913.
- Markle, Durward J. "Freud, Leonardo and the Lamb." *Psychoanalytic Review* 57 (1971): 285-88.
- Medlicott, R. W. "St. Anthony Abbot and the Hazards of Ascetism." *British Journal of Medieval Psychology* 42 (1969): 133-40.
- Moller, Herbert. "The Meaning of Courtly Love." *Journal of American Folklore* 73 (1960).
- . "The Social Causation of the Courtly Love Complex," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1 (1959).
- Muschg, Walter. *Die Mystik in der Schweiz, 1200-1500*. N.p.: Frankenfeld, 1935.
- Myer, John C. "Erasmus, Luther, and Machiavelli: A Study of Dissonance." *Psychology* 5 no. 2 (1968): 42-44.
- Niederland, William G. "The Naming of America." In Mark Kanzer, ed. *The Unconscious Today*. NY: International Universities Press, 1971.
- Peacock, James L. "Mystics and Merchants in Fourteenth Century Germany: A Speculative Reconstruction of their Psychological Bond and Its Implication for Social Change." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 8 (1969): 47-59.
- Petrus, Earl P. "The Golem: Significance of the Legend." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 53 (Spring, 1966): 63-68.
- Pfister, Oscar. *Christianity and Fear*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1948.
- Pruyser, Paul W. "Erikson's *Young Man Luther*: A New Chapter in the Psychology of Religion." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 2 (1962-3): 238-42.
- Saffady, William. "Fears of Sexual License During the English Reformation." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973): 89-97.
- . "The Effects of Childhood Bereavement and Parental Remarriage in Sixteenth-Century England: The Case of Thomas More." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973): 310-336.
- Schapiro, Meyer. "Leonardo and Freud: An Art Historical Study." *Journal of the History of Ideas* (April, 1956).
- Sereno, Renzo. "A Falsification of Machiavelli," in Bruce Mazlish (ed.), *Psychoanalysis and History*. NY: Grosset & Dunlap, 1971: 108-14.
- Shore, Miles F. "Henry VIII and the Crisis of Generativity." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1972): 359-390.
- Smith, Preserved. "Luther's Early Development in the Light of Psychoanalysis." *American Journal of Psychology* 24 (1913): 360-377.
- Spitz, Lewis W. "Psychohistory and History: The Case of *Young Man Luther*." *Soundings* 56 (1973): 182-209.
- Stites, Raymond S. *The Sublimation of Leonardo da Vinci*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970.
- Woolcott, Philip. "Creativity and Religious Experience in St. Augustine." *Journal for Scientific Study of Religion* 5 (1966): 273-83.
- Zilboorg, Gregory. *The Medical Man and the Witch During the Renaissance*. NY: Cooper Square Publishers, 1969.

V. MODERN

- Ackerman, Nathan and Marie Jahoda, *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation*. NY: International Universities Press, 1950.
- Adorno, Theodor W. "Anti-Semitism and Fascist Propaganda." In *Anti-Semitism: A Social Disease*. Ed. by Ernst Simmel. NY: Intl. Univ. Press, 1946.
- . "Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda." In *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences*. Ed. by Geza Roheim. NY: International Univ. Press, 1950, pp. 279-300.
- Alexander, A. "War Crimes: Their Socio-Psychological Aspects." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 105 (1948): 170-77.
- Alexander, Leo. "Sociopsychologic Structure of the SS: Psychiatric Report of The Nürnberg Trials for War Crimes." *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry* 59 (1948): 622-34.
- . "War Crimes: Their Social-Psychological Aspects." *The American Journal of Psychiatry* 105 (1948): 170-77.
- Alexander, Franz. "Problems of a Wartime Society." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 13 (1943): 571-80.
- Allport, Gordon. "Personality Under Social Catastrophe: 90 Life Histories of the Nazi Revolution." *Character and Personality* 10 (1941): 1-22.
- Allport, G. W., J. S. Bruner and E. M. Jundorf. "Personality under Social Catastrophe: Ninety Life-Histories of the Nazi Revolution." In Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry Murray, *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*. NY: Knopf, 1955: 436-55.
- Anderson, F. A. "Psychopathological Glimpses of Some Biblical Characters." *Psychoanalytic Review* 14 (1927): 56-70.
- Anderson, Michael. "Family, Household and the Industrial Revolution." In *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective*. Ed. by Michael Gordon. NY: St. Martin's Press, 1974.
- Ansbacher, H. L., et al. "Lee Harvey Oswald: An Adlerian Interpretation." *Psychoanalytic Review* 53 (1966): 55-68.
- Axtell, James L. "Coming of Age in Colonial America: A New Look." Paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 30, 1970 at Boston, Mass.
- Barber, James D. "Adult Identity and Presidential Style: The Rhetorical Emphasis," in Dankwart A. Rustow (ed.), *Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership*. NY: George Braziller, 1970: 367-97.
- . "President Nixon & Richard Nixon: Character Trap." *Psychology Today*, 8 (Oct. 1974): 112-21.
- *———. *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972;
- *Barker-Benfield, Ben. "The Spermatic Economy: A Nineteenth-Century View of Sexuality." In *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective*. Ed. by Michael Gordon. NY: St. Martin's Press, 1974.
- Bartlett, Irving H. and Richard L. Schoenwald. "The Psychodynamics of Slavery." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4 (1974): 627-34.
- Battis, Emery J. *Saints and Sectarians: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in Massachusetts Bay Colony*. Chapel Hill: Univ. of N. Carolina Press, 1962.
- Bauer, Raymond A. "The Psycho-Cultural Approach to Soviet Studies." *World Politics* 7 no. 1 (1954): 119-32.
- . "The Psychology of the Soviet Middle Elite: Two Case Histories." In Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry Murray (ed.), *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*. NY: Knopf (1955): 633-50.
- Beckman, A. C. "Hidden Themes in the Frontier Thesis: An Application of Psychoanalysis to Historiography." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 8 (April, 1966): 361-82.
- Bender, Laurretta and Frosch, J. "Children's Reaction to the War." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 12 (1942): 571-87.
- Beradt, C. *The Third Reich of Dreams*. NY: Quadrangle Books, 1966.

- *Bergler, Edmund. *Talleyrand, Napoleon, Stendahl, Grabbe. Psychoanalytisch-biographische Essays*. Vienna: Internationale Psychoanal. Verlag, 1935.
- Bettelheim, Bruno. *The Informed Heart: Autonomy in a Mass Age*. Glencoe, Ill., 1960.
- Binger, Carl. "Conflicts in the Life of Thomas Jefferson." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 125 (1969): 1098-107.
- . "The Dreams of Benjamin Rush." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 125 (June 1969): 1653-59.
- Binion, Rudolph. "MyLife With Frau Lou." In *The Historians Workshop*, pp. 293-306. Ed. by L. P. Curtis, Jr. NY: 1970.
- *———. *Frau Lou: Nietzsche's Wayward Disciple*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1968.
- . "From Mayerling to Sarajevo," forthcoming in *Journal of Modern History*. June 1975.
- *———. "Hitler's Concept of *Lebensraum*: The Psychological Basis." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973): 187-215, 249-58.
- . "Repeat Performance: A Psychological Study of Leopold III and Belgian Neutrality." *History and Theory* 8 (1969): 213-59.
- Blanchard, Phyllis Mary. "A Psychoanalytic Study of Auguste Comte." *American Journal of Psychology* 29 (1918): 159-181.
- *Blanchard, William. *Rousseau and the Spirit of Revolt: A Psychological Study*. Ann Arbor: The Univ. of Michigan Press, 1967.
- Bogardus, Emorys. "Albert Schweitzer as a Leader." *Sociology and Social Research* 42 (1957): 46-53.
- Bonnard, Augusta. "The Metapsychology of the Russian Trial Confessions." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 35 (1954): 208-13.
- Bridenthal, Renate. "Beyond Kinder, Küche, Kirche: Weimar Women at Work," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 28, 1971, at New York, N.Y.
- Brodie, Bernard. "A Psychoanalytic Interpretation of Woodrow Wilson." *World Politics* 9 (1957): 413-422. Also in Bruce Mazlish, ed., *Psychoanalysis and History* (NY: Grosset & Dunlap, 1971), pp. 115-23.
- Brodie, Fawn M. "Jefferson Biographers and the Psychology of Canonization." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* II (1971): 155-72.
- . *Thaddeus Stevens: Scourge of the South*. NY: Norton & Co., 1959.
- . *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History*. NY: Norton, 1973.
- Bromberg, Norbert. "Hitler's Character and Its Development: Further Observations." *American Imago* 28 (1971): 289-303.
- . "Totalitarian Ideology as a Defence Technique." *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society* 1 (1960): 26-38.
- . "The Psychotic Character as Political Leader." Parts I and II. Unpub. papers read at Annual Meetings of the American Psychoanalytic Association 1961, 1962.
- Brophy, Brigit. *Black Ship to Hell*. NY: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1962.
- Brown, William. "The Psychology of Modern Germany." *British Journal of Psychology* 34 (1944): 43-59.
- Bullough, Vern L. "Exploring a Virgin Field: Sex in European History," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 29, 1970 at Boston, Mass.
- Bushman, Richard L. *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967.
- . "Jonathan Edwards as Great Man: Identity Conversion, and Leadership in the Great Awakening." *Soundings* 52 (1969): 15-46.
- . "Jonathan Edwards and Puritan Consciousness." *Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion* 5 (1966): 383-96.
- Burnham, John C. "The Place of Sex in the Study of American History," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 29, 1970, at Boston, Mass.
- Bychowsky, Gustav. "Joseph Stalin: Paranoia and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." In *The Psychoanalytic Interpretation of History*. Ed. by B. R. Wolman. NY: Basic Books, 1971: 115-49.
- . "Oliver Cromwell and the Puritan Revolution." *Journal of Clinical Psycho-*

- pathology* 7 (1945): 281-309.
- . "The Potential of Psychoanalytic Biography: Zelig on Chambers and Hiss." *American Imago* 26 (1969): 233-41.
- . "Robespierre and the Terror." *Journal of Clinical Psychopathology* 7 (1945-46): 561-98.
- . "The Spiritual Background of Hitlerism." *Journal of Clinical Psychopathology* 4 (1943): 579-98.
- Calhoun, Daniel. *The Intelligence of a People*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.
- Capps, Donald. "John Henry Newman: A Study of Vocational Identity." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 9 (1970): 33-52.
- . "Orestes Brownson: The Psychology of Religious Affiliation." *Journal for the Study of Religion* 7 (1968): 197-209.
- . "The 'Reversal of Generations' Phenomenon as Illustrated by the Lives of John Henry Newman and Abraham Lincoln," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 29, 1973 at San Francisco, Calif.
- Chamberlain, Frederick. *The Private Character of Queen Elizabeth*. London: Bodley Head, 1921.
- Chanover, E. Pierre. "Jean-Jacques Rousseau: A Psychoanalytic and Psychological Bibliography." *American Imago* 31 (1974): 95-100.
- Chesen, Eli S. *President Nixon's Psychiatric Profile*. NY: Peter H. Wyden, 1973.
- Clark, L. Pierce. *Lincoln: A Psycho-Biography*. NY: Scribner, 1933.
- . "Unconscious Motives Underlying the Personalities of Great Statesmen and Their Relation to Epoch-Making Events: A Psychoanalytic Study of Abraham Lincoln." *Psychoanalytic Review* 8 (1921): 1-21. Also in *Psychological Studies of Famous Americans*. Ed. by Norman Kiell. NY: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1964.
- Cohen, Elie A. *Human Behavior in the Concentration Camp*. NY: Norton, 1953.
- Cominos, Peter T. "Innocent Femina Sensualis in Unconscious Conflict," in Martha Vicinus, ed., *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1972: 155-72.
- . "Late-Victorian Sexual Respectability and the Social System." *International Review of Social History* 8 (1963): 18-48; 216-50.
- Confino, Michaël. "Histoire et psychologie: A propos de la noblesse russe du XVII^e siècle," *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations* 22 (1967): 1163-205.
- Clinch, Nancy G. *The Kennedy Neurosis*. NY: Grosset & Dunlap, 1973.
- Daberman, Martin B. "The Abolitionists and Psychology." *Journal of Negro History* 47 (1962): 183-91.
- Dadrian, Vabraken N. "Factors of Anger and Aggression in Genocide." *Journal of Human Relations* 19 no. 3 (1971): 394-417.
- Davis, David Brion. *The Slave Power Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style*. Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1969.
- . "Some Themes of Countersubversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47 (1960): 205-24.
- Davis, Glenn. "The Early Years of Theodore Roosevelt: A Study in Character Formation." *The History of Childhood Quarterly* 2 (1975): 461-492.
- de Certeau, Michel. "Ce que Freud fait de l'histoire: A Propos du 'Une nervose demoniaque au XVII^e siècle'," *Annales: Economies, Societes, Civilisations* 25 (1970): 654-67.
- Demole, V. "Analyse Psychiatrique des Confessions de Jean-Jacques Rousseau." *Schweizer Archiv für Neurologie und Psychiatrie* 2 (1918): 270-304.
- . "Role du Tempérament et des Idées Délirantes de Rousseau Dans la Genèse de ses Principales Théories." *Annales Medico-Psychologiques* 12 no. 1 (1922): 12-34.
- Demos, John. "The American Puritan as a Psychological Type," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 28, 1972, at New Orleans, La.
- . "Underlying Themes in the Witchcraft of Seventeenth-Century New Eng-

- land." *American Historical Review* LXXV (1970): 1311-326.
- Desmonde, William H. "The Ku Klux Klan: Some Psychoanalytic Interpretations." *Journal of the Hillside Hospital* 3 (1954): 219-25.
- Devoto, Andrea. "Il Linguaggio del 'Lager': Annotazione Psicologiche." *Movimento di Liberazione in Italia* 65 no. 4 (1961): 32-48.
- Dew, C. B. "Two Approaches to Southern History: Psychology and Quantification." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 66 (1967): 307-25.
- *Dicks, Henry V. *Licensed Mass Murder: A Socio-Psychological Study of Some S.S. Killers*. NY: Basic Books, Inc., 1972.
- . "Observations on Contemporary Russian Behavior." *Human Relations* 5 (1952): 111-77.
- . "Personality Traits and National Socialistic Ideology." *Human Relations* 3 (1950): 111-54.
- . "Psychological Studies of the German Character", in T. Pear, ed., *Psychological Factors of Peace and War*. NY: Philosophical Library, 1951.
- Dittmar, L. "A Psycho-Sociological Analysis of Neo-Naziism." *Comparative Politics* 2 (1969).
- Dubbert, Joe L. "Progressivism and the Masculinity Crisis." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 61 (1974): 443-55.
- Duff, I. F. Grant. "Die Beziehung Elizabeth-Essex: eine psychoanalytische Betrachtung." *Psychoanalytische Bewegung* 3 (1931): 457-74.
- Dufrenoy, M. L. "La Psychopathologie de Jean-Jacques Rousseau." *Revue de Pathologie Comparée et de Médecine Expérimentale*, Paris 67 (1967): 245-54.
- Dunn, Patrick P. "Fathers and Sons Revisited: The Childhood of Vissarion Belinskii." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1974): 389-409.
- Durkham, John. "The Influence of John Stuart Mill's Mental Crisis on his Thoughts." *American Imago* 20 (1963): 369-84.
- Ebel, Henry. "Primal Therapy and Psychohistory." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2 (1975): 563-570.
- Edinger, Lewis J. *Kurt Schumacher: A Study in Personality and Political Behavior*. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1965.
- Edwards, Maldwyn. *Family Circle: A Study in the Epworth Household in Relation to John and Charles Wesley*. London: The Epworth Press, 1949.
- Elkins, Stanley. *Slavery*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1959.
- Erikson, Erik H. "Hitler's Imagery and German Youth." *American Psychiatry Journal* 5 (1942): 475-93. Also in *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*, pp. 485-510. Ed. by C. Kluckhohn and H. A. Murray. NY: Knopf, 1948.
- . "Wholeness and Totality—A Psychiatric Contribution." In *Totalitarianism*. Ed. by Earl J. Friedrich. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1954.
- Evans, W. N. "The Passing of the Gentleman." *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 18 (1949): 19-43.
- Feinstein, Howard. "Benjamin Rush: A Child of Light for the Children of Darkness." *Psychoanalytic Review* 58 (1971): 209-22.
- . "The Prepared Heart: Puritan Theology and Psychoanalysis." *American Quarterly* 22 (1970): 166-76.
- Feldman, A. Bronson. "Ben Franklin—Thunder Master." *Psychoanalysis* 5 (1957): 33-54.
- . "The Imperial Dreams of Disraeli." *Psychoanalytic Review* 53 no. 4 (1966): 109-41.
- . "Lincoln: the Psychology of a Cult." *Journal of the National Psychological Association for Psychoanalysis* 1 (1952): 7-24. Also in *Psychological Studies of Famous Americans*, pp. 116-34. Ed. by Norman Kiell. NY: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1964.
- Fenichel, Otto. "Psychoanalysis of Antisemitism." *American Imago* 1 (1940): 24-39.
- Ferdon, Nona Stinson. "Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Psychological Interpretation of his Childhood and Youth." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Univ. of Hawaii, 1971.
- Feuer, Lewis S. *Conflict of Generations: Character and Significance of Student Movements*. NY: Basic Books, 1969.

- . "Ernst Mach: The Unconscious Motives of an Empiricist." *American Imago* 27 (1970): 12-39.
- Filene, Peter G. "Men and Manliness Before World War I—A Study in Changing Male Sex Roles," paper read at the annual convention of the Organization of American Historians, April 7, 1972, at Washington, D.C.
- Fitzpatrick, John J. "Senator Hiram W. Johnson: A Life History, 1866-1945," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Univ of Calif, Berkeley, 1975.
- Flugel, John Carl. *Man, Morals and Society: A Psycho-Analytical Study*. NY: International Univ. Press, 1945.
- . *Psychoanalytic Study of the Family*. NY: Hillary House, n.d.
- Foucault, Michael. *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. NY: Pantheon Books, 1965.
- Fox, Ezra G. Benedict. "Was General Lee a Victim of Group Psychology?" In *Psychological Studies of Famous Americans*. Ed. by Norman Kiell. NY: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1964.
- Franzoni, Janet Brenner. "The Private War of General Sherman," unpublished MA thesis, University of N. Carolina, Greensboro, 1970.
- . "Troubled Tirader: A Psychological Study of Tom Watson." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 57 (1973): 493-510.
- Freud, Sigmund. "A Seventeenth-Century Demonological Neurosis." *Standard Edition* Vol. XIX: 72-108.
- and William C. Bullett. *Thomas Woodrow Wilson: A Psychological Study*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967.
- Frijling-Schreuder, E. C. M. "Honore de Balzac: A Disturbed Boy Who Did Not Get Treatment." *Intern'l Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 45 (1964): 426-30.
- Fromm, Erich. "On the Problems of German Characterology." *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences* 5 (1943): 79-83.
- . "Should We Hate Hitler?" *Journal of Home Economics* 34 (1942): 220-23.
- . "What Shall We do With Germany?" *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, May 29, 1943.
- Gardner, George E. "The Family in a World at War." *Mental Hygiene* 26 (1942): 50-7.
- Gatell, Frank Otto. "The Social and Psychological Dynamics of Change: From the Bank to Slavery," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 29, 1969, at Washington, D.C.
- Gatzke, Hans W. "Hitler and Psychohistory." *American Historical Review* 78 (April, 1973): 394-401.
- George, Alexander L. "Assessing Presidential Character." *World Politics* 26 (1974): 234-82.
- and George, Juliet L. *Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study*. NY: Day, 1956.
- Gilbert, G. M. "Goering, Amiable Psychopath." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 43 (1948): 211-29.
- . *Nuremberg Diary*. NY: Farrar, Strauss, and Co., 1947.
- *———. *The Psychology of Dictatorship*. NY: The Roland Press, 1950.
- Gilmore, William J. "The Nature and Context of Reform in America 1815-1835, and the Generation of 1830," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 29, 1970, at Boston, Mass.
- . "The Problems and Dangers of 'Originitis' in Psycho-History: The Early Years of Orestes Brownson," paper read at the annual convention of the Organization of American Historians, April 13, 1973, at Chicago, Ill.
- . "'A Volcano with an Ordinary Chimney-Flue': The Development of John Brown's Personality," paper read at the annual convention of the Organization of American Historians, April 1974 at Denver, Colo.
- Glad, Betty. *Charles Evans Hughes and the Illusions of Innocence*. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1966.
- . "The Significance of Personality for Role Performance as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: A Comparison of Borah and Fulbright," unpub. paper read at the American Political Science Assoc. meeting, 1969.
- Glover, Edward. *War, Sadism and Pacifism*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1935, 1946.
- Gonen, Jay Y. *A Psychohistory of Zionism*. NY: Mason&Carter Publishers, 1974.

- Gorer, Geoffrey. *The American People: A Study in National Character*. NY: Norton, 1948.
- . *Exploring English Character*. NY: 1955.
- . *The People of Great Russia*. NY: Chanticleer, 1950.
- Gottfried, Alex. *Boss Cermak of Chicago. A Study of Political Leadership*. Seattle, 1962: 365-78. Also appears as "The Use of Psychosomatic Categories in a Study of Political Personality." *Western Political Quarterly* 8 (1955): 234-47.
- Greenacre, Phyllis. *Swift and Carroll: A Psychological Study of Two Lives*. NY: 1955.
- Greenblatt, Robert B. "Hermann Goering's Pseudo-Fröhlich Syndrome." *Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality* 6 (1972): 94-104.
- Greene, Jack P. "Search for Identity: An Interpretation of the Meaning of Selected Patterns of Social Response in Eighteenth Century America." *Journal of Social History* 3 (1970): 189-220.
- Greven, Philip J., Jr. "The Child and the Convert: Reflections on Jonathan Edwards and the Psychology of Religious Experience in Eighteenth Century America," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 28, 1970 at Boston, Mass.
- . *Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Mass.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1970.
- Hale, William Bayard. *The Story of Style. A Psychoanalytic Study of Woodrow Wilson*. NY: Viking Press, 1920.
- Haque, John. *American Character and Culture*. DeLand: Florida: Everett-Edwards, 1964.
- Hargrove, Erwin. *Presidential Leadership: Personality and Political Leadership*. NY: Macmillan, 1966.
- Harlow, Ralph. "A Psychological Study of Samuel Adams." *Psychoanalytic Review* 9 (1922): 418-28.
- . *Samuel Adams, Promoter of the American Revolution: A Study in Psychology and Politics*. NY: H. Holt & Co., 1923.
- Harris, Ramon I. "Thomas Jefferson: Female Identification." *American Imago* 25 (1968): 371-83.
- Hartman, D. A. "The Psychological Point of View in History: Some Phases of the Slavery Struggle." In *Psychological Studies of Famous Americans*. Ed. by Norman Kiell. NY: Twayne, 1964.
- Hawke, David. *Paine*. NY: Harper & Row, 1974.
- Hector, L. S. "An Alleged Hysterical Outburst of Richard II." *English Historical Review* 68 (1953): 62-5.
- Henretta, J. "The Morphology of New England Society in the Colonial Period." In *The Family in History*. NY: Harper & Row, 1971.
- Herman, I. "Charles Darwin." *Imago* 13 (1927): 57-82.
- Hesseltine, William B. "Forty Years of Failure." [Ulysses S. Grant.] In *Psychological Studies of Famous Americans*. Ed. by Norman Kiell. NY: Twayne, 1964.
- Hitschmann, Edward. "Boswell: The Biographer's Character: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation." *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 17 (1948): 212-25.
- Hoffman, Stanley. "Vichy's Main Actors: Social and Psychological Dimensions," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 29, 1969, at Washington, D.C.
- Hofling, Charles K. "General Custer and the Battle of the Little Big Horn." *Psychoanalytic Review* 54 (1967): 107-32.
- Hofstadter, Richard. "The Paranoid Style in American Politics." In Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays*. NY: Knopf, 1964, 1965.
- Hogeland, Ronald W. "The Concept of the American Woman: Horace Bushnell, A Case Study in Masculine Ambivalence," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 30, 1969, at Washington, D.C.
- Homans, Peter. "Transcendence, Distance, Fantasy: The Protestant Era in Psychological Perspective." *Journal of Religion*, 49 (1969): 205-27.
- Hoppe, Klaus et al., "The Emotional Reactions of Psychiatrists When Confronting Survivors of Persecution." *The Psychoanalytic Forum* 3 (1969): 185-211.
- Hoppe, Klaus D. "The Psychodynamics of Concentration Camp Victims." *The*

- Psychoanalytic Forum* 1 (1966): 76-80. NY: International Univ. Press.
- Hunt, Richard MacMasters. "Joseph Goebbels." Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard Univ., 1960.
- Hunter, Doris M. and Charlotte Babcock. "Some Aspects of the Intrapsychic Structure of Certain American Negroes as Viewed in the Intercultural Dynamic," in Wilbur Muensterberger, ed., *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society*. NY: 1967: 124-169.
- Inkeles, Alex. "National Character and Modern Political Systems." In *Psychological Anthropology*, pp. 172-208. Ed. by F. Hsu. Homewood: Dorsey Press, 1961.
- and David H. Smith. "The Fate of Personal Adjustment in the Process of Modernization." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 11 (1970): 81-114.
- Izenberg, Gerald N. "The Wish to Be Free." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1971): 137-48.
- Janis, Irving L. *Victims of Groupthink: A Psychological Study of Foreign-Policy Decisions and Fiascos*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972.
- *Jardim, Anne. *The First Henry Ford: A Study in Personality and Business Leadership*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1970.
- Jekels, Ludwig. *Selected Papers*. NY: International Univ. Press, 1970.
- . "The Turning Point in the Life of Napoleon I." In his *Selected Papers*. NY: International Univ. Press, 1970.
- Jones, Ernest. "The Case of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland." In *Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis*. London: The Hogarth Press, 1951.
- . "The Inferiority Complex of the Welsh." *Welsh Outlook* 16 (1929): 76-77.
- . "The Island of Ireland. A Psycho-Analytical Contribution to Political Psychology." In *Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis*, pp. 95-112. London: The Hogarth Press, 1951.
- Jordon, Winthrop. "Familial Politics: Thomas Paine and the Killing of the King, 1776." *Journal of American History* 60 (1973): 294-308.
- Jowitt, Th. Earl. *The Strange Case of Alger Hiss*. Garden City, N.Y., 1953.
- Jung, E. "Jean-Jacques Rousseau also Psychoanalytiker." *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse* 3 (1912-1913): 52.
- Kakar, Sudhir. *Frederick Taylor: A Study in Personality and Innovation*. Cambridge, Mass.: 1970.
- Kardiner, Abraham and Lionel Ovesey. *The Mark of Oppression: Explorations in the Personality of the American Negro*. Cleveland: World, 1967.
- Katz, Joseph. "President Kennedy's Assassination." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 51 no. 4 (1964-65): 121-24.
- Kedro, Milan James. "Autobiography as a Key to Identity in the Progressive Era." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2 (1975): 391-407.
- Keller, Phyllis. "George Sylvester Viereck: the Psychology of a German-American Militant." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1971): 59-108.
- Kempf, Edward J. *Abraham Lincoln's Philosophy of Common Sense: An Analytical Biography of a Great Mind*. NY: N.Y. Academy of Sciences, 1965.
- . "Abraham Lincoln's Organic and Emotional Neurosis." *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 22 (1953): 306. Also in *Psychological Studies of Famous Americans*. Ed. by Norman Kiell. NY: Twayne, 1964.
- . "Charles Darwin: The Affective Sources of his Inspiration and Anxiety Neurosis." *Psychoanalytic Review* 5 (1918): 151-92.
- Kennedy, David M. "Sexual Roles in the Late Nineteenth Century." Paper read at the annual convention of the Organization of American Historians, April 18, 1970, at Los Angeles, Calif.
- Kiell, Norman, ed. *Psychological Studies of Famous Americans: The Civil War Era*. NY: Twayne, 1964.
- Klaf, Franklin S. "Napoleon and the Grand Army of 1812: A Study of Group Psychology." *Psychoanalysis and the Psychoanalytic Rev.* 47 (1960): 67-76.
- Kligerman, Charles. "The Character of Jean Jacques Rousseau." In *The Annual*

- Survey of Psychoanalysis* 2 (1951): 464-65.
- Koenigsberg, Richard A. "Culture and Unconscious Phantasy: Observations on Nazi Germany." *Psychoanalytic Review* 55 (1968-1969): 681-96.
- König-Fachsenfeld, O. F. Von. *Wandlungen des Traumproblems von der Romantik bis zur Gegenwart*. Stuttgart: Enke, 1935.
- Kovel, Joel. *White Racism: A Psychohistory*. Pantheon, 1970.
- Kren, George M. "Race and Ideology." *Phylon*, 23 (1962): 167-77.
- and Leon Rappoport. "Victims: The Fallacy of Innocence." *Societas—A Review of Social History* 4 (1974): 111-29.
- Krystal, Henry, ed. *Massive Psychic Trauma*. NY: 1968.
- Künzli, Arnold. *Karl Marx. Eine Psychographie*. Wien, Frankfurt, Zürich, 1966.
- Kurth, Gertrude M. "The Jew and Adolph Hitler." *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 16 (1947): 11-32.
- LaBarre, Weston. *They Shall Take Up Serpents: Psychology of the Southern Snake-Handling Cult*. NY: Schocken, 1962, 1969.
- . "Hitler's Imagery and German Youth." *Psychiatry* 5 (1942): 475-93.
- Lacombe, Pierre. "The Enigma of Clemenceau." *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 33 (1946): 165-76.
- Laforge, R. "Etude sur Jean-Jacques Rousseau." *Revue Francaise de Psychoanalyse* 1 (1927): 370-402. And in *Psychopathologie de l'Echec*, pp. 117-44. Geneve: Les Editions du Mont-Blanc, 1963.
- . "Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Eine psychoanalytische untersuchung." *Imago* 16 (1930): 145-72.
- Lane, Ann, ed. *The Debate Over Slavery: Stanley Elkins and His Critics*. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1971.
- Langer, Walter C. *The Mind of Adolf Hitler*. NY: Basic Books, 1972.
- ; Kris, Ernst and Lewin, Bertram D. *A Psychological Analysis of Adolph Hitler*. Washington: Office of Strategic Services, 1944.
- Latif, Israil. "A Psychoanalytic Study of Adolf Hitler." *Journal of Psychoanalysis, Pakistan*, 1 (1953): 25-32.
- Lawrence, W. J. "The Singing Eunuch in Seventeenth Century England." *Psyche and Eros* 2 (1921): 370-74.
- Lawrence, Margaret. *Young Inner City Families: Identity and Development of Ego Strengths*. NY: Behavioral Publications, Inc., 1974.
- Leites, Nathan. "Panic and Defenses Against Panic in the Bolshevik View of Politics." *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences* 4, 1955.
- . *A Study of Bolshevism*. Glencoe, Ill: The Free Press, 1953.
- and Paul Kecskemeti. "Some Psychological Hypotheses on Nazi Germany." *Journal of Social Psychology* 26 (1947): 141-83; 27 (1948): 91-117, 241-70; 28 (1948): 141-64.
- Leonard, Thomas C. "The Army Officer and the Indian: Psychological Ambivalence and Cultural Relativism," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Assoc., Dec. 29, 1973, at San Francisco, Calif.
- Levi, A. W. "The 'Mental Crisis' of John Stuart Mill." *Psychoanalytic Review* 32 (1945): 86-101.
- Levinson, Daniel J. "Personality and Foreign Policy." *Journal of Conflict of Resolution* (1957): 37-47.
- Levy, David Mordecai. "Anti-Nazis: Criteria of Differentiation." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 11 (1948): 125-67.
- . "The German Anti-Nazi: A Case Study." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 16 (1946): 507-515.
- Lewin, Kurt. "Some Social-Psychological Differences Between the U.S. and Germany." *Character and Personality* 4 (1936): 265-93.
- Lewy, Ernst. "The Transformation of Frederic the Great." In *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society* 4: 252-311.
- Liebert, Robert S. "Radical and Militant Youth: A Study of Columbia Undergraduates." In *The Psychoanalytic Forum* v. 4, pp. 1-62. NY: International Univ. Press, 1972.
- Lifton, Robert J. *Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima*. NY: Random House, 1967.
- Loewenberg, Peter. "The Psychohistorical Origins of the Nazi Youth Cohort." *American Historical Review* 76 (1971): 1457-502.
- . "Psychohistorical Perspectives on Modern German History." Forthcoming

- in *Journal of Modern History*. June 1975.
- . "The Psychology of Racism." In Gary B. Nash and Richard Weiss, eds., *The Great Fear*. NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970: 186-201.
- . "Model Personality and Psychoanalysis: The German Case," paper read at ann. conv. of Am. Hist. Assoc., Dec. 28, 1972, at New Orleans, La.
- . "Theodore Herzl: A Psychoanalytic Study in Charismatic Political Leadership." In *The Psychoanalytic Interpretation of History*. Ed. by B. R. Wolman. NY: Basic Books, 1971: 150-91.
- . "The Unsuccessful Adolescence of Heinrich Himmler." *American Historical Review* 76 (1971): 612-41.
- . "Walter Rathenau as a Culture Critic," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 30, 1971, at New York, N.Y.
- . "Walter Rathenau and German Society," unpublished doctoral dissertation. Univ. of California, Berkeley, 1966.
- Löwenthal, John. "Zur Hakenkreuz-Symbolik." *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft* 17 (1930): 44-50.
- . "Zum Rathenau-Problem." *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft* 15 (1928): 369-78.
- Loewenstein, Rudolph M. *Christians and Jews: A Psychoanalytic Study*. NY: International Universities Press, 1951.
- Macalpine, Ida and Hunter, R. A. "George III's Illness and Its Impact on Psychiatry." *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 61 (1968): 1017-26.
- . "The 'Insanity' of King George III: A Classic Case of Porphyria." *British Medical Journal* 1 (1966): 65-71.
- and Rimington, C. "Porphyria in the Royal Houses of Stuart, Hanover, and Prussia. A Follow-up Study of George III's Illness." *British Medical Journal* 1 (1969): 7-18.
- McClelland, David C. "Love and Power: The Psychological Signals of War." *Psychology Today* (Jan. 1975): 44-48.
- Macfarlane, Alan. *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, a Seventeenth Century Clergyman*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1970.
- McGovern, James R. "David Graham Phillips and the Virility Impulse of Progressives." *New England Quarterly* 39 (1966): 334-55.
- McGranahan, D. "A Comparison of Social Attitudes Among German and American Youth." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 41 (1946).
- Mack, John E. "T. E. Lawrence: A Study of Heroism and Conflict." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 125 (1969): 1083-92.
- McLean, Helen. "Psychodynamic Factors in Race Relations." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 254 (1946): 159-66.
- Malkin, Edward. "Reich and Rousseau: An Essay in Psycho-history." *American Journal of Psychoanalysis* 34 (1974): 63-80.
- Mandrou, Robert. *Introduction à la France moderne [1500-1640]. Essai de psychologie historique*. Paris. 1961.
- Mannoni, Dominique. *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization*. NY: Praeger, 1964.
- Manuel, Frank E. "Newton as Autocrat of Science," in Dankwart A. Rustow, ed., *Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership*. NY: Braziller, 1970: 398-430.
- . *A Portrait of Isaac Newton*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1968.
- *Marvick, Elizabeth W. "Childhood History and Decisions of State: The Case of Louis XIII." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2 (1974): 135-200.
- . "The Character of Louis XIII: The Role of His Physician." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4 (1974): 347-74.
- Mazlish, Bruce. *In Search of Nixon: A Psychohistorical Inquiry*. NY: Basic Books, 1972.
- *———. *James and John Stuart Mill: Father and Son in the Nineteenth Century*. NY: Basic Books, 1975.
- . "James Mill and the Utilitarians." *Daedalus*, Summer, 1968.
- . "The Mills: Father and Son." *Horizon* 12 no. 3, Summer, 1970.
- . "Psychohistory and Richard M. Nixon." *Psychology Today* 6 (1972): 77-80.
- Mayer, Arno J. "Internal Causes and Purposes of War in Europe 1870-1956: A Research Assignment." *Journal of Modern History* 41 (1969): 291-303.
- Meerloo, Jose Abraham Maurits. "The Crime of Menticide." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 107 (1951).

- . *Delusion and Mass-Delusion*. NY: Nervous and Mental Disease Monographs, 1949.
- . "Democracy and Fascism Within Us." In *Total War and the Human Mind*. NY: International Univ. Press, 1945.
- . "Mental Infection and the Swastika." *American Practitioner* 11 (1960).
- . "The Psychology of Treason and Loyalty." *American Journal of Psychotherapy* 8 (1954).
- . *The Rape of the Mind*. NY: Grosset & Dunlap, 1956.
- . "Thought Control and Confession Compulsion." In *Explorations in Psychoanalysis*. NY: Julian Press, 1953.
- Menninger, Karl A. "Leopold-Loeb: Mental Hygiene Aspects." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Kansas State Board of Health* 2 (1924): 48-51.
- . "A Psychiatrist Looks at Custer." *Surg. Gynecol. Ob.* 84 (1947): 1008-12.
- Mersey. "La Tanatophilie dans la Famille des Habsburg." *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse und Psychotherapie* 3 (1913): 627-28.
- Middlemore, Merrell P. "The Treatment of Bewitchment in a Puritan Community." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 15 (1934): 41-58.
- Mitscherlich, Alexander. *Doctors of Infamy. The Story of the Nazi Medical Crimes*. NY: Henry Schuman, 1949.
- . "Jugend in der technischen Welt." *Neue Deutsche Hefte* 4 (1957-58): 396-405.
- . *Society Without the Father*. London: Tavistock, 1969.
- Mitzman, Arthur. "Anarchists, Bohemians and Psychoanalysis," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Assoc., Dec. 30, 1971, at New York, N.Y.
- . *The Iron Cage: An Historical Interpretation of Max Weber*. NY: Knopf, 1969.
- Monaco, Paul. "The Popular Cinema as Reflection of the Group Process in France, 1919-1929." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1974): 607-36.
- Money-Kyrle, Roger A. "Some Aspects of State and Character in Germany." *The Annual Survey of Psychoanalysis* 2 (1951): 510-11.
- Moore, Robert L. "Justification Without Joy: Psychohistorical Reflections on John Wesley's Childhood and Conversion." *History of Childhood* 2 (1974): 31-52.
- Moulton, Ruth and Alexandra Symonds. "Psychoanalytic Reflections on Woman's Liberation." *Contemporary Psychoanalysis* 8 (1972): 197-228.
- Muncy, Raymond Lee. *Sex and Marriage in Utopian Communities: 19th Century America*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1973.
- Musto, David F. "The Youth of John Quincy Adams." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 113 (1969): 269-82.
- Myer, John C. "The Romantic Response." *Psychology* 6 no. 2 (1969): 40-47. Examines the Romantic Movement (1750-1850).
- Niederland, W. G. "An Analytic Inquiry Into the Life and Work of Heinrich Schliemann." In *Drives, Affects, Behavior*, vo. 2. Ed. by M. Schur. NY: International Univ. Press, n.d.
- . "The History and Meaning of California: A Psychoanalytic Inquiry." *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 40 (1973): 385-90.
- Oppeln-Bronikowski, Friedrich. "Eros als Schicksal bei Friedrich dem Grossen und bei Stendahl. Ein sexualpsychologischer Vergleich." *Psychoanalytische Bewegung* 2 (1930): 314-25.
- Parker, Harold T. "The Formation of Napoleon's Personality: An Exploratory Essay." *French Historical Studies* 7 (1971): 6-26.
- Perry, Lewis C. "The Neurosis of an Antebellum Reformer: Henry Clarke Wright," paper read at the annual convention of the Organization of American Historians, April 1974, at Denver, Colo.
- Pflanze, Otto. "Toward a Psychoanalytic Interpretation of Bismarck." *The American Historical Review* 77 (1972): 419-44.
- Potter, David M. *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1954.
- Playne, Aroline E. *The Neurosis of the Nations*. London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1925.
- Prätorius, Numa. "Das Liebesleben Ludwigs XIII von Frankreich." *Abhandlungen*

- aus dem Gebeite der Sexualforschung* 2 no. 6, 1925.
- Prince, Morton. "[Theodore] Roosevelt as Analyzed by the New Psychology." *New York Times*, March 24, 1912, Part 6, pp. 1-2. Also under the title "A Scientific Vivisection of Mr. Roosevelt." *Current Literature* 52 (1912): 518-22.
- . *The Psychology of the Kaiser: A Study of His Sentiments and His Obsession*. Boston: Badger, 1915.
- Proffoff, Ira. "The Psychology of Lee Harvey Oswald: A Jungian Approach." *Journal of Individual Psychology* 23 (1966): 37-47.
- Pruyser, Paul W. "Erikson's Young Man Luther: A New Chapter in the Psychology of Religion." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 2 (1962-3): 238-42.
- Putney, Snell and Gail. *The Adjusted American: Normal Neuroses in the Individual and Society*. NY: Norton, 1964.
- Raeff, Marc. "Home, School, and Service in the Life of the Eighteenth-Century Russian Nobleman." *Slavonic and East European Review* XL, 95 (1962): 295-307.
- Reich, Wilhelm. *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*. NY: Farrar, Straus, 1970.
- Reiff, Philip. "Fourteen Points on Wilson." *Encounter* 28 (1967): 85.
- Reiners, Ludwig. *The Lamps Went out in Europe*. NY: Pantheon, 1955.
- Renshon, Stanley Allen. "Psychological Analysis and Presidential Personality: The Case of Richard Nixon." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2 (1975): 415-50.
- Richardson, Frank. *Napoleon: Bisexual Emperor*. NY: Horizon Press, 1973.
- Riesman, David. *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1950, 1953.
- Rinaldo, Joel. *Psychoanalysis of the "Reformer"*. NY: Lee Publ. Co., 1921).
- Robertson, Paul L. "Cleveland's Personality as a Political Leader." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 51 no. 2 (1964): 130-54.
- Robinson, Paul A. "Romantic Sexual Theory," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 29, 1970 at Boston, Mass.
- Rogow, Arnold. *James Forrestal: A Study of Personality Politics and Policy*. NY: Macmillan, 1963.
- . "Private Illness and Public Policy: The Case of James Forrestal and John Winnant." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 125 (1969): 1093-98.
- Rohleder, Hermann. "Das Sexuelle im Leben Napoleon I." *Sexualprobleme*, Feb., 1913.
- Rosen, Edward. "Kepler's Attitude to His Mother." *Psychoanalytic Review* 55 (1968): 342-48.
- Rosen, George. *Madness in Society*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968.
- Rothstein, David. "The Presidential Assassination Syndrome: Application to Lee Harvey Oswald." *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 15 (1966): 260-66.
- . "Presidential Assassination Syndrome." *Ibid.*, 11 (1964): 245-54.
- Sachs, Hans. "Ein Traum Bismarcks." *Internationale Zeitschrift für ärztliche Psychoanalyse* 1 (1913): 80-83.
- St. Ehrlich, Vera. *Family in Transition: A Study of 300 Yugoslav Villages*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1966.
- Saussure, Raymond De. "Collective Neuroses of Germany." *Free World* 5 (1943): 121-26.
- . "Hitler et l'Allemagne." *Pour la Victoire*, January 10, 1943.
- . "L'Inconnu chez Hitler." *Les Oeuvres Nouvelles* 2 (1943): 178-244.
- Schalk, David L. "The Character of Louis XV." *American Imago* 19 (1962): 425-35.
- Schoenwald, Richard L. "Town Guano and 'Social Statics,'" *Victorian Studies* 11 Supplement (1968): 691-710.
- . "Training Urban Man: A Hypothesis About the Sanitary Movement." in H. J. Dyos and M. Wolf, eds., *The Victorian City*. London, 1973, 2:669-92.
- Schupper, Fabian X and Roy C. Calogeras. "Psycho-Cultural Shifts in Ego Defenses." *American Imago* 28 (1971): 53-70.
- Siegel, J. E. "Marx's Early Development: Vocation, Rebellion, and Realism." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 3 (1972): 391-418.
- Sempell, Charlotte. "Bismarck's Childhood: A Psychohistorical Study." *History*

- of *Childhood Quarterly* 2 (1974): 107-24.
- Sennett, Richard. *Families Against the City: Middle Class Homes of Industrial Chicago, 1872-1890*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1970.
- Shannon, David. "Woodrow Wilson's Youth and Personality: An Essay Review." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 58 (1967): 205-07.
- Shore, Miles F. "Henry VIII and the Crisis of Generativity." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1972): 359-90.
- Shorter, Edward. "Illegitimacy, Sexual Revolution and Social Change in Modern Europe." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1972): also in *The American Family in Socio-Historical Perspective*. Ed. by Michael Gordon. NY: St. Martin's Press, 1974.
- Silverberg, William V. "Race Prejudice—Social Immaturity." *Current History* 5 (1943): 25-29.
- Simon, Bennett and Nancy. "The Pacifist Turn: An Episode of Mystic Illumination in the Autobiography of Bertrand Russell." *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 20 (1972): 109-21.
- Simpson, George. *People in Families: Sociology, Psychoanalysis, and the American Family*. NY: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1960.
- Sleigh, Alfred. "Hitler: A Study in Megalomania." *Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal* 11 (1966): 218-19.
- Slochower, Harry. "Hitler's 'Elevation' of the Jew: Ego-Splitting and Ego-Function." *American Imago* 28 (1971): 304-318.
- Smith, Bradley F. *Adolf Hitler: His Family, Childhood and Youth*. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford Univ, 1967.
- Smith, Louis. "Aaron Burr." *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 12 (1943): 67-99.
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. "Volition, Aggression and Conflict: Hysteria as a Female Social Role," paper read at the annual convention of the Organization of American Historians, April 12, 1973, at Chicago, Ill.
- Spindle, Dearborn. "American Character as Revealed by the Military." *Psychiatry*, 11 (1949): 275-83.
- Stamp, Kenneth. "Rebels and Sambos: The Search for the Negro's Personality in Slavery." *Journal of Southern History* 37 (1971): 367-92.
- Sterba, Edith and Richard. *Beethoven and His Nephew: A Psychoanalytic Study of Their Relationship*. London: Dennis Dobson, 1957.
- Sterba, Richard. "Some Psychological Factors in Negro Race Hatred and in Anti-Negro Riots." *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences* 1 (1947): 411-27.
- Storr, Anthony. "The Man." In *Churchill Revised: A Critical Assessment*, pp. 229-74. Ed. by A. J. Taylor, et al. NY: Dial Press, 1969.
- Talmon, J. L. "The Ordeal of Sir Lewis Namier: The Man, the Historian, the Jew." *Commentary* 33 (1962): 237-46.
- Thorpe, Earl E. *Eros and Freedom in Southern Life and Thought*. Durham, N.C.: Seeman Bindery, 1967.
- . *The Old South: A Psychohistory*. Durham, N.C.: Seeman Bindery, 1972.
- Tompkins, Sylvia S. "The Psychology of Commitment: The Constructive Role of Violence and Suffering for the Individual and His Society," in Martin B. Duberman, ed., *The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton Univ. Press, 1963: 270-300.
- Tramer, M. "Das Kind der Masse." *Zeitschrift für Kinderpsychiatrie* 13 (1947): 221-32.
- Tucker, Robert C. "The Dictator and Totalitarianism." *World Politics* 17 (1965): 555-83.
- . *Stalin as Revolutionary, 1879-1929: A Study in History and Personality*. NY: W. W. Norton, 1973.
- Umansky, Howard. "The Roosevelt Family: Three Generations of Sibling Rivalry," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Association, Dec. 29, 1973, at San Francisco, Calif.
- Van Clute, Walton. "How Fascism Thwarts the Life Instinct: An Application of Psychoanalysis to Current Political Phenomena." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 12 (1942): 335-37.

- Veith, Ilza. "English Melancholy and American Nervousness." *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 32 (1968): 301-17.
- Volkan, Varnik D. "The Birds of Cyprus: A Psycho-political Observation." *American Journal of Psychotherapy* 26 (1972): 378-83.
- Waite, Robert G. L. "Adolf Hitler's Antisemitism: A Study in History and Psychoanalysis." In *The Psychoanalytic Interpretation of History*. Ed. by Benjamin B. Wolman. NY: Basic Books, 1971.
- . "Adolf Hitler's Guilt Feelings: A Problem in History and Psychology." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 1 (1971): 229-250.
- Walters, Ronald G. "Anti-Slavery and Sexuality," paper read at the annual convention of the Organization of American Historians, April 15, 1971, at New Orleans, La.
- Wangh, Martin. "National Socialism and the Genocide of the Jews, a Psycho-Analytic Study of a Historical Event." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 45 (1964): 386-98.
- . "A Psychoanalytic Study of Antisemitism: The Psychodynamics and Psychogenesis of Prejudice, Anti-Semitism, and Nazi Anti-Semitism." Read at New York Psycho-Analytic Society, Oct. 30, 1962.
- . "Psychoanalytische Betrachtungen zur Dynamik u. Genese des Vorurteils, des Antisemitismus und des Nazismus." *Psyche* 6 (1962): 273-84.
- *Ward, Dana. "Kissinger: A Psychohistory." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2 (1975): 287-349.
- Waters, John J. "James Otis, Jr.: An Ambivalent Revolutionary." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973): 142-50.
- Weinstein, Edwin Alexander. "Denial of Presidential Disability: A Case Study of Woodrow Wilson." *Psychiatry* 30 (1967): 376-91.
- . "Wilson's Neurological Illness." *Journal of American History* 57 (1970): 339-51.
- and Olga Lysterly. "Symbolic Aspects of Presidential Assassination." *Psychiatry*, 32 (1969): 1-11.
- Weinstein, Fred and Platt, Gerald M. *The Wish to be Free: Society, Psyche, and Value Change*. Berkeley/L.A.: Univ of Calif. Press, 1969.
- *Weissman, Philip. "Why Booth Killed Lincoln: A Psychoanalytic Study of a Historical Tragedy." In *Psychological Studies of Famous Americans: The Civil War Era*. Ed. by Norman Kiell. NY: Twayne, 1964.
- Wellman, Judith and Barbara Gerber. "Out of the Wilderness: A Psychosocial Odyssey of Sarah and Angelina Grimke, 1792-1836," paper read at the annual convention of the Organization of American Historians, April 1974 at Denver, Colo.
- Wilkinson, Burke. *Young Louis Fourteenth: The Early Years of the Sun King*. Riverside, N.J.: Macmillan Publ. Co., Inc., 1970.
- Willcox, William B. *Portrait of a General: Sir Henry Clinton in the War of Independence*. NY: Knopf, 1964.
- Williams, Margaret T., "Psychoanalysis and Latin American History." In Richard Graham and Peter H. Smith, eds., *New Approaches to Latin American History*. Austin, Texas: Univ. of Texas Press, 1975.
- Wilson, George W. "John Wilkes Booth: Father Murdered." *American Imago* 1 (1940): 49-60.
- . "A Prophetic Dream Reported by Abraham Lincoln." *American Imago* 1 (1940): 42-48. Also in *Psychological Studies of Famous Americans*. Ed. by Norman Kiell. NY: Twayne, 1964.
- Wolf, Howard R. "British Fathers and Sons, 1773-1913: From Filial Submissiveness to Creativity." *Psychoanalysis and the Psychoanalytic Review* 52 (1965): 197-214.
- Wolfenstein, E. Victor. *The Revolutionary Personality: Lenin, Trotsky and Gandhi*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1967.
- Wolff, Michael. "Victorian Study: An Interdisciplinary Essay." *Victorian Studies* 8 no. 1 (1964): 59-70.
- Woodward, C. Vann. "John Brown's Private War." In *Psychological Studies of Famous Americans*. Ed. by Norman Kiell. NY: Twayne, 1964.

Wyatt, F. and Wilcox, W. B. "Sir Henry Clinton: A Psychological Exploration in History." *William and Mary Quarterly* ser 3 16 (Jan, 1959): 3-26.

Young, Michael and Willmott, Peter. *Family and Kinship in East London*. NY: Humanities Press, Inc., 1957.

Zeligs, Meyer A. *Friendship to Fratricide: An Analysis of Whitaker Chambers and Alger Hiss*. NY: Viking Press, 1967.

Zilboorg, Gregory. *The Passing of the Old Order in Europe*. NY: T. Seltzer, 1920.

Zink, Harold. "A Case Study of a Political Boss." *Psychiatry* 1 (1938): 527-33.

VI. ASIA

Adatia, M. D. "Child-Parent Relationship." *Journal of Indian Medical Profession* 4 (1958): 2081-83; 2089.

All India Educational Conference on Human Affairs, 16th. *The Influence of the Home on the Child*. Udipi, India, 1944.

Alpert, Augusta. "Dasgupta Jnanendra: Behavior Problems of School Children." *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 18 (1949): 393-94.

Behramji, Malabara. *Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood in India*. Reprint of 1887 ed. Ann Arbor, Mich.: The Finch Press, n.d.

Benedict, Ruth Fulton. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. Boston, 1946.

Bose, Nirmal Kumar. "Some Facts of Psychoanalytic Interest of Gandhiji's Life." *Samsika* 6 (1952): 163-75.

Bychowski, Gustav. "A Brief Visit to India: Observations and Psychoanalytic Implications." *American Imago* 25 no. 1 (1968): 59-76.

Caudill, William and Helen Weinstein. "Maternal Care and Infant Behavior in Japan and America." *Psychiatry* 32 (1969): 12-43.

Choisy, Maryse. "Gandhi dans le monde Modern." *Psyche*, Paris 3 (1948): 2-12.

Droppers, Garrett. "The Population of Japan in the Tokugawa Period." *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* XXI (1894): 253-84.

Embree, Ainslie T. "Studies in Indian History." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 no. 4 (1972): 477-82.

Erikson, Erik H. "Gandhi's Autobiography: The Leader as a Child." *The American Scholar* (Autumn, 1966).

———. *Gandhi's Truth*. NY: Norton, 1969.

Fisher, Margaret and Sutherland, J. D. "Gandhi: A Psychoanalytic View." *American Historical Review* 76 (1971): 1104-115.

Freedman, Maurice, ed. *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1970.

Friedman, Lawrence. "Japan and the Psychopathology of History." *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 37 (1968): 539-64.

Frost, Peter K. "Men of Meiji: The Possibility of Japanese Psychobiography." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, III (1973): 581-584.

Grazia, Sebastian de. "Mahatma Gandhi: The Son of His Mother." *Political Quarterly* 19 (1948): 336-48.

Gupta, G. R. *Marriage, Religion and Society: Tradition and Change in an Indian Village*. NY: Halsted Press, 1973.

Gupta, N. N. "Influence of Hindu Culture and Social Customs on Psychosomatic Disease in India." *Psychosomatic Review* 18 (1956): 506-10.

Haring, Douglas G. "Japanese National Character: Cultural Anthropology, Psychoanalysis, and History." In *Personal Character and Cultural Milieu*. Ed. by Douglas G. Harding. Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1956.

- Honjo, Eijiro. "The Population and its Problems in the Tokugawa Era." *Bulletin de l'Institut International de Statistique* XXV no. 2 (1931): 60-82.
- Howes, John F. "Uchimura Kanzo: Japanese Prophet." In Dankwart A. Rustow, ed., *Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership*. NY: George Braziller, 1970: 180-207.
- Hsu, Francis L. K. *Under the Ancestors' Shadow: Chinese Culture and Personality*. NY, 1948.
- Ishii, Ryoichi. *Population Pressure and Economic Life in Japan*. London, 1937.
- Jones, Kenneth W. "Anxiety and Identity: The Creation of a Hindu Consciousness," paper read at the annual convention of the American Historical Assoc. Dec. 28, 1974, at Chicago, Ill.
- Kapru, Promilla. *Marriage and the Working Woman in India*. Mystic, Conn.: Verry, Lawrence, Inc., 1970.
- Keddie, Nikki R. "Sayyid Jamal ad-Din 'al-Afghani': A Case of Post humous Charisma? In Dankwart A. Rustow, ed., *Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership*. NY: George Braziller, 1970: 148-79.
- Kondo, Akihisa. "Intuition in Zen Buddhism." *American Journal of Psychoanalysis* 12 (1952): 10-14.
- Lanham, Betty. "Aspects of Child Care in Japan: Preliminary Report." In *Personal Character and Cultural Milieu*. Ed. by Douglas G. Haring. Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1956.
- Lifton, R. J. "Individual Patterns and Historical Change: Imagery of Japanese Youth." *Journal of Social Issues* 20 (1964): 96-111.
- . *Revolutionary Immortality: Mao-Tse-tung and the Chinese Cultural Revolution*. NY: Vintage, 1968.
- . *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism: A Study of "Brainwashing in China"*. NY: Norton, 1963.
- Madan, Kashmir T. N. *Family and Kinship: A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir*. NY: Asia Publishing House, Inc., 1965.
- Masson-Oursel, Paul. "Gandhi Assassiné." *Psyché-Paris* 3 (1948): 13-14.
- Maupin, Edward W. "Zen Buddhism: A Psychological Review." *Journal of Consult. Psychology* 26 (1962): 362-78.
- Moloney, James C. *Understanding the Japanese Mind*. NY: Greenwood Press, 1968.
- Moor, Edward. *Hindu Infanticide*. London, 1811.
- Muensterberger, Warner. "Orality and Dependence: Characteristics of Southern Chinese." *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences* 3, 1951.
- Norbeck, Edward and Margaret. "Child Training in a Japanese Fishing Community." In *Personal Character and Cultural Milieu*. Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1956.
- Palâtre, P. *L'Infanticide et l'oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance en Chine*. Shanghai, 1878.
- Panigrahi, Lalita. *British Social Policy and Female Infanticide in India*. New Delhi, 1972.
- Ping-ti, Ho. *Studies in the Population of China, 1368-1953*. Cambridge, Mass., 1959.
- Pomper, Philip. Review Essay of Erik H. Erikson's 'Gandhi's Truth.' " NY: W. W. Norton & Co., 1969. *History and Theory* 9 (1970): 202-09.
- Pye, Lucien W. *Politics, Personality and Nation Building: Burma's Search for Identity*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1962.
- . *The Spirit of Chinese Politics: A Psychocultural Study of the Authority of Crisis in Political Development*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1968.
- Raddock, David M. "Growing Up in New China: A Twist in the Circle of Filial Piety." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2 (1974): 201-20.
- Rustow, Dankwart A. "Atatürk as Founder of a State." In Dankwart A. Rustow, ed., *Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership*. NY: Braziller, 1970: 208-47.

- Schneiderman, Leo. "Ramakrishna: Personality and Social Factors in the Growth of a Religious Movement." *J. for Scientific Study of Rel.* 8 (1969): 60-81.
- Sidel, Ruth. *Women and Child Care in China*. NY: Hill and Wang, 1972.
- Sikkema, Mildred. "Observations on Japanese Early Child Training." *Psychiatry* 10 (1947): 423-32.
- Srya, Subhash, C. *Infant and Child Care for the Indian Mother*. NY: International Publications Service, 1970.
- Taeuber, Irene B. *The Population of Napan*. Princeton, 1958.
- Tseng, Weu-Shing. "The Conflict of Personality in Confucian Thought." *Psychiatry* 36 (1973): 191-202.
- Wilson, John. *History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India*. Bombay, 1855.
- Wolf, Arthur P. "Childhood Association, Sexual Attraction and the Incest Taboo: A Chinese Case." *American Anthropologist* 68 (1966): 882-894.
- Wolf, Margery. "Child Training and the Chinese Family." In *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*. Ed. by Maurice Freedman. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1970.
- . *The House of Lim: A Study of a Chinese Farm Family*. NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968.
- . *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan*. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1972.
- Wright, Arthur F. "Sui Yang-Ti: Personality and Stereotype." In *Confucianism and Chinese Civilization*. Ed. by Arthur F. Wright. NY: Antheneum, 1965.

Faye Sinofsky received her B.A. in history from U.C.L.A. and her M.S. in Library Science from the University of Southern California.

John J. Fitzpatrick is a psychohistorian with a Ph.D. from the History Department of the University of California, Berkeley, and is presently an Advanced Scholar at the Menninger Foundation studying psychiatry and psychoanalysis. He is revising his dissertation for publication, a psychobiography of Hiram W. Johnson, governor and senator from California.

Louis W. Potts received his Ph.D. at Duke University, and is now an assistant Professor of History at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, and he is presently working on a psychobiography of the American revolutionary Arthur Lee.

Lloyd deMause is Editor of this Journal.

The authors also wish to thank Patrick Dunn and George Kren for additional entries to this bibliography.

This bibliography will be published in hard cover with other material, including a subject index, as Psychohistory: A Bibliographic Guide by Garland Publishing by the fall of this year.

REVIEW
ARTICLE

Primal Therapy and Psychohistory

HENRY
EBEL

Arthur Janov, *The Primal Scream*. New York: Dell Publishing Company (Delta Book paperback), 1970. 446 pp. \$2.95.

Arthur Janov, *The Feeling Child: Preventing Neurosis in Children*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973. 286 pp. \$7.95.

Primal Community (published by the International Primal Association), Volume 1 Number 1: Summer 1974. Durham, Connecticut. 48 pp. \$2.50 per copy, \$8.00 per year.

A man is lying, fully clothed, on the bed in his apartment. He is alone, and he is about to have a "primal". He senses that "something" is about to happen, but typically he is not sure of what it will be. There is a feeling of tension, a feeling radiating upward from spine and bowel toward the base and then into the body of the brain. Then the "primal" strikes with full force. His body is straightened as if by an invisible hand: it becomes rigid, hands clenched at the sides, spine slightly arched. The invisible hand tips his head upward and back, bringing the base of the skull closer to the top of the spinal column. Most often this is the moment at which his mouth opens to an impossibly wide stretch and there issues from it the contorted roar or scream so characteristic of "primalling". But today is different. The force of the "primal" rises en-

tirely into the brain. The sensation is of right lobe and left lobe literally pulling apart. His face contorts, widens, splits in two—he feels his mouth stretch to left and right and knows, with the curious onlooker's lucidity that is also part of the process, that behind closed lids he has gone wall-eyed. From ear to forehead and from cheek to cheek, brain and face and head are being pulled apart until even he, with a year of "primalling" behind him, fears that his skull will split, so intensely do its contents seem to be pushing at it from the inside. When the pressure seems to have reached its highest point of conceivable intensity, it intensifies again. His back has lifted clear of the bed, his body is supported in its arched position by head and heels only, and his brain feels like burning napalm. The process continues for five minutes. Then his body slowly subsides. He feels left lobe and right "grow together" again, and, as a veteran of many comparable experiences, understands that at the age of 35 he will finally begin to achieve the integrated functioning, the harmony of right-lobe feeling and left-lobe analytic power, that has eluded him all his life.

That evening, still a trifle shaky from his experience, he goes to hear an acquaintance deliver a talk on "primal therapy" at a New York psychoanalytic institute. The speaker is a therapist who has spontaneously begun to apply the "primal" process to his work with his patients, and he is going to try to convince his colleagues that the technique works. Most of his colleagues can barely conceal their hostility and disdain. When he shows videotapes of one of his patients thrashing and roaring in a characteristic "primal", their mutterings get louder. "Certainly a lot easier than working on the transference," one of them sneers in an Olympic whisper. "Abreactive," hisses her companion. The discussion that follows the videotape is mostly a disaster. There is an exaggerated suspiciousness in the air, the brimstone odor of the witch-hunter poking about with his needle for the secret spot that will identify a minion of Satan. Though he has been invited to a post-lecture get-together, our protagonist, his brain barely recovered from the day's experience, slips away as soon as he can and sends the speaker a note to explain his behavior.

The protagonist is me.

* * *

There is really only one fact worth knowing about the "primal" process. It works, and nearly everything that Arthur Janov has to say about it is true. And to those who persist in believing, or in claiming to believe, that it is all an over-rated fraud or just another quack form of instant mental health, one can do no better than to quote the heraldic motto of the British royal family: *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, which can be rendered in free translation as "If you're sorry, don't blame me."

The time has come to pass onward from trying to convert the unconvertible and to ask what the implications of the "primal" process

are for, for example, the history of childhood and the future of the human race. And the first question worth asking, in my opinion, is whether the process first fully described by Arthur Janov was in fact discovered by him—with some spadework by Wilhelm Reich and the Gestalt school—or whether he has merely resurrected an archaic technique for the attainment of mental health.

Let me suggest to you, therefore, that you go as soon as possible to a good library, and study every account or illustration you can find of the process once called "exorcism". Ignore, if possible, the black and winged devils shown emerging from the possessed person—usually from his or her mouth—and observe instead the posture of the body, or the literary description of the possessed person's behavior. If you give my suggestion a fair trial, and keep one eye on books like *The Primal Scream* and *The Feeling Child*, I believe it will be difficult for you not to agree that the "primalling" process is closely related to what the authors of the New Testament and the folk of the Middle Ages designated as an "exorcism".

Need we stop there, however? Here is a passage from Plato's dialogue *Ion*, in which the professional reciter of Homer responds to Socrates' question concerning the impact of his recitations on his audience:

As I look down at them from the stage above, I see them, every time, weeping, casting terrible glances, stricken with amazement at the deeds recounted. In fact, I have to give them very close attention, for if I set them weeping, I myself shall laugh when I get my money, but if they laugh, it is I who have to weep at losing it.

In other words, it is pure projection on our part to imagine that a Greek audience listened to Homer the way you or I might watch a performance of *Hello Dolly!* When the Greeks listened to Homer—and, quite conceivably, when they observed a performance of Attic tragedy—they "primalled". It is this and this alone that Aristotle is trying to convey in his formulation concerning the catharsis of pity and terror; and it is no accident that the New Testament adjective for evil spirits is *akathartois*, "those who are unclean, those who have not yet been expelled."

What Arthur Janov has resurrected is truly—to quote his controversial subtitle to *The Primal Scream*—"the cure for neurosis." And since Janov currently seems as interested in litigation as in therapy (he goes to court to sue anyone who is not a graduate of his Primal Institute and has the temerity to use the registered trademark "Primal Therapy") it is a good thing that an International Primal Association has been formed that is independent of his control. Indeed, I will now let a large cat out of my well-stuffed bag and say outright that it is possible to "primal" with no therapist at all once you get the hang of it. I have been doing it

myself for two years, and hope you will believe that my family and friends find me, so to speak, a different person.

Of course there are dangers in being a "self-primaller," and every reader of Janov is regaled with anecdotes about those who—particularly when they experienced their first "primal" under the impact of *Cannabis Sativa* or LSD—underwent psychotic breakdowns and, in some cases, near death. This is the basis for Dr. Janov's oft-repeated warning, monotonously reasserted in every issue of his magazine and every book he publishes, that "Primal Therapy" is dangerous unless it happens to be undertaken at Doctor Janov's Institute in Los Angeles or under the supervision of one of its trainees. Since the fees payable at the Institute and charged by its graduates are affordable, especially under current conditions, by about 1% of the American and .0001% of the world population, we are clearly at some kind of an impasse here. *Either* careful "self-primalling" is going to be undertaken by many people, *or* someone is going to have to start subsidizing this form of therapy for the bulk of the world's people, *or* we are going to go on lurching downhill to Armageddon. So everyone must decide for himself or herself the intricate question of risks, finances and opportunities. It would certainly be imprudent to begin "self-primalling" without having a trustworthy person within earshot—and a trustworthy person in this case is one who has been through and is familiar with the forms that "primalling" can take. On the other side of the ledger I must place my own firm conclusion that the patients whom Janov has been dismissing for many years as fully cured cannot possibly be the healthy specimens they *believe* themselves to be—though they are of course infinitely healthier than when they began. The daily "primals" I have today, though less violent and overt than those I began with in January 1973, are still of the greatest significance as therapy; and clearly no one could afford to have a therapist in attendance, or to subsidize his presence, for such a length of time. So the "primal" wave of the future may be a combination of (1) a standard therapeutic setting to get things started, followed by (2) a regimen of "self-primalling" pursued with at least the interest and avidity we devote to the daily newspaper and the latest movies.

"Primalling"—or, if you prefer, "exorcism"—is the cure for neurosis. Since it is neurosis that is about to kill us all (surely that forefinger on the red button does not belong to a well person), we have the honor, you and I, to live in the most interesting of all historical periods. The race is on between health and death. As the Jews say: *Lechayim!*

* * *

While we are awaiting the decision as to whether we shall live or die, what lessons can we learn from Arthur Janov, and particularly from *The Feeling Child*?

The first and most important lesson, it seems to me, is the one that might also be called the final step of the Freudian Revolution. Freud himself never succeeded in penetrating very far beyond the Oedipal threshold of human experience, the stage of our development roughly correlative with the ages of three, four, five, or six. Melanie Klein, that great and greatly underappreciated genius, carried us back to the earliest weeks and months of human development, though with an inevitable margin of error in her assessment of the entirely pre-verbal stages of our development. Joseph Rheingold, the comparative unavailability of whose books (both published in the 1960's) is one of our major publishing scandals, established in his admirably thorough and solid way that maternal hostility is not only a far more prevalent cause of mental illness than anyone had previously dared to suspect, but that it may also be experienced during prenatal life. Janov has capped and consummated all of these advances by demonstrating, quite beyond a shadow of a doubt, that prenatal and early-infant experiences are traumatically imprinted on the total organism of the individual, that these earliest traumata are the true foundations for the neurotic layers of personality first explored by Freud, and that they can be dismantled only through the "primalling" process.

From Arthur Janov we learn, therefore, that no one should allow himself—and more importantly, *herself*—to have a child until they are quite certain that they have most of their "primalling" safely behind them.

A second lesson has to do with our conventional wisdom on the subject of prenatal life. In their enthusiasm for instantaneous and widespread abortion, our cultural leaders have allowed themselves to make unsupported statements about the life of the fetus that they may some day have cause to regret. Janov's work confirms what we might reasonably guess: that the life of the fetus is a life of intense sensation and feeling. Since feeling, as Janov's title suggests, is what we degree-laden and articulate grown-ups so conspicuously lack, abortion is not only a form of murder. It is the slaughter of the healthy by the depraved.

What makes *The Feeling Child* the richest and most useful of Janov's books to date is its systematic organization. It takes us from the prenatal experiences and traumas of the individual through birth, breast-feeding, early infancy, and into considerations—like childhood sexuality—that overlap somewhat (but always reinforce and enrich) the comparable discussions in *The Primal Scream*. A paragraph from Chapter Nine, "Long-Range Effects of Early Experience," summarizes neatly the scope of the volume:

What we need to understand is that life in the uterus begins our orientation to the world. We are already receptive-perceptive be-

ings in the womb and if it is a comfortable place, then our initial life orientation after birth may be a positive one. If it is uncomfortable, if the mother is chronically tense, has a fast or irregular heartbeat, jerky movements, and smokes and drinks and takes drugs, then the fetus has an unconscious orientation that the world and life is unsafe and not to be trusted. This *in utero* experience, plus a harsh birth process and lack of proper handling in the first few months, solidifies an inchoate orientation that began in the womb. It will be conceptualized later when the child can form concepts, and his ideas will be "No one can be trusted. The world is a rotten place," etc. All these so-called paranoid ideas have real roots—in the real experiences of the child dating back to his uterine life.

As this passage suggests, *The Feeling Child* has the same ambivalent ecstatic/depressive impact as Janov's earlier writings. The sheer extent of the assault mounted against the child from gestation through schooling, the war waged against its feelings by every technique from an "I-will-not-change-my-lifestyle-an-iota" pregnancy through oral frustration through the silent hostility that interdicts any show of anger or frustration, never ceases to dishearten me, particularly when I see the Janovian outlook confirmed each day in the elevators, streets and schools that I frequent. In this sense, a nice companion piece to *The Primal Scream* and *The Feeling Child* would be Bradley F. Smith's *Himmler: A Nazi in the Making*, with its chilling portrait of an utterly overcontrolled and rigidified child whose diaries and correspondence are not its own, whose utterances and judgments are those of an elderly courtier, and whose passion for order at any price is nearly American in intensity.

* * *

What I have written up to this point will strike you, I hope, as novel, unusual, interesting, and perhaps even relevant to your own life. I find it somewhat lacking, however, in the feeling of true contemporaneity, and would therefore like to quote from a legal document that has recently come into my hands.

This document is a *process* or "Notice of Motion" in the case of *Schwartz vs. Ebel*, Superior Court of New Jersey (Chancery Division: Bergen County), Docket No. M-336-71. Plaintiff in this case demands "that a hearing be held to determine the defendant's fitness to conduct continued unrestricted visitation of the infant child of the marriage"—that is to say, of the plaintiff's *former* marriage—and that the defendant be forced by the court "to undergo a complete psychiatric examination and the aforesaid psychiatrist to report to the Court and to counsel as to the results of said evaluation." Reading over this document—which, let me say, is replete with interest—I find a plangent passage upon which little comment is needed:

[Defendant] regularly reprimands [the infant child] in a way which she regards as stern and threatening for not "expressing her feelings". [Plaintiff] has asked her whether she knew what he meant by that and she has always said "no". [Plaintiff] has asked her repeatedly whether she could not ask him to explain his point. She has consistently said that she was afraid to. She is consistently very upset by her father's charge.

In the struggle to make the world better for our children, and thereby to enable them to make a better world, we must be prepared for some severe discouragements. The worst of these is to find—though 75 years of psychoanalytic experience should prepare us for the shock—that a child of seven or eight can already be "bound" into the dead end of neurosis. And at a time when the overt brutalization of children has become somewhat unfashionable, and when the American passion for appearances has substituted the appearance of "happiness" for the appearance of moral rectitude, childhood neurosis increasingly takes the form of what Dr. Helm Stierlin calls "Pseudo-Mutuality":

In pseudo-mutuality, only warm, loving, supportive feelings are tolerated and expressed. The [family] members often hold each other's hands and exude mutual concern and care. Even in their individual Rorschach responses . . . they see only nice, cuddly, "cute" animals, babies, and people, populating a Pollyannish "Disneyland". These families massively dissociate hostile, angry, and other "negative" feelings which therefore remain unavailable for examination and integration into each member's and the family's image.¹

Confronted with such an actuality, even that traditional therapeutic horror the "double-bind" pales into insignificance. For what Dr. Stierlin describes in his calm and humane prose is a true apocalypse of inauthenticity, and one that—unlike a "nervous breakdown"—successfully deflects from itself the already half-hearted attention of our Disneyland society.

Yet the struggle for sanity must continue. And the highest heroism can only emerge when the cause seems lost.

* * *

Finally, I cannot resist observing that there is an admirable convergence between the work of Arthur Janov and the achievements of that jovial and courageous pioneer, Lloyd deMause, the editor-in-chief of this journal. Janov therapeutically and deMause psychohistorically have placed the hard floor of fact under the earlier psychoanalytic assumption that what we are and do as adults—and, more significantly, what is *done* to us—is determined not in the Pentagon or the Kremlin but in the cradle and the womb. A thought worth remembering when the train

pulls into our destined Auschwitz, when an eerie light shines forth on the horizon, or when the bullets rip us apart.

Henry Ebel is Associate Professor in the Division of Humanities of Richmond College, C.U.N.Y., and is author of After Dionysus and Odyssey Through the Dead Land.

REFERENCE

1. Helm Stierlin, *Family Theory: An Introduction* (n.d.). Reprinted from *Operational Theories of Personality*, edited by Arthur Burton (New York, 1974).



The Institute for Psychohistory

2315 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10024
(212)873-3331
Lloyd deMause, Director

The Institute for Psychohistory announces its

First Summer Workshop

A three-day intensive workshop in psychobiography,
group psychohistory, psychoanalytic theory,
and the history of childhood.

July 22, 23 and 24, 1975

Registration and materials fee: \$75.00

Scholars, therapists and students of all disciplines are invited to attend, and will be accepted in the order of receipt of the registration fee made payable to The Institute for Psychohistory.

BOOK



REVIEWS

Psychological Needs and Political Behavior. Stanley Allen Renshon, New York: The Free Press, 1974, xiv + 300 pp.

Reviewed by Martin Birnbach,
San Jose State University

Modern American political behaviorism fits in well with the Cold War. The alleged challenge of communism has seemed to necessitate our finding within ourselves the psychic wherewithal to sustain the values associated with what we call democracy. Political scientists, by developing an ego psychology to supplant the id psychology of Freud and his orthodox followers, could at long last exert influence on public policy by purposive research. The consequences of this development have been profound for American social science, if not for our fortunes in the Cold War.

As early as 1951 Harold D. Lasswell, the *doyen* of American political scientists, signalled the message for his discipline in *Democratic Character*.¹ Democratic values, he wrote, included broad participation in political decision-making, respect toward individuals, responsibility for "perfecting a free society," and called for such character traits as being friendly, not hostile toward others, restraining one's criticism and hatred of others, and denying affection only to behavior detrimental to democracy. Taking his cue from Aristotle, who taught that a constitution is sustained by citizens who have characters congenial to its principles, Lasswell explored the attributes of the democratic character and found character to be centered on a stable ego unencumbered by a hyperactive id or superego. Character, to him, consisted of the self-system, a concept he borrowed from Harry Stack Sullivan, plus the unconscious. It preserved itself by adapting to circumstances, the circumstances consisting essentially of interpersonal relations which operated

as stimulus and response. Empirical observation would enable us to predict behavior.

Thus political scientists could develop criteria of good citizenship, label deviations as subversive (or, in polite terminology, pathological), and design political institutions which would elicit the appropriate behavior. The type of citizenship Lasswell desired turned on ego strength and stability, as evidenced by behavior. The ego of the democratic character, he postulated, is open and friendly toward all humanity, it shared values instead of hoarding them or seeking power (power-seekers being inconsistent with "our basic concept of human dignity"), it trusts people, and, perhaps most important of all, the ego prevails over the unconscious. Pathological behavior included lust for power, exorbitant demands for respect, sexual demands, self-righteousness, avarice, hypochondria, preoccupation with technique or with knowledge, and an unruly unconscious. As for evoking appropriate behavior, Lasswell would direct destructive energies against enemies of democracy and go as far as reconstructing civilization itself by directing indulgences toward pro-democrats and deprivations toward others, this notwithstanding the stresses of international conflict. National surveys of trends in national character would buttress democracy further.²

Thus by a slight conceptual revision, ego psychology has changed surreptitiously into behaviorism. (Perhaps they never were very far apart anyway.) Concomitantly, an instrument of therapy is transformed into a science for inducing preferred behavior. A healing art is converted into an instrument of national policy.

This is a far cry from the application of psychoanalytic psychology to politics with which Lasswell made his professional debut in 1930. In *Psychopathology and Politics* Lasswell reported, on the basis of a score of case histories, that the typical politician was motivated principally by unconscious unresolved conflicts and had unwittingly entered politics seeking substitute, or symbolic, gratification of repressed sexual urges. The three political types—agitator, administrator, and theorist—represented fixations of character at pre-genital phases of psychosexual development; normal, or healthy, politicians were conspicuous by their absence. Politics therefore consisted of a phantasmagoria of delusive and ultimately futile quests for fulfillment of anti-social instincts as these careers unravelled themselves; public policy was no more than a series of rationalizations for unconscious urges. As a remedy, Lasswell proposed a politics of prevention which would be directed at reducing the level of tension in the community so as not to precipitate these aimless excursions into confusion, though he was unable to specify major institutional changes in American society which would have that effect. At any rate, this was a psychology of the unconscious plain and simple, and the consequences for political life wrought by a repressive civilization were laid bare as never before or since.³ The threat to democracy inherent in such a political system also was apparent. There is not much of a professional future in intoning the jeremiads of a political system predicated on illusion, and the political

uses of orthodox Freudian psychology evidently had reached their limit at the outset. New psychological teachings subsequently came to Lasswell's attention. So did the Cold War.

I have gone into Harold Lasswell's thought at such length because Lasswell is the bellwether of American political scientists. He was president of the American Political Science Association in 1955-56, is the political scientist named most often by his confreres as the one who has made the most significant contributions to his profession and is one of the three indisputable all-time luminaries of American political science.⁴ In praising Lasswell, his colleagues have been applauding themselves. The conceptual orientations he has advocated, culminating in behavioral research, have brought forth a veritable tidal wave of studies employing or resting on ego psychology.⁵ The new dispensation has engulfed American political science for the past quarter-century or more. It has several advantages, both practical and theoretical, which can promote both national security and professional research.

Strategically, it means that American democracy's problems originate abroad, not at home. The need is for military defense, not for basic reform domestically. Economically, it can be assumed that American capitalism (sometimes tacitly equated with democracy) is working well and that we need no major redistributions of wealth or property, or substantial modifications of class structure. Competition, individualism, the cult of success, a pecuniary measure of value, the alienating influence of the work routine—such economic factors can be deemed irrelevant to the generation of mental illness or strained interpersonal relations. Socially, one can rest assured that our institutions, such as the family, the educational system, religious establishments, race relations, and so forth, are sound and make no notable contribution to mental illness or crime or other manifestations of social morbidity. Those can be attributed to cranks or subversives or, alternatively, to ill-controlled unconscious forces that immature, unstable adults have not gotten out of their systems. To put it more briefly, social unrest is tantamount to bad citizenship and can be met by deprivations directed toward untutored egos. Politically, traditional and nondisruptive political activity, such as voting and supporting interest groups, can be named acceptable public behavior, while demonstrations, strikes, and sit-ins can be branded as inconsistent with democratic citizenship, for the former represents ego functioning and the latter represents emotional outbursts to be equated with infantile spasms of destructiveness. A good citizen, by using conventional democratic political institutions, in effect casts a vote of confidence in our country, and our political system validates itself by eliciting widespread participation by responsible citizens. I'm OK, you're OK.

Therapeutically, treatment can center on facilitating the ego's adjustment to the world—promoting its reality-testing capacities, in the euphemism of the literature—instead of persisting in the arduous, exhausting task of raising unconscious emotions to the conscious level and dealing with them as parts of a changing personality. An added attrac-

tion is not having to cope with the enigmatic phenomena of dreams, fantasies, parapraxes, and other vagaries of dynamic psyches. Two other bonuses can be super-added. Therapists and others can avoid the messy businesses of sexuality, toilet-training, and Oedipal conflicts. Second, researchers can play objective scientists, detached observers, without having to participate in anyone's psychic adventures or vibrate emotionally to people. But the biggest pay-off has been methodological. No need now to pursue data through prolonged, not to say interminable, procedures which by their very nature almost preclude adequate written records. The empirical researcher can resort to interviews long or short, written communications, content analysis of printed matter, public opinion assessments, and questionnaires. Their authenticity can be gauged by the canons of statistics rather than by emotional veracity. Data can be quantified, amassed rapidly, and processed impersonally by a sort of psychological strip-mining. True, the yield may be dross as well as ore, but it has been enough to support industries and empires of scholarship.

Stanley Allen Renshon, who teaches political science at CUNY, apparently is oblivious to all this. Yet the direction of his work and the results he reports are entirely consistent with it even though Lasswell receives no mention in his book. Renshon explores what he calls the need for personal control, the "desire to have some control over the people, events, and processes that impact upon and shape our lives" and the political consequences of that (p. 1). He finds persistent references to such a need in the literature of psychology and he verified it in interviews with a random sample of 300 University of Pennsylvania undergraduates engaged in political activity in 1971. Some of the responses evinced attitudes whose generation Renshon imputes to childhood experiences. This is as close to the unconscious as Renshon's study probes, and it is closer than others of its kind. Essentially the concept of the need for personal control is a modification of the concept of political efficacy, an attitude which impels people to participate in politics because they believe they will be effective in influencing politics. When the political system becomes salient, that is, when it is perceived to be important in one's daily life, a belief in the sufficiency of one's personal control turns into action, Renshon maintains. That belief is generated in early family life, which develops the ego during experiences with adults in satisfying one's biological needs, notably hunger (see especially pp. 60-64). Thus a good citizen is one who has a strong ego and validates it by engaging successfully in specified types of political behavior. In Renshon's view, this augurs well for democracy, which is predicated on high rates of citizen participation and on satisfying citizens. In his words,

... if it is true that people do have a need to control their life-space and if it can be empirically documented that a system which both allows for such control and is responsive to it will have the least alienated and most satisfied citizens, then the desirability of

that form of government over other forms from the standpoint of the individual citizen will have received some substantiation. (pp. 87-88.)

The bulk of the book is devoted to supplying some of that documentation.

Not surprisingly, Renshon reports that according to his sample people with high personal control have strong faith in government, are happier, evaluate government as effective, find government outputs rewarding (rather than punishing), have low attitudes of alienation, are patient in awaiting political results, enjoy political participation more, and accept such conventional forms of political activity as voting, being informed, and giving money, and eschew law-breaking and violence. People with low personal control are the opposite in all these respects and have proclivities toward mass demonstrations and picketing and are not so averse to sit-ins and law-breaking as political tactics. While Renshon did not intend his book to be conclusive, but rather to provide a model for future research, he claims some justification for the success of our democratic system. If his work is corroborated,

then an excellent self-interest argument (from the point of view of the political system) for a government that encourages the widest possible participation and governmental responsiveness will have been made. For, if it is true that people need to have personal control, and are more personally and politically satisfied when they have it, then the implications for democratic and participatory theory are clear. In this sense the need for personal control that lies within each of us is the foundation of democratic theory; in both practice and theoretical justification [sic]. (pp. 244-45)

This is an important book. Renshon is conversant with behavioral research and he understands the relevance of his work to broader goals of public policy. He is at pains to explain his material to the layman—though I confess I was awed occasionally by the language of statistics. If I may be pardoned an unflattering figure of speech, reading the book is like witnessing a bank-robbery at noon in slow-motion. More than any other study I have read, this book reveals the *modus operandi* of contemporary American political analysis, and I recommend it heartily on that account. At the risk of appearing ungrateful, let me register one or two reservations.

I should think that anyone who imagined he/she could exert "some control over the people, events, and processes that impact upon and shape our lives" by voting for Richard M. Nixon in 1972, with less than \$100,000 to give it force and direction, was living in a fool's paradise. Then too, correlating political alienation with low feelings of personal control (p. 170) is taking too simplistic a view of the matter. If I had space, I think I could argue that political alienation is a far more intelli-

gent orientation toward public life than many commentators seem to believe. It would be helpful also to know what kind of people 300 University of Pennsylvania undergraduates represent, for otherwise we are left to assume that social differentiation either does not exist in this country or is irrelevant as a determining factor.

More serious than these, and perhaps of more interest to readers of this Journal, Renshon's understanding of childhood experiences leaves a good deal to be desired. It is taking a lot for granted to assert that "Unlike other species, the human child is brought into the world totally unprepared to take care of itself" (p. 59) and to contend that a child depends for survival on adjusting to the feeding schedule his/her parents use. And while Renshon denies that feeding habits are the only mode by which an infant relates to the world, it appears that all modes come down to adjustment and that adjustment is mainly a cognitive function. It is hard to avoid the inference that in research models of this kind, children are presumed to be so many salivating puppies, to be stimulated into whatever responses adults desire, and that the emotional residue—in both generations—is in no way significant to anyone's psychic development. My own experience of the subject is very small, for I have been through childhood only once, so far, but numerous alert parents have told me that their children very soon discover the efficacy of their crying, kicking, choking, gurgling, and cooing in eliciting the adult behavior they need, if not want. I doubt that our species could have lasted more than a few generations otherwise. As to the notion that a child orients him-/herself to the social environment primarily by cognitive, or intellectual, methods, and emerges from infancy with a set of beliefs, as opposed to a more or less unsorted congeries of feelings pasted together by beliefs, one need only scan the histories of blasted personalities and warping institutions recorded in every number of this Journal to find ample evidence to the contrary. Conrad, neither political scientist nor psychologist, saw to the heart of the matter when he said: "For the use of reason is to justify the obscure desires that move our conduct, impulses, passions, prejudices and follies, and also our fears."⁶ More concise are Dostoevsky's words: "Why, suffering is the sole origin of consciousness."⁷

REFERENCES

1. Harold D. Lasswell, *Democratic Character*, in *Political Writings of Harold D. Lasswell* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 463-525. The ensuing quotations are from pp. 477 and 498.
2. See Lasswell's *Power and Personality* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1948) for an adumbration of many of these ideas, and his *National Security and Individual Freedom* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950) for an estimate of the limitations on individual freedom that may have to be accepted in the "garrison-police state" for national security during the Cold War.
3. See Chapters 7 and 8 of my *Neo-Freudian Social Philosophy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961) for an explication.
4. Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, *American Political Science: A Profile of a*

- Discipline* (New York: Atherton Press, 1964), pp. 67, 65.
5. See the excellent bibliography of the book presently under review for a sampling. For more, see the articles collected in Fred I. Greenstein and Michael Lerner, Eds., *A Source Book for the Study of Personality and Politics* (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1971) (the volume is dedicated to Lasswell), and Heinz Eulau, et al., Eds., *Political Behavior* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956), especially the bibliography. Beyond these, almost any number of almost any political science journal of the last 25 years will do.
 6. *Victory* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1957), p. 68.
 7. *Notes from the Underground*, in Avram Yarmolinsky, Ed., *Three Short Novels of Dostoevsky*, tr. by Constance Garnett (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1960), p. 209.

Erich Fromm, *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), xiii + 521 pp.

Reviewed by George M. Kren,
Kansas State University

Psychology, like other expressions of a culture, possesses an historicity which allows it to shift according to new situations and perceived needs. The problem of sexual repression which formed such a central core of early Freudian writings was a major concern to the generation which reached maturity before 1914. As a primary problem it became outdated, at least as far as Europe and the United States are concerned. In the 1940's the central problem was the existence of fascism and national socialism—and among the most significant and important psychological works of that period were Adorno's *The Authoritarian Personality* and Erich Fromm's *Escape from Freedom*. During the height of the cold war and Macarthyism in the fifties, questions of meaning and value became important; it is out of that climate that Erik Erickson's concept of identity crisis—expressing a central concern of many of that generation—was born.

Erich Fromm, perhaps more so than any psychoanalytically oriented writer, has always attempted to respond explicitly to the immediate situation and is always engaged with contemporary problems.¹

Fromm's first work in English, *Escape from Freedom*, was in a sense his contribution to the fight against fascism and to the war effort. In this—in many ways his best work—he attempted to provide an explanation of fascism in general and of German national socialism in particular. The main thesis of the work, which raises themes that are to recur time and time again in Fromm's later writings, is that man has gained a freedom from institutional domination (guild, church, etc.) since the Reformation. But that freedom from has not been matched with a positive freedom to participate in a community, so that in an atomized capitalistic society which lacks any sense of community the individual felt isolated and alienated. As a way of escaping from the unbearable burden of freedom he sought and found security in mass movements which provided purposes, meanings, and which gave direction to the life

of the individual. I recall buying the work as an 18-year-old private first class in the American Army on leave in London. I remember not only being very impressed by its brilliance, but also finding real satisfaction in the conclusion which I read into it, viz. that the German character was exhibiting all sorts of pathological traits which accounted for Nazism, and an explanation which helped make me feel that being in the army was a legitimate activity since it served a larger valid purpose.

Why was there—neither in Fromm's work nor in any others—not a psychological analysis of aggression and violence, such as marks the subject matter of Fromm's work under review here? Non-psychological explanations for [German] violence were available; German aggression and brutality was sometimes explained as a normal element of German history, as for example in A. J. P. Taylor's summary: "No other people have pursued extermination as a permanent policy from generation to generation for a thousand years; and it is foolish to suppose that they have done so without adding something permanent to their national tradition."² Alternatively German aggression was explained with a more sophisticated semi-Marxist analysis which spoke of German fascism as a compensatory mechanism by which a ruling class used foreign aggression as a way of disguising to the workers that they were being exploited, and whose military foreign conquest was a process which would overcome the inherent contradiction of a capitalistic economy. What was strangely absent from almost all the numerous discussions, despite a steady escalation in the prevailing level of violence and brutality, was any serious analysis about aggression, destructive impulses, sadism and desire for domination based on available psychological and psychoanalytical knowledge.

One explanation, I believe, may be found in the fact that if the focus of the discussion had shifted from specific German or fascist behavior to aggression and violence as such, the legitimacy of the specific kinds of Allied violence would also have been brought into question. For it would be a difficult proposition to maintain that the victims of German bombs in Warsaw and Rotterdam suffered differently than the victims of democratic bombs which reigned down on France and Germany. Nor would the argument that the victims of anti-fascist bombs were guilty and thus deserving of their fate stand up to a serious critical inquiry. If aggression and destructiveness as in bombing of towns and civilian populations is an activity that has psychological dimension, then it would be difficult to maintain that this psychology of destructiveness significantly differed depending on the nationality (or even the ideology) of the bomber.

Yet the climate of prevailing opinion of the forties was such that the legitimacy of the nature and kind of violence used in the pursuit of war against the Axis powers was hardly ever called into question. The only significant questions about the legitimacy of the use of violence that were raised—aside from religious pacifists who, with a few exceptions, tended to argue only that they should be exempt from participation in the war—that I recall came from Norman Thomas's Socialist

party with its ambivalent slogan of "critical support" of the war and the radical political opposition, brilliantly enunciated on the basis of an eclectic ideology of Marxism, anarchism and pacifism by Dwight Macdonald (in his periodical *Politics*). Above all the psychiatric community—so richly augmented by refugees from Hitler's Germany—was politically and psychologically in no position to raise any questions about the nature of violence and indeed strongly and largely [completely?] uncritically supported its unrestrained use.

Why then a major work on violence in the mid 1970's when the level of violence appears to have gone down? Even the worst violence of Vietnam never matched that of Auschwitz, Dresden, and Hiroshima. Not least because in contrast to the 1940's most of the usually liberal psychiatric community disapproved both of the use of violence and the ends for which that violence was used after World War II. The opposition to Vietnam, to the American intervention in the Dominican Republic, to the American "excursions" into Cambodia were after all not only based on a rejection of violence as a means but also on a rejection of the ends to which this violence was directed. At the same time the radical increase in the destructive potential of the available means of violence made it apparent that war, violence, aggression and destructiveness are the central problem for this generation.

Erich Fromm has written a wide-ranging though at times overly long and diffuse work on the nature of aggression and violence which critically reviews various past theoretical explanations and ends up with his own interpretations of causes of violence. In the first instance, Fromm seeks to refute those who hold that propensities for aggression and destructiveness are inherent and instinctive. The view of such an inherent instinct had been developed in the works of K. Lorenz and R. Ardrey; it is conveniently summarized in the beginning of the popular film 2001 where Arthur Clarke finds the origin of man's evolution in aggressive violence: "As his body becomes more and more defenseless, so his means of offense became steadily more frightful. With stone and bronze and iron and steel he had run the gamut of everything that could pierce and slash and quite early in time he had learned how to strike down his victims from a distance. The spear, the bow, the gun and finally the guided missile has given him weapons of infinite range and all but infinite power."³

Fromm connects Lorenz's view with that of Freud, calling both neo-instinctivists. Drawing upon a wide range of evidence from neuropsychology, palentology, anthropology, etc. Fromm argues that the evidence for instinctively determined violence is flawed; that there is an instinct for survival but not for aggression.

Fromm also attacks the Freudian notion of aggression as dammed-up sexual energy. This thesis had been argued by that heretic of the Freudian movement, William Reich, who advocated a radical emancipation of sexual repressions (including specifically encouragement of adolescent sexuality) with the expectation that freeing sexuality would eliminate aggressive and destructive impulses. The slogan "make love not war" is

a very Reichean one and is—unfortunately—not so. Any participant in World War II would testify that love (sex) and war go very well together; Mars and Aphrodite were frequently very intimate with each other. Glen Gray, Jr. in *The Warriors*—one of the very few serious books about war—gives some hints about the erotic nature of war itself.⁴

Fromm explains aggressive and destructive behavior as a response to a perceived threat. He has been one of the earliest opponents of the cold war and had argued that its source is to be found primarily in the American perception of communism as something radically evil which threatens the American way of life. In *May Man Prevail* he argued that the enemy appeared as the embodiment of all evil, and what the evil people felt within themselves was projected on communism.⁵ While without doubt many Americans may have felt that way, the essential dynamic of the cold war of the 1950's is not to be found in popular opinions and attitudes, but rather—as the increasingly available sources are making clear—had its origins in the calculated and explicit aims of policy makers to impose an American order upon much of the world for reasons that at least formally were quite rational, serving specific concrete interests.

It is surprising that childhood experiences as a source for the formation of an aggressive character are not mentioned. The only extended discussion of problems of childhood occurs in an extended footnote in which Fromm argues that children are frequently engaged in a guerilla war against adults, using such weapons as refusal to eat, to be toilet trained, etc., and that the adults behave "like any elite whose power is challenged. They use physical force, often blended with bribery, to protect their position." (p. 199)

Fromm, after having rejected the notion of instinct as an explanatory model for aggression introduces his own instinct. He argues that the desire for freedom is biologically determined, rather than culturally conditioned. By freedom he meant not only immediate freedom, as in the absence of physical restraints on movement, but rather he uses that term in its broadest ideological meaning. "The desire for freedom is a biological reaction of the human organism. . . . The history of mankind is indeed a history of the fight for freedom, a history of revolutions, from the war of liberation of the Hebrews against the Egyptians, the national uprisings against the Roman Empire, the German peasant rebellions in the sixteenth century, to the American, French, German, Russian, Chinese, Algerian and Vietnamese revolutions." (198-199) This quotation occurs within a chapter titled "Benign Aggression" which seeks to legitimize violence in the service of freedom. The existence of a biologically-determined instinct for freedom is problematic. Fromm himself in *Escape from Freedom* had cited much evidence of how under certain conditions individuals choose to reject freedom. But, even apart from the psychological dimensions of this, on the gross political level the issues are not that simple. The French who in 1789 enthusiastically promulgated the "Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen", who stormed the Bastille, within a few years began a war which,

revolutionary slogans notwithstanding, was designed to bring Europe under the French imperium and was not fought to liberate other countries from the despotism of kings and aristocrats. And the French who had so enthusiastically dismantled the monarchy, equally enthusiastically gave up their freedom to Napoleon who promised internal stability and national glory.

While few would find much positive in the old imperial Russian government, the line from Lenin to Trotsky to Stalin is not one of increasing freedom. Hitler's revolution of 1933—perhaps Germany's only popular revolution—expressed deeply the German peoples' desire to destroy their own freedom. Fromm mentions the possibility that the desire for freedom expressed in revolutionary action can lead to destructive activity: "When defensive aggression is blended with non-defensive destructiveness revolutionary aggression is vitiated and tends to renew the conditions it was seeking to abolish." (200) Yet the problem of the destructiveness and aggressive violence in revolution is minimized. Just as Fromm's interest in Marxism focuses almost exclusively on alienation and not on the class struggle, so in his discussion of revolution he bypasses its darker side. The Algerian revolution involved mass murder and torture of frightening proportions by both sides. Fidel Castro's Cuban revolution was followed by mass executions of real and potential enemies. The one revolution of recent times that avoided destruction of its opponents was the electoral victory of Allende in Chile. Allende seemed committed to a Marxist humanism not unlike Fromm's. Unlike Castro, he did not attempt to kill his opponents. However, his very tolerance for his opponents and indeed his very humanity, which led him to reject the use of violence, probably made possible not only his own personal destruction and death, but also the destruction of Chile's democratic socialism and the establishment of a dictatorial regime that governs by imprisonment, executions and torture.

The distinction between benign and non-benign aggression distinguished primarily by the ends for which that aggression is exercised (e.g. freedom as against domination) is difficult to maintain. Almost everyone participating in a war believes that his side is fighting for freedom. Certainly most of those who dropped bombs on Vietnam honestly believed that their acts were necessary to prevent the spread of communism and the destruction of freedom. The psychological consequences of destructive acts are primarily a function of the acts themselves, rather than the goals for which they were carried out. Killing of an enemy does something to the doer of the act and the purity of the motive is of secondary importance.

Fromm discusses, within the context of an examination of malignant aggression, the character structure of Himmler, Stalin, and Hitler. The most detailed analysis is given over to Hitler. Fromm introduces the concept "necrophilous character" to describe Hitler. By that term—obviously applicable to others—he seeks to designate a character type defined by a wish to destroy everything that lives, by a hatred of love and a love of cruelty and above all death. The key to Stalin's charac-

ter is a non-sexual sadism. The description is convincing; however, the 1930 purges had other sources besides Stalin's pathology. Certainly Stalin received all sorts of perverse pleasures from playing cat and mouse games with his victims. On the other hand, the army leadership and Marshall Tuchatschewski in particular presented a real and immediate threat. The old bolshevik leadership also presented a real, though less immediate, challenge to Stalin's rule. Some of Stalin's actions after the war—such as the Slansky trial and the doctors plot—at a time when Stalin had gotten considerably worse, provide a better example of largely pathologically motivated political actions.

Fromm's rejection of the Freudian instincts of Eros and Thanatos is rooted in his fundamental values, which do not allow him to regard the death instinct as equal to a life instinct. He substitutes the concept necrophilia for Freud's thanatos, and biophilia for eros. One represents health, the other sickness. "Destructiveness is not parallel to, but the alternative to biophilia. Love of life or love of the death is the fundamental alternative that confronts every human being. Necrophilia grows as the development of biophilia is stunted." (366) Fromm then makes the leap from this analytical psychological analysis to one of ethics: "Biophilic ethics have their own principle of good and evil. Good is all that serves life; evil is all that serves death." (365-366)

The book ends with a strong affirmation of life. Throughout all of his writings Fromm has always attempted to connect psychoanalytical thoughts to a social and political context. Indeed, more successfully than Wilhelm Reich, he has attempted to fuse Marxist concepts of alienation with psychological ones.

It would be easy to repeat charges made against Fromm of "Peal-ism", idealism, unwarranted optimism, etc. Certainly many of Fromm's scholarly statements are at times disguised manifestos rather than new theoretical insights. His major achievement is not to be found in the creation of new psychoanalytical paradigm. Rather, Fromm, using Freudian language has been a brilliant advocate for man, demanding the creation of conditions which would allow man to live in freedom, peace, and dignity, with the possibility of fulfilling all his potentialities. In an age where humanity is constantly threatened with manipulation, domination, and destruction, Fromm's advocacy has been a major and important voice for reason, sanity and life.

REFERENCES

1. Don Hausdorff's excellent study, *Erich Fromm*, (New York, 1972) contains an excellent bibliography of Fromm's writings, as well as a good list of works discussing Fromm. John A. Schaar, *Escape from Authority: The Perspectives of Erich Fromm*, (New York, 1961) attacks Fromm from the vantage point of political philosophy. The polemics between Fromm and Herbert Marcuse on Freud may be found in *Dissent*, II, (Summer, 1955) and *Dissent*, III, (Winter, 1955) as well as in the appendix to Marcuse's *Eros and Civilization*, (Boston, 1955).
2. A. J. P. Taylor, *The Course of German History*, (London, 1951), 14.
3. Arthur C. Clarke, *2001 a Space Odyssey* (New York, 1968), 37.
4. J. Glenn Gray, Jr., *The Warriors: Reflections on Men in Battle*, (New York, 1959, 1967).
5. A good summary of the development of Fromm's views in Hausdorf, *op. cit.*

The Twelve-Year Sentence: Radical Views of Compulsory Schooling.
Edited by William F. Rickenbacker. LaSalle, Illinois: Open Court
Publishing Company, 1974. 236 pp. \$6.95.

Escape from Childhood: The Needs and Rights of Children. John Holt.
New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1974. 286 pp. \$7.95

Reviewed by Henry Ebel,
Richmond College, CUNY

Would you believe that the idea of universal public compulsory education got its start in the Russia of Ivan the Terrible? In 1552, shortly after his victory over the Kazan Mongols, Ivan convened his Council of Boyars to discuss the idea, and the records of that conference, including the Tsar's own memorandum entitled *The Will of God and the Russian Nation*, have miraculously survived.

"The people must be taught to confide in and reverence their rulers," Ivan thundered in characteristic vein. Prince Rumyantsev, best known for inventing a branding iron that could be used simultaneously on *both* buttocks of a condemned criminal, stressed that children belong to the government rather than to their parents. The monk Dmitri of Novgorod envisioned a universal compulsory system of schools as the only way to achieve Russia's destiny to be the "Third Rome":

All the children shall be taught in them . . . in these schools the precepts of morality and religion should be inculcated, and habits of subordination and obedience be formed . . . Their parents know not how to instruct them. . . .

Ivan's ruthless desire to impose total uniformity of belief and character on his subjects formed a major theme of the conference. In his memorandum, he envisioned a state of affairs in which each and every Russian would "partake of the same recreations and amusements, and pursue the same studies . . . under the same discipline, and in obedience to the same authority." It was left to Kornashenkov, "The Butcher of Kazan," to voice the Tsar's desire utterly to exterminate the native cultures of the recently conquered territories, and to point out that a universal compulsory school system would be of great help in achieving this goal. He spoke of the "dark and stolid infidelity" of the newly conquered and non-assimilated peoples, and asked: "How can we reach the evil at its roots . . . to defeat the working of that malignant . . . anti-Christian poison? How can the children of such a population be reached, except in . . . free public schools?" And in his eloquent closing statement, Ivan pointed out that great care must be taken "to inform and regulate the will of the people," and that "although it is lamentable to be forced to use constraint, it is almost always necessary to commence with it."

Would you believe it? I hope not. Because I have been pulling your leg. Every one of the quotations I have put into the mouths of Ivan and his boyars was actually uttered by the American proponents of uni-

versal compulsory education between 1780 and 1850. That the people must be taught to confide in and reverence their rulers was the thought of Stephen Higginson, a leading Boston merchant. The Reverend Jeremy Belknap of New Hampshire thought that children belong to the government. "Dmitri of Novgorod" was the North Carolina judge and financier Archibald Douglas Murphey. The need for total uniformity was the concern, in 1826, of the Virginia Federalist and educationist Charles Fenton Mercer. The "Butcher of Kazan" was Mr. George B. Cheever, writing in 1854 of the need to "Christianize"—in other words, to Protestantize—the recently arrived Irish Catholics. The use of compulsory schooling "to inform and regulate the will of the people" is an idea we must attribute to Horace Mann, and the lamentable necessity for constraint is a thought we owe to Henry Barnard.

Perhaps I have convinced you by now to buy, or at any rate to read, *The Twelve-Year Sentence*. After a century of which "discussions" of education have filled our minds with slag-heaps of guano, this book, crammed with facts, figures and court decisions, makes it perfectly clear at this point in time that universal compulsory education has been a conspiracy against the poor, against minorities of every kind, and, last but far from least, against our children.

The dirty little secret of our society, in the age of technicolor fellatio and cunilingus, has nothing whatsoever to do with sex. Rather it is the normally unspoken fact that an experience we all remember from our childhoods to have been dehumanizing, brutalizing, and utterly counter-productive continues to be imposed by penal law and our own cowardice on the vast majority of our children. Merely to require a child of six to SIT STILL for a period of more than ten minutes is a crime against God and nature that should not and perhaps shall not be forgotten. If we will not listen to our Jeremiahs then we will, in the natural order of things, hear the apocalyptic goating of a Nahum, and will have to admit that he is perfectly right.

According to the dust-jacket of *Escape from Childhood*, John Holt's earlier books are now "classics in the field of education." Instant classicity seems to be practically the norm these days. John Holt will not write a really good book until he learns that in Vienna many years ago there lived a wise doctor named Sigmund Freud who invented something called *psychoanalysis*, and that since that time there have lived and worked a number of other people called *psychoanalysts*, including a lady named Melanie Klein who discovered quite a lot about children, and some boy *psychoanalysts* named Harry Guntrip, Joseph Rheinhold, and Arthur Janov. Meanwhile, we will have to make do with John Holt as he is today: with what he calls at one point in this book "a kind of open unfocused interest."

Walking around with his open, unfocused interest hanging out, John Holt does come up with some beautifully put observations. To get to them makes it worth wading through all his preposterous derivative Arièsian crap about nuclear and extended families. Here, for your reading pleasure, are some of the butterflies I rescued from the sludge:

And so the family home, which we often hear described as the place where we are free to be and dare to be nicer and kinder than we can be anywhere else, turns out much of the time to be the place where at least to our children we can be harsher, more cruel, more contemptuous and insulting, than we would be anywhere else.

* * *

Young people have to be trained, in part by what we tell them, mostly by how we treat them, to think of themselves as irresponsible, incompetent, ignorant, foolish, no-account. This is an important part of what childhood is all about, what it does, what it is for. In a society in which people did not assume such things of the young they would not assume it of themselves.

* * *

Children tend to be, among other things, healthy, energetic, quick, vital, vivacious, enthusiastic, resourceful, intelligent, intense, passionate, hopeful, trustful, and forgiving—they get very angry but do not, like us, bear grudges for long. Above all, they have a great capacity for delight, joy, and sorrow. But we should not think of these qualities or virtues as “childish,” the exclusive property of children. They are *human* qualities. We are wise to value them in people of all ages.

It is John Holt's opinion that children are *not* the property of their parents and that they have, or ought to have, rights just as inalienable as yours or mine: among others, the rights to vote, work, own property, travel, use drugs, and have sex. In *The Twelve-Year Sentence*, Robert P. Baker points out, in an essay on “Statute Law and Judicial Interpretation,” that comparable thoughts have crossed the collective mind of the Supreme Court of the United States of America, “which has reaffirmed the principle that children are ‘persons’ to whom the Bill of Rights applies.” The sticking-point now seems to be our habit of letting those rights be looked after by the very adults against whom children often need protection. This is a log-jam that is on the verge of being broken, and when it gives, dear parent or custodian, you will learn new habits altogether.

The Children of Oedipus. Luciano P. R. Santiago, M.D. Libra Publishers, Inc. New York, 1973. 191 pp. \$6.95.

Reviewed by Gerald J. Gargiulo

New York Center for Psychoanalytic Training

Every once in a while an important resource book is published, clarifying issues, citing sources, and filling in gaps in our knowledge. The present work does this with a casualness of style that belies the

import of the subject matter. Anyone wishing to examine the theme of brother/sister incest, from Egyptian practice and Greek mythology through the Middle Ages and up to the present time, with some incisive examples from the East, will find it amply discussed in this short work by Santiago. Aware that, as the author so aptly states, man is predestined to either "see or to perish in the tyranny of the unconscious," he has amassed enough data from mythological references, historical data, literary examples and clinical motifs to sufficiently confront the denial latent in all of us of both the fact and the frequent occurrence of incest in the history of man.

There is enough awareness of cultural patterns and cross patterns for the author to show the arbitrary role of cultural taboo in a particular society's response to incest. Witness the treatment of Lord Byron by the English in 1824 and their warm response to the Hawaiian King Liholiho and his sister, Queen Kamamalu. The author also touches, although somewhat lightly, on the theme of "holy sexlessness": the medieval brother/sister duos who entered the convents and monasteries of Christendom to quiet the fire of their sensuality and to find a common "spiritual" unity, one might add, in their being part of Christ's "mystical body" (a theological term for a sense of unification with a common ego-ideal). As one reads the work in the historical perspective which the author employs, one is continually struck by the commonness of the incestuous theme (in act and certainly in desire) and the type of rejecting parenting, along with crowded living conditions, which can foster its occurrence.

The psychiatric case in the clinical section of the work is a bit weak since the therapists did not seem to know how to handle the symbiotic relationship which the therapy had brought to the fore; and, as is clear, anyone who has been involved in an incestuous relationship will have a good deal of difficulty with separation and individuation. The work, however, in no way pretends to be a textbook for clinical practice. It is, instead, a valuable historical tool for those wishing to explore this common yet highly taboo theme. One word of caution, though: while incest has undoubtedly been much more common than we have been willing to admit, there are enough other vicissitudes of human personal and sexual development not to give any of them first prize.

World History of Psychiatry. Edited by John G. Howells, M.D. New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1975.

Reviewed by Michael Stone, M.D.,
N.Y. State Psychiatric Institute

The editor of this new book has gathered articles from literally all over the world, some relating to the history of psychiatry in a single country (such as France or Hungary), others to groups of countries (The West Indies). The greatest strength of the book probably resides

in this broad approach: the coverage of its 29 chapters is much greater than one finds in the standard history of psychiatry texts up until now. These latter, like Zilboorg's or Alexander's, concentrate upon Europe and America.

It is refreshing to see a text on this subject that includes regions that have not always been regarded as quite civilized enough to focus on in a psychohistorical compilation. China, Africa, Turkey, the Far East, etc., are not neglected here.

I do feel, however, that the reader will pay a price for this breadth, namely, the loss of depth. Some of the articles are thorough and scholarly, such as George Mora's contribution to the history of psychiatry in Italy. Others are quite skimpy, and read like little more than annual reports of a state mental hygiene program. Louis Miller's chapter on Israel suffered from this quality. One gets the impression, in fact, that editorial evenhandedness led to an allotment of about 25 pages to each collaborator. As a result, countries or areas in which psychiatry has not been highly developed must have their accounts puffed up, as it were, to fill out their space. Meantime, countries like England and France come off poorly, because the rich and complex history of psychiatry in those lands have been compressed mercilessly. Howells himself, for example, who wrote the chapter on his own country (England), does little more than list some of the prominent figures, making no mention, however, of the two greatest figures in English psychiatry during the first quarter of the 19th century, Haslam and Pritchard! I could not find Haslam in the book at all, and Pritchard is mentioned, not as father of the term "moral insanity," but as somebody whom Harold Selmer, the father of Danish psychiatry [sic], translated into Danish. Even this faint reference to Pritchard is to be found not in Howell's chapter, but on the one for Scandinavia. Similarly, Melanie Klein and Anna Freud are not mentioned in the chapter on England for their important work in the British psychoanalytic movement of the second and third quarters of our century. They are mentioned, by name only, and without any exposition of their views or influence, in the chapter on *Israel*—as examples of two Jewish refugees associated with psychiatry. I doubt if Klein ever stepped foot in Israel.

These last examples point up the book's most serious flaw, and that is the lack of integration and editing. As it stands, it is very general and superficial in its treatment of most subjects and individuals. The evolution of ideas in psychiatry, of course, requires a supranational approach, since good ideas do not (happily) respect boundary lines. Here is where an editor could have knitted together the material from the different countries, shown how certain conceptions of mental illness, certain treatment methods spring up spontaneously in different portions of the globe, or remain, for other reasons, confined to one locale, and so on. In that sense it is *not* a world history of psychiatry, but stands rather as something like the United Nations: global but disunited.

Let's Stop Destroying Our Children. Shirley Camper Soman. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1974. 274 pages. \$7.95.

Reviewed by Lloyd deMause

It is the thesis of the author of this outstanding book that "in one large sense we are all child neglectors and child abusers," for every day of our lives we walk by, look the other way, ignore and condone the hurt, neglect, abuse and death of millions of little children. You doubt this? Here is just a sampling of the thousands of carefully-researched items Ms. Soman demonstrates are going on around us at this moment:

1. The swimming pool industry purposefully neglects to install safety devices for children resulting in the deaths of thousands of little children every year.

2. Makers of playground equipment manufacture such unsafe products that one million children each year are hurt by them, 160,000 of them permanently disabled or killed by strangulation, mutilation or crushing from equipment the manufacturer knew was lethal.

3. Almost an additional million injuries and deaths occur to children each year from exploding aerial bombs, darts going through the eye into the brain, guns, electric shock, squeakers in infant's windpipes, and innumerable other gashing, slashing, death-dealing "toys". To date, not a single seller of unsafe toys has been prosecuted for refusing to remove banned toys from his shelves.

4. The 20 million children whom we force to travel to school on busses each day are injured and killed by the thousands because each bus is built with the maximum of metal rails immediately in front of their heads to crack them open, metal panels to produce knifelike edges when they buckle, poor design which guarantees carbon monoxide poisoning, etc. Safety devices are virtually unknown. Padded safety seats, which would raise the price of the bus only by 1%, are rarely thought worth the expense.

5. A million children under 14 are presently abandoned by their parents to look after themselves while the parents work. Another million are beaten brutally. Almost another million are held in adult jails or jail-like juvenile detention centers and "reform" schools.

Need I go on? And need anyone doubt that the deathly business of raising our children in this lethal environment is not *motivated*? That it is just an *accident*? And that children do not deep down *recognize* our filicidal feelings and actions?

My next-door neighbor had a boy the age of mine when he was 2 years old. A seemingly "good" mother, she would no doubt test out on any psychologist's "parental rating" as a fairly nurturant parent. The only problem was, she lived on the 14th floor, and left her windows open, while warning her little boy not to go near them. When I said I obviously couldn't let my boy go play with her boy unless she closed her windows, she said it was too hot, as indeed it was. I offered to give

her some extra window guards I had which would allow her to open the windows and still protect the children. She took them but did not put them up. Therefore her boy always came down to our house to play, never the other way around. A year later, when her boy was 3, their cat fell out the window. By the time he was 5, he obviously began to get the message she was quietly giving him for he began falling out of trees and breaking his legs, then arms. At 7 he ran in front of a truck, "by accident." At 9, the mother, having divorced her husband, told the boy she hated having to care for him, never wanted to see him again, left him with the husband and ran off to Greece with a motorcyclist. Now before you accuse me of constitutional mysogyny, let me quickly add that her inability to take care of her child was a result of her own terribly deprived childhood. This is always true, and is our primal psychohistorical condition, not to be forgotten. Yet because of this may we distort our present state, may we fail to recognize the overall *motivation patterns* which sustain the continued destruction of our children?

Since one can slice up the society we live in by any principle which is useful for analysis, I have often wondered what would happen if we would separate society by *motivations* rather than by "institutions", as sociology has so long taught us to do. Instead of breaking society down into schools here, homes there, businesses over there, and so on, suppose you were to break it down by a certain percentage of death wishes, another portion of mutilation wishes, another portion of controlling and intrusiveness, and, yes, even a certain small percentage of loving intentions. How would the slices of the pie look? What part of your day and mine are the result of each class of motivation? Perhaps Shirley Camper Soman's book is a step in the direction of constructing a "motivational" analysis of society, that which we call our new psychohistory.

Readers of the *Journal* are encouraged to subscribe to the quarterly Newsletter of the Group for the Use of Psychology in History, an excellent way of keeping up with ongoing research, bibliographic information, new teaching methods, methodological discussions, etc. Your check for \$3.00 should be sent to Prof. Charles Stozier, Dept. of History, Sangamon State University, Shepherd Road, Springfield, Illinois 62708.

INDEX TO VOLUME 2, 1974-5

ARTICLES:

- Davis, Glenn. *The Early Years of Theodore Roosevelt: A Study in Character Formation*. (461)
- deMause, Lloyd. *Psychohistory and Psychotherapy*. (408)
- Ebel, Henry. *Primal Therapy and Psychohistory*. (563)
- Finkelstein, Barbara. *Pedagogy as Intrusion: Teaching Values in Popular Primary Schools in Nineteenth-Century America*. (349)
- Gaines, David I. *Story of an English Cotton Mill Lad*. (249)
- Hartman, Mary S. *Child-Abuse and Self-Abuse: Two Victorian Cases*. (221)
- Helmholz, R. H. *Infanticide in the Province of Canterbury During the Fifteenth Century*. (379)
- Kedro, Milan James. *Autobiography as a Key to Identity in the Progressive Era*. (391)
- Langer, William L. *Further Notes on the History of Infanticide*. (129)
- Lorence, Bogna W. *Parents and Children in Eighteenth-Century Europe*. (1)
- Marvick, Elizabeth W. *Childhood History and Decisions of State: The Case of Louis XIII*. (135)
- Moore, Robert L. *Justification Without Joy: Psychohistorical Reflections on John Wesley's Childhood and Conversion*. (31)
- Raddock, David M. *Growing Up in New China: A Twist in the Circle of Filial Piety*. (201)
- Raichle, Donald R. *The Abolition of Corporal Punishment in New Jersey Schools*. (53)
- Renshon, Stanley Allen. *Psychological Analysis and Presidential Personality: The Case of Richard Nixon*. (415)
- Sempell, Charlotte. *Bismarck's Childhood: A Psychohistorical Study*. (107)
- Sinofsky, Faye; John J. Fitzpatrick, Louis W. Potts, and Lloyd deMause. *A Bibliography of Psychohistory*. (517)
- Smith, Steven R. *Religion and the Conception of Youth in Seventeenth-Century England*. (493)
- Stone, Michael H., and Clarice J. Kestenbaum. *Maternal Deprivation in Children of the Wealthy: A Paradox in Socioeconomic vs. Psychological Class*. (79)
- Ward, Dana. *Kissinger: A Psychohistory*. (287)

BOOK REVIEWS:

Reviews are indexed by name of book author, with reviewer's name in parentheses.

- Ariès, Philippe. *Western Attitudes Toward Death*. (Lloyd deMause) (284)
- Batstein, William. *The First Part of the Revelation of Moses the Son of Jehoshaphat*. (Lloyd deMause) (451)
- Becker, Ernest. *The Denial of Death*. (Lloyd deMause) (281)
- Fromm, Erich. *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*. (George M. Kren) (577)
- Gibbard, Graham S., John J. Hartman, Richard D. Mann, eds. *Analysis of Groups*. (Lloyd deMause) (269)
- Holt, John. *Escape From Childhood*. (Henry Ebel) (583)
- Howells, John, ed. *World History of Psychiatry*. (Michael Stone) (586)
- Latham, Jean. *Happy Families*. (Lloyd deMause) (284)
- Leiner, Marvin. *Children Are the Revolution*. (Lloyd deMause) (283)
- Milgram, Stanley. *Obedience to Authority*. (Frederick F. Harling) (125)
- Murstein, Bernard I. *Love, Sex, and Marriage Through the Ages*. (Henry Ebel) (457)
- Niederland, William G. *The Schreber Case*. (Morton Schatzman) (453)
- Pinchbeck, Ivy and Margaret Hewitt. *Children in English Society*. Vol. II. (Bogna Lorence) (280)
- Renshon, Stanley. *Psychological Needs and Political Behavior*. (Martin Birnbach) (571)
- Rickenbacker, William F., ed. *The Twelve-Year Sentence*. (Henry Ebel) (583)
- Santiago, Luciano P. R. *The Children of Oedipus*. (Gerald Gargiulo) (585)
- Société de Démographie Historique. *Sur La Population Française au XVIII et au XIX siècles*. (Bogna W. Lorence) (128)
- Soman, Shirley Camper. *Let's Stop Destroying Our Children*. (Lloyd deMause) (588)
- Tucker, Robert C. *Stalin As Revolutionary, 1879-1929*. (Patrick P. Dunn) (272)
- Zeligs, Dorothy. *Psychoanalysis and the Bible*. (Frederick F. Harling) (275)

The First Part of the Revelation of Moses the Son of Jehoshar

*A Prophetic and apocalyptic work
in the tradition of Blake and the Bible*

300 pages. \$15, postpaid.

"Searing historical aphorisms, brilliant psychological formulations, demonic scripts, dark dialogues and Nietzschean thunderbolts of prophecy, all written in a language that ranges from multilingual literary allusion to scatological blank verse, and which, through the clarity of the author's anger, manages to achieve a style beyond anger, beyond pretension, even beyond irony." (From the review by Lloyd deMause, Editor-in-Chief of *The History of Childhood Quarterly*)

Odyssey Through the Dead Land

*Parodies, Poems, a Short Story and Other Survivals
from a Decade of Wandering in Darkest University*

by Henry Ebel. 152 pages. \$10, postpaid.

Classical Outlook wrote of Henry Ebel's first book, *After Dionysus*: "He produces as felicitous and satisfying a discussion of [Apuleius'] *Metamorphoses* and of the *Iliad*—their structure, their purposes, and the ways in which both are achieved—as one could wish . . . An example of comparative literature at its best." *Choice* called it a "penetrating essay," complimented the author's "superb understanding and wealth of reference," and concluded: "Ebel makes a positive and brilliant contribution to a reassessment of the humanities." *Odyssey Through The Dead Land* is a horse of a different color, and has yet to receive a single review—even from the journals that requested review copies. Find out why.

The Kongress of Gehenna: A Divine Comedy

13 pages, paperbound. Free to those who order both of the above.

"Being the account of how the family of man gathered in the great and wunderbar and gemuetlich city of Gehenna, there to consume sacher-torten mit schlag, to conduct their gay and frivolous affairs, and in every way possible to amuse themselves, while behind closed doors there was hammered out with an iron fist the final solution to the human problem, the latter being achieved through shrewd and hard-headed bargaining, carried through by the members, membranes, mouth-organs and bag-pipes of the human body." Not for nervous nellies, unrelieved Victorians, or ladies and gentlemen of impeccable breeding and good taste.

.....
ARGONAUT BOOKS

P.O. Box 50

Fort Lee, N.J. 07024

Kindly send me _____ copies of THE FIRST PART OF THE REVELATION OF MOSES THE SON OF JEHOSHAR at \$15 per copy postpaid, and _____ copies of ODYSSEY THROUGH THE DEAD LAND at \$10 per copy postpaid. (New Jersey residents must add 5% State Sales Tax.) I understand that purchase of both of these books entitles me to a free copy of THE KONGRESS OF GEHENNA.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____



hARPER TORCHBOOKS

Lawrence A. Cremin

AMERICAN EDUCATION

The Colonial Experience, 1607-1783

"His achievement is especially important for American social history as well as for the history of American education. . . . Massive in research, monumental in range, and penetrating in assessments."—Robert Middlekauff, *Journal of American History*

TB/1670 \$4.45

Lloyd deMause, Editor

THE HISTORY OF CHILDHOOD

Foreword by William L. Langer

"Just magnificent . . . an extremely important contribution to the knowledge of man."—Erich Fromm

"Neither history nor psychiatry can ever be the same again. It is not impossible that this book will at some time be considered a turning point in the integration of the social sciences."—Rueben Fine

TB/1848 \$3.95

David Hunt

PARENTS AND CHILDREN IN HISTORY

The Psychology of Family Life in Early Modern France

"A fascinating and controversial attempt to explain the child-rearing habits of a previous era. . . . Hunt provides keys to our understanding of French attitudes about childhood from psychoanalysis. The book is truly interdisciplinary."—Etienne van de Walle, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*

TB/1699 \$3.45

Theodore K. Rabb and Robert I. Rotberg, Editors

THE FAMILY IN HISTORY

Interdisciplinary Essays

"Nowhere can one perceive more clearly that, as our knowledge of prosaic everyday activities increases, we gain a far richer and more thorough understanding of human behavior in bygone ages."—*from the Preface*

TB/1757 \$3.95

George Richmond

THE MICRO-SOCIETY SCHOOL

A Real World in Miniature

"The most moving, the most touching, the most profound, the most optimistic, the most imaginative, and the most practical book on children and schools in many, many dreary years."—Peter F. Drucker

CN/384 \$2.95

Sallie TeSelle, Editor

THE FAMILY, COMMUNES, AND UTOPIAN SOCIETIES

"This book adds to our understanding of contemporary changes in social values and mores and illuminates the nineteenth- and late eighteenth-century roots of these changes. That the isolated nuclear family was itself first viewed as a utopian community is but one of the new insights the book contains."—Robert N. Bellah

TB/1741 \$2.25

for a complete catalog, write

Harper Torchbooks, 10 East 53d Street, New York 10022

Two about childhood...

THROUGH "POVERTY'S VALE"

A Hardscrabble Boyhood in Upstate New York, 1832-1862

by Henry Conklin; edited by Wendell Tripp

"The setting is the forested foothills of the northern Catskills and southern Adirondacks, where Conklin's parents tried to raise fourteen children on marginal farmland in a poverty-stricken backwoods environment. Conklin, in his inimitable style and graphic mind-pictures, recounts log-cabin building, barn raisings, girdling trees, spinning and weaving, backwoods schooling, folk medicine, cholera epidemics. . . . The Conklins moved every year or two from one rented farm to another in the vain hope that geographical mobility would bring socioeconomic betterment. Despite the rootlessness and physical deprivation, an alcoholic father and a mother weakened by annual childbirths, the Conklin family remained close-knit, open-hearted, considerate of each other, and above all optimistic. Henry's frequent references to his mother's (and his own) strong Christian beliefs would seem to provide the clue to understanding the measure of psychological and emotional integration achieved within the Conklin family."—*New York History*

This is a memorable and detailed account of a childhood.

\$8.50

PEIG

**The Autobiography of Peig Sayers
of the Great Blasket Island**

translated from the Irish by Bryan MacMahon

"This extraordinary woman was born in Dunquin, a townland on the Dingle peninsula. Her father was a poor farmer; her mother bore thirteen children, ten of which died in infancy. Peig was the youngest and the favorite of her father. When she was four she expressed a desire to go to school; she won her way . . . and got her schooling for eight blissful years. In spite of the grim poverty of their lives she was happy. When she was twelve years old her father took her to Dingle town, and she was put into service—or rather slavery—there."—*The Irish Times*

Nothing is more vivid in this remarkable autobiography than Peig Sayer's account of her childhood. She died in 1958, at 85.

\$7.95

**From your bookseller or prepaid from
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Syracuse, New York 13210**

"Just magnificent—an extremely important contribution to the knowledge of man."

—Erich Fromm, Psychoanalyst, Social Philosopher, Author.

"Neither history nor psychiatry can ever be the same again. It is not impossible that this book will at some future time be considered a turning point in the integration of the social sciences."

—Dr. Reuben Fine, Director, New York Center for Psychoanalytic Training, Author, *Freud: A Critical Re-Evaluation of His Theories*.

"A *tour de force* of vision, industry, and bold, brilliant schematizing—a monumental beginning. From here on out, childhood will have a history."

—Dr. Rudolph Binion, Leff Professor of History Brandeis University, Author, *Frau Lou*.

"An absolute bombshell that ought to be required reading for everyone in psychology."

—Dr. Leon Rappoport, Professor of Psychology, Kansas State University, Author, *Personality Development*.

"Nothing short of brilliant—an impressive contribution to the understanding of life in the past and present."

—Dr. John F. Benton, Professor of History, California Institute of Technology.

"An impressive departure in historical work, an enterprise that could be undertaken only by someone with a wide knowledge of the sociological and psychological literature as well as the purely historical. The result of his effort is truly impressive."

—Dr. William L. Langer, Archibald Cary Coolidge Professor of History, Emeritus, Harvard University, Past President, American Historical Association.

THE HISTORY OF CHILDHOOD

Edited by Lloyd deMause

ISBN 0-914434-00-4

LC 74-75787

"His argument has a breathtaking scope and ambitiousness. It's grand sweep, the force of the logic, make it easily *the* major statement to date on the history of childhood."

—Dr. Edward Shorter, Professor of History, University of Toronto.

"This is an extraordinary book and it would be a tragedy if it were confined to the classroom."

—*Boston Globe*

"This is a brilliant and disturbing book. At first glance so comprehensive and scholarly a volume would seem of interest only to the psychologist, the historian, the sociologist. But on perusal it proves fascinating to the layman as well."

—*Louisville Times*

"A pioneering work in social history . . . graduate students, seeking dissertation proposals, will flock to this book."

—*Minnesota Daily*

"Authoritative, original . . . there is no comparable volume . . . Highly recommended for all college and general libraries."

—*CHOICE*



The Psychohistory Press

A Division of Atcom, Inc., Publishers

2315 Broadway • New York, New York 10024 • 212-873-3331

To obtain your own personal copy of *The History of Childhood*, send check for \$16.00 (postage paid, N.Y. state residents add applicable sales tax) to: The Psychohistory Press, 2315 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10024