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The Evolution of Childrearing

Surrendering the Self

The Phantom Jew

Dangerous Women



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The Evolution of Childrearing

Who would not shudder if he were given the choice of eternal death or life again as a child? Who would not choose to die?

—St. Augustine

Children throughout history have arguably been more vital, more gentle, more joyous, more trustful, more curious, more courageous and more innovative than adults. Yet adults throughout history have routinely called little children “beasts,” “sinful,” “greedy,” “arrogant,” “lumps of flesh,” “vile,” “polluted,” “enemies,” “vipers” and “infant fiends.”¹ Although it is extraordinarily difficult to believe, parents until relatively recently have been so frightened of and have so hated their newborn infants that they have killed them by the billions, routinely sent them out to extremely neglectful wetnurses, tied them up tightly in swaddling bandages lest they be overpowered by them, starved, mutilated, raped, neglected and beat them so badly that prior to modern times I have not been able to find evidence of a single parent who would not today be put in jail

¹ Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers*, 753; Augustine, *Confessions*, I, 7.11; Michael Goodich, “Encyclopaedic Literature: Child-Rearing in the Middle Ages.” *History of Education* 12(1983):7; Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1990, p. 266; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage In England 1500-1800*. New York: Harper & Row, 1977, p. 408; David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 19; Arthur P. Wolf, “The Women of Hai-shan: A Demographic Portrait. In Margery Wolf and Roxane Witke, Eds., *Women in Chinese Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975, p. 202; George Savile Halifax, *The Lady’s New-Years Gift: or, Advice to a Daughter*. London, 1688, p. 80; Catherine M. Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society: 1650–1850* (American Social Experience Series, Vol. 2) p. 60; Philip Greven, *The Protestant Temperament*. New York: New American Library, 1977, p. 28.

for child abuse. I have searched so hard during the past three decades for any exceptions to this extremely abusive pattern that I have offered a prize to anyone who could find even one "good mother" prior to the eighteenth century—the definition being one who would not today be incarcerated for child abuse. No one so far has claimed the prize. Instead, historians have assumed that my evidence for routinely abusive parenting must be terribly exaggerated, since if it were true it "would mean parents acted in direct opposition to their biological inheritance," and surely evolution "wouldn't be so careless...as to leave us too immature to care properly for our offspring."²

It is not surprising that the existence of widespread child abuse throughout history has been viewed with disbelief.³ In this chapter, the historical evidence for each childrearing practice will be presented, focusing on the actual statements made by caretakers and children so that one can understand the intrapsychic reasons behind the abuse and neglect and show how parents have struggled against restaging their own childhoods and have slowly evolved the more loving, empathic childrearing which has been achieved by some families in the modern world.

THE MISSING FATHER: CHILDHOOD IN THE GYNARCHY

The problem with the overly monolithic conception of a "patriarchy" wherein men dominate women both in society and in the family is that while no Bachofen-style "matriarchal" society has been found,⁴ there is little evidence that until modern times fathers have been very much present in historical families. In our promiscuous chimpanzee ancestors, fathers were quite absent in child-rearing, so there are no "families,"⁵ only grandmothers and mothers moving about with their children.⁶ It is also likely that "there were no Neandertal families to begin with,"⁷ since women and children

² Linda Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 51; Andrew Bard Schmookler, *Out of Weakness: Healing the Wounds That Drive Us to War*. New York: Bantam Books, 1988, p. 106.

³ See Lloyd deMause, "On Writing Childhood History." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 16(1988): 135-171.

⁴ Cynthia Eller, *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory: Why an Invented Past Will Not Give Women a Future*. New York: Beacon Press, 2000.

⁵ Peter J. Wilson, *Man, The Promising Primate: The Conditions of Human Evolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980, p. 63.

⁶ Adrienne L. Zihlman, "Sex Differences and Gender Hierarchies Among Primates: An Evolutionary Perspective." In Barbara Diane Miller, Ed., *Sex and Gender Hierarchies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 36.

⁷ James Shreeve, *The Neandertal Enigma: Solving the Mystery of Modern Human Origins*. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1995, p. 163.

lived in separate areas from the males in caves. Although Bachofen's "gynocratic state" is only slightly approximated in such tribes as the Iroquois, the Navajo, the Ashanti, and the Dahomeans,⁸ the families themselves in preliterate cultures are usually run by women, who often live in separate spaces from their husbands. In some, like the Ashanti, they have a "visiting husband...in which the husband and wife live with their respective mothers [and] at night the man 'visits' his wife in her house..."⁹ In others, men spend much of their time in their own cult houses, and women in separate family or menstrual huts, "segregating themselves of their own accord."¹⁰ Even when men lived with their wives, females took care of the children, although cross-cultural studies conclude that "in the majority of societies mothers are not the principal caretakers or companions of young children...older children and other female family members" mainly looking after them.¹¹ Although in a few very simple hunting tribes fathers are claimed to hold their infants, it turns out they are only hallucinating being fused with their mothers, "fondling the child as its mother does. He takes it to his breast and holds it there,"¹² or sucks its face in the traditional "full-lipped manner,"¹³ using the infant as a breast substitute but not really caretaking. Even when the children are somewhat older, fathers are generally not the ones that teach them skills: "Among the Hadza, as a typical example, boys learn their bow-and-arrow hunting knowledge and techniques and their tracking skills mainly informally from other boys,"¹⁴ not their fathers.

The historical family, it turns out, cannot remotely be termed a "patriarchy" until modern times. It is in fact a *gynarchy*, composed of the grand-

⁸ Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Female Power and Male Dominance: On the Origins of Sexual Inequality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 21-27.

⁹ Françoise Zonabend, "An Anthropological Perspective on Kinship and the Family." In André Burguière, et al, Eds., *A History of the Family: Vol. One*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996, p. 41.

¹⁰ Judy Grahn, *Blood, Bread, and Roses: How Menstruation Created the World*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993, p. 3.

¹¹ Linda D. Wolfe, "Human Evolution and the Sexual Behavior of Female Primates." In J. D. Loy and C. B. Peters, Eds. *Understanding Behaviour: What Primate Studies Tell Us About Human Behaviour*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 142.

¹² Scott Coltrane, "Father-Child Relationships and the Status of Women: A Cross-Cultural Study." *American Journal of Sociology* 93(1988): 1073.

¹³ L. L. Langness, "Child Abuse and Cultural Values: The Case of New Guinea." In Jill. E. Korbin, *Child Abuse and Neglect: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, p. 24.

¹⁴ James Woodburn, "Hunters and Gatherers Today and Reconstruction of the Past." In Ernest Gellner, Ed. *Soviet and Western Anthropology*. London: Duckworth, 1980, p.107.

mother, mother, aunts, unmarried daughters, wetnurses, female servants, midwives, neighbors called "gossips" who acted as substitute mothers, plus the children.¹⁵

Fathers in traditional families may sometimes eat and sleep within the gynarchy, but they do not determine its emotional atmosphere, nor do they in any way attempt to raise the children. To avoid experiencing their own domination and abuse during childhood by females, men throughout history have instead set up androcentric political and religious spheres for male-only group-fantasy activities, contributing to the family gynarchy only some sustenance, periodic temper tantrums and occasional sexual service.

Evidence of fathers playing any real role in children's upbringing is simply missing until early modern times. In antiquity, I have been unable to find a single classical scholar who has been able to cite any instance of a father saying one word to his child prior to the age of seven.¹⁶ Little children were occasionally shown as used by fathers as sensuous objects—as when in Aristophanes' *Wasps* the father says he "routinely enjoys letting his daughter fish small coins from his mouth with her tongue"¹⁷—but otherwise, scholars conclude, "In antiquity, women [and children] lived shut away [from men]. They rarely showed themselves in public [but] stayed in apartments men did not enter; they rarely ate with their husbands...they never spent their days together."¹⁸ In Greece, for instance, "women had a special place. Larger houses at any rate had a room or suite of rooms in which women worked and otherwise spent much of their day, the women's apartments, the *gynaikonitis*, which Xenophon says was 'separated from the men's quarters by a bolted door.'¹⁹ In two-story houses, the *gynaikonitis* would usually be upstairs."²⁰ The men's dining-room, the *andron*, was located downstairs near the entrance, guarding the women's

¹⁵ Deborah Willis, *Malevolent Nurture: Witch-Hunting and Maternal Power in Early Modern England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995, p. 35; Katherine Usher Henderson and Barbara F. McManus, *Half Humankind: Contexts and Texts of the Controversy About Women in England, 1540-1640*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985.

¹⁶ Barry S. Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens: Ideology and Society in the Era of the Peloponnesian War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993; Mark Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990; Beryl Rawson, Ed., *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

¹⁷ Aristophanes, *Wasps* 609.

¹⁸ Madelyn Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses: Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992, p. 125.

¹⁹ Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece*, p. 29.

²⁰ Mark Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, p. 122.

quarters: "Here men in the family dined and entertained male guests... Vase-paintings do not depict Greek couples eating together."²¹ This mainly vertical organization of most homes lasted well into the eighteenth century, when a new "structure of intimacy" began to be built, with rooms connected to each other on the same level.²²

The women's area held the grandmother, the mother, the concubines, the mistresses, the slave nurses, the aunts and the children. Thus Herodotus could assume his reader would easily recognize families where "a boy is not seen by his father before he is five years old, but lives with the women,"²³ and Aristotle could assume his readers' assent that "no male creatures take trouble over their young."²⁴ Ancient Greek, Roman and Jewish men had all-male eating clubs where women and children were not welcome.²⁵ Plato has Socrates suggest a possibly better home arrangement, with "dinners at which citizens will feast in the company of their children....In general, however, children ate with their mothers, not their fathers...Eating and drinking, far from offering the whole family an opportunity for communal activity, tended to express and reinforce cleavages within it."²⁶ Boys tended to remain in the gynarchy of their own or others' homes until their middle teens.²⁷

The husband is usually missing from the homes of most earlier societies, and not just during their frequent military service. Evelyn Reed describes the early "matrifamily" as everywhere being ruled by mothers: "The family in Egypt...was matriarchal...The most important person in the family was not the father, but the mother. The Egyptian wife was called the 'Ruler of the House'...there is no corresponding term for the husband."²⁸ In rural Greek villages even today the mother owns the house, passes it on to her daughter as dowry, and continues to rule the house when her daughter has children.²⁹ Indeed, the husband was rarely

²¹ Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece*, p. 30.

²² Annik Pardailhé, *The Birth of Intimacy: Privacy and Domestic Life in Early Modern Paris*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991, pp. 53-59.

²³ Herodotus I.136.

²⁴ Aristotle *Gen. An.* 3.759b7.

²⁵ Lawrence A. Hoffman, *Covenant of Blood: Circumcision and Gender in Rabbinic Judaism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996, p. 138.

²⁶ Mark Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, p. 38.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 125.

²⁸ Evelyn Reed, *Woman's Evolution: From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family*. New York: Pathfinder, 1974, p. 438.

²⁹ Charles Stewart, *Demons and the Devil: Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, p. 50.

with his family in antiquity—legislators sometimes suggest that in order to prevent population decline it would be a good idea for husbands to visit their wives occasionally and not just have sex with boys, as in Solon's law "that a man should consort with his wife not less than three times a month—not for pleasure surely, but as cities renew their agreements from time to time."³⁰ In antiquity, love had nothing to do with men's wives;³¹ it was reserved for pederastic relations with boys. As Scroggs summarized Greco-Roman practice, "To enter the 'women's quarters' in search of love is to enter the world of the feminine and therefore is effeminate for a male."³² Xenophon says "the women's apartments [are] separated from the men's by a bolted door..."³³ As Plutarch wrote, "Genuine love has no connections whatsoever with the women's quarters."³⁴ When Socrates asks, "Are there any people you talk to less than you do to your wife?" his answer was, "Possibly. But if so, very few indeed."³⁵ Men stayed in the *thiasos*, the men's club, with other men, and had little to do with their children. Greek boys stayed in the gynarchy of their own home until at the age of about ten they were forced to be *eromenos*, sexual objects, in the *andron* of a much older man's home.³⁶ Greek girls stayed in the gynarchy until they were about twelve, when they too were raped by a much older man, a stranger chosen for them by their family to be their husband. Brides went into marriages with large dowries, which remained their property for life.³⁷ The husband might try to enforce an occasional dominance in the gynarchy by beating the women and children—as Seneca described his father doing, usually, he said, for the most "trivial actions"³⁸—but normally it was the women of the household who wielded the family whip on the children.

The gynarchy ruled supreme in early homes. In Byzantium, women had separate spheres with strict exclusion of men from the family, where "men

³⁰ Plutarch, *Dialogue on Love*, 768.

³¹ Eva Cantarella, *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992, p. 70.

³² Robin Scroggs, *The New Testament and Homosexuality*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983, p. 48.

³³ Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* IX.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

³⁵ Robert Flaceliere, *Love in Ancient Greece*. London: Frederick Muller, 1962, p. 103.

³⁶ S. C. Humphreys, *The Family, Women and Death: Comparative Studies*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983, p. 17.

³⁷ Jack Goody, *The Oriental, the Ancient and the Primitive*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 390.

³⁸ Seneca, *On Benefits* I.16.3.

live in light and brightness, the *palaestra*; women live in the *gynaecaeum*, enclosed, secluded."³⁹ This was even true of supposedly patriarchal Chinese families. The Chinese gynarchy was described by visitors as living in "women's apartments behind the high walls of their husbands' compounds," dominated by women who "are reputed to terrorize the men of their households and their neighbors with their fierce tempers, searing tongues, and indomitable wills...When father and son do work together, they have nothing to say, and even at home they speak only when there is business to discuss. [Otherwise] they mutually avoid each other."⁴⁰ Likewise, in Indonesian families, "fathers are simply not present very much...the woman has more authority, influence and responsibility than her husband..."⁴¹ The examples can easily be extended around the world and into the Middle Ages:

The female world was highly structured, like a little monarchy—that monarchy wielded by the master's wife, the 'lady' who dominated the other women in the house. This monarchy was often tyrannical. The chronicles of French families at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century paint a picture of shrews reigning brutally over servants whom they terrorized, and over their sons' wives whom they tormented...Indeed, a female power existed which rivaled that of men...Men were afraid of women, especially their own wives, afraid of being incapable of satisfying a being who was seen both as a devourer and as a bearer of death...⁴²

Feminist historians have pioneered in uncovering the evidence revealing families as gynarchies, saying "the need to keep women in line revealed permanent high tension in men around a being with disquieting power."⁴³ Men are shown as being excluded from the traditional "gynaecum:"⁴⁴ the nursery, the kitchen, the work bees, even the laundry: "No

³⁹ Kathryn M. Ringrose, "Living in the Shadows: Eunuchs and Gender in Byzantium." In Gilbert Herdt, Ed., *Third Sex, Third Gender*. New York: Zone Books, 1994, p. 94.

⁴⁰ Margery Wolf, "Chinese Women: Old Skills in a New Context." In Rosaldo and Lamphere, Eds., *Woman, Culture, and Society*, pp. 157, 169.

⁴¹ Nancy Tanner, "Matrifocality in Indonesia and Africa and Among Black Americans." In Rosaldo and Lamphere, Eds., *Woman, Culture, and Society*, pp. 139, 135.

⁴² Georges Duby, *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994, p. 96.

⁴³ Madelyn Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses*, p. 110.

⁴⁴ Danielle Régner-Bohler, "Imagining the Self." In Georges Duby, Ed., *A History of Private Life. II. Revelations of the Medieval World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.

man would dare approach the laundry, so feared is this group of women..."⁴⁵ Women are depicted as ruling both their husbands and their children, who are often shown as fearing them;⁴⁶ and while husbands are hopefully told in moralist's instruction manuals about the "Duties of a Husband" to instruct their wives, the sections on the "Duties of a Father" to care for their children are nowhere to be found until modern times.⁴⁷ Most fathers agreed with Abelard, who, after he got Heloise pregnant, sent her away, admitting, "Who can bear the screams of children...Who can tolerate the unclean and continuous soilings of babies?"⁴⁸ As Buchan wrote, "Men generally keep at such a distance from even the smallest acquaintance with the affairs of the nursery [and] is not ashamed to give directions concerning the management of his dogs or horses, yet would blush were he surprised in performing the same office for [his] heir..."⁴⁹ Since children of the upper classes were sent out to wetnurse and then to school, many adults could agree with Talleyrand when he stated that he "had never slept under the same roof with his father and mother."⁵⁰ Fathers were so distant that most could agree with Vandermonde, who said, "One blushes to think of loving one's children."⁵¹ When their children died, most fathers, like William Byrd, revealed no signs of grief, writing in their diaries the night of the death only that they had "good thoughts and good humor."⁵² Should a father try to play with his child, he was unable to summon the empathy needed to understand its capacities, as seen in the following typical interaction:

A gentleman was playing with his child of a year old, who began to cry. He ordered silence; the child did not obey; the father then began to whip it, but this terrified the child and increased its cries...The fa-

⁴⁵ Edward Shorter, *A History of Women's Bodies*. New York: Basic Books, 1982, p. 292.

⁴⁶ Joy Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992, pp. 86-92.

⁴⁷ Joan Larsen Klein, Ed., *Daughters, Wives, and Widows: Writings by Men About Women and Marriage in England, 1500-1640*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

⁴⁸ Peter Abelard, *History of My Misfortunes*. In David Herlihy, Ed., *Medieval Culture and Society*. New York: Harper & Row, 1968, p. 199.

⁴⁹ Judith Schneid Lewis, *In the Family Way: Childbearing in the British Aristocracy, 1760-1860*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986, p. 26.

⁵⁰ Hippolyte Taine, *The Ancient Regime*. New York: Peter Smith, 1931, p. 136.

⁵¹ Bogna W. Lorence, "Parents and Children in Eighteenth-Century Europe." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2(1974): 1.

⁵² Michael Zuckerman, "William Byrd's Family." *Perspectives in American History* 12(1979): 256.

ther thought the child would be ruined unless it was made to yield, and renewed his chastisement with increased severity....On undressing it, a pin was discovered sticking into its back.⁵³

By the nineteenth century, some fathers began to relate to their children with some empathy, yet even they were seen as rare, as when Grigorii Belynskii was described as "the only father in the city who understood that in raising children it is not necessary to treat them like cattle."⁵⁴ Even those who began at this time to criticize "paternal neglect," like John Abbott, said it was the father's sole task "to teach his children to obey their mother."⁵⁵ It wasn't actually until late socializing mode fathers came along that they actually began some caretaking, pushing prams and otherwise trying to live up to the New Fatherhood proclamations of the twentieth century.⁵⁶ Yet even though there are some fathers today who are helping mode parents and who spend equal time with their wives caring for their children,⁵⁷ various time surveys in America still show that working fathers spend only about 12 to 18 minutes per day with their young children,⁵⁸ without even counting the one-third of all babies who are born to unmarried women.⁵⁹ The gynarchy, it appears, still reigns supreme, and fathers around the world have yet to seriously embrace the tasks and joys of fatherhood.

GIRLS HAD WORSE CHILDHOODS THAN BOYS

The problem with having only women raising children is that parenting is an emotionally demanding task, requiring considerable maturity, and throughout history girls have grown up universally despised. When a girl

⁵³ Albertine Adrienne Necker, *Progressive Education, Commencing With the Infant*. Boston: W. D. Ticknor, 1835, p. 180.

⁵⁴ Patrick P. Dunn, "Fathers and Sons Revisited: The Childhood of Vissarion Belinskii." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1(1974): 389.

⁵⁵ Stephen M. Frank, *Life With Father: Parenthood and Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century American North*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998, p. 37.

⁵⁶ Ralph LaRossa, *The Modernization of Fatherhood: A Social and Political History*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997.

⁵⁷ Suzanne Braun Levine, *Father Courage: What Happens When Men Put Family First*. New York: Harcourt, 2000.

⁵⁸ John P. Robinson and Geoffrey Godbey, *Time For Life: The Surprising Ways Americans Use Their Time*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997; Michael E. Lamb et al., "A Biosocial Perspective on Paternal Behavior and Involvement." In Jane B. Lancaster, et al., Eds., *Parenting Across the Life Span: Biosocial Dimensions*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1987, p. 126.

⁵⁹ *Time*, August 28, 2000, p. 54.

was born, said the Hebrews, "the walls wept."⁶⁰ Japanese lullabies sang, "If it's a girl, stamp on her."⁶¹ In medieval Muslim cultures "a grave used to be prepared, even before delivery, beside the woman's resting place [and] if the new-born was a female she was immediately thrown by her mother into the grave."⁶² "Blessed is the door out of which goes a dead daughter" was a popular Italian proverb that was meant quite literally.⁶³ Girls from birth have everywhere been considered full of dangerous pollution—the projected hatred of adults—and were therefore more often killed, exposed, abandoned, malnourished, raped and neglected than boys. Girls in traditional societies spent most of their growing up years trying to avoid being raped by their neighbors or employers and thereby being forced into a lives of prostitution. To expect horribly abused girls to magically become mature, loving caretakers, when as teenagers they go to live as virtual slaves in a strange family, simply goes against the conclusions of every clinical study we have showing the disastrous effects of trauma upon the ability to mother.⁶⁴

As we have seen in Chapter 5, mothers earlier in history often saw their children as their own screaming, needy, dominating mothers—forming what Nancy Chodorow terms a "hypersymbiotic relationship"⁶⁵—wherein the child is expected to make up for all the love missing in the mother's own life, cure her post-partum depression and restore her vitality. Like acutely disturbed destructive mothers in current clinical studies who "indifferently admit the desire to abuse, rape, mutilate, or kill a child, any child,"⁶⁶ mothers in the past feared their infants' crying so much they were determined to "never let a child have anything it cries for...I think

⁶⁰ Barbara Kaye Greenleaf, *Children Through the Ages: A History of Childhood*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978, p. 7.

⁶¹ Muriel Jolivet, *Japan: The Childless Society?* London: Routledge, 1997, p. 27.

⁶² Avner Gil'adi, *Children of Islam: Concepts of Childhood in Medieval Muslim Society*. Houndsmells: Macmillan Academic, 1992, p. 108.

⁶³ Charlotte Gower Chapman, *Molocca: A Sicilian Village*. Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1971, p. 30.

⁶⁴ David DiLillo et al., "Linking Childhood Sexual Abuse and Abusive Parenting: The Mediating Role of Maternal Anger." *Child Abuse & Neglect* 24(2000):767-779; Kathleen M. Fox and Brenda Gilbert, "The Interpersonal and Psychological Functioning of Women Who Experienced Childhood Physical Abuse, Incest, and Parental Alcoholism." *Child Abuse & Neglect* 18(1994): 849-858.

⁶⁵ Nancy Chodorow, *Family Structure and Feminine Personality*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974, p. 48.

⁶⁶ Joseph C. Rheingold, *The Mother, Anxiety: and Death: The Catastrophic Death Complex*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967, p. 129.

it right to withhold it steadily, however much the little creature may cry...and the habit of crying would be broken."⁶⁷ The need to shut up the mother's angry voice in babies led to their being tied up, neglected and beaten. Tiny infants were experienced as being so destructive that, according to Augustine, "If left to do what he wants, there is no crime he will not plunge into."⁶⁸ In fact, infants were felt to be so full of badness that when they died they were often buried under rain gutters so the water would wash off their inborn pollution.⁶⁹ An average mother in the past was like the extremely disturbed mother of today, described by clinical studies, whose "death wishes she harboured unconsciously towards her [own] mother are now experienced in relation to the child [so that] death pervades the relationship between mother and child [with the mother often reporting,] 'I can remember hurling the baby down on the pillows once, and just screaming, and not caring. I wanted to kill him really...I hated the baby for constantly being there.'"⁷⁰ Many mothers today admit that they must struggle against feeling "dominated, exploited, humiliated, drained and criticized by their babies," saying they sometimes "want to hurt them, get rid of them, squash them like a pancake, or beat them into silence."⁷¹ Mothers in the past, unfortunately, less often won the maternal love/hate struggle because their own formative years were so much less nurturant. The baby in the past must not *need* anything, but must just give love solely to the emotionally-deprived mother:

Augustus Hare's account of his childhood provides an insight into such relationships...He could never express a wish to his mother, as she would have thought it her duty to refuse it. 'The will is the thing that needs to be brought into subjection,' she said...[Once] his mother, finding him much attached to a household cat, ceremoniously hanged the cat in the garden, so that he should have no object but her to love.⁷²

⁶⁷ Linda Pollock, *A Lasting Relationship: Parents and Children Over Three Centuries*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1987, p. 68.

⁶⁸ Elisabeth Badinter, *Mother Love: Myth and Reality. Motherhood in Modern History*. New York: Macmillan, 1981, p. 30.

⁶⁹ Danièle Alexandre-Bidon and Didier Lett, *Children in the Middle Ages: Fifth-Fifteenth Centuries*. Notre Dame: The University of Notre Dame Press, 1999, p. 30.

⁷⁰ Rozsika Parker, *Mother Love/Mother Hate: The Power of Maternal Ambivalence*. New York: Basic Books, 1995, p. 18.

⁷¹ Ibid, pp. 61, 118.

⁷² Gordon Rattray Taylor, *The Angel Makers: A Study in the Psychological Origins of Historical Change 1750-1850*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1974, p. 318.

Mothers hallucinated their children as maternal breasts with such intensity that they were constantly licking and sucking their faces, lips, breasts and genitals,⁷³ feeling so needy from their own loveless childhoods that they expected their children to care for them emotionally as they grew up. Instead, mothers confessed, "children eat you up...you are sucked dry by them...my children sucked me dry; all my vitality is gone."⁷⁴ It is only when one realizes their own severe neglect and abuse and the extent to which their babies are poison containers for their feelings that one can begin to understand why mothers in the past routinely killed, neglected and abused their children. What is miraculous—and what is the source of most social progress—is that mothers throughout history have slowly and successfully struggled with their fear and hatred with so little help from others, and have managed to evolve the loving, empathic childrearing one can find in many families around the world today.

CHILD SACRIFICE AS PUNISHMENT FOR SUCCESS

The act of having a child is, says Rheingold, "the most forbidden act of self-realization, the ultimate and least pardonable offense;" and brings with it inevitable fears of maternal retribution for one's success and individuation.⁷⁵ Mothers in antiquity hallucinated female demons—Lamia, Gorgo, Striga, Empusa—who were actually grandmother alters in the mothers' heads, so jealous of their having babies that they sucked out their blood and otherwise murdered them.⁷⁶ Even today, peasant villages fear the outbreak of "angry, malevolent, dangerous" hallucinations that surround the newborn and threaten the mother, and even keep the nursery room boarded up with the door barred to prevent the intrusion of dangerous spirits.⁷⁷ All early societies invented sacrificial rituals wherein babies were tortured and killed to honor maternal goddesses, from Anit to Kali, vowing that, "although Mommy wants to kill me for having sex and making a baby, if I kill the baby instead [usually the first-born was sacrificed], I can then go on having sex and other babies with less fear of retribution."

⁷³ Lloyd deMause, *Foundations of Psychohistory*, p. 19; Alenka Puhar, "Childhood In Nineteenth-Century Slovenia." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 21 (1985): 309.

⁷⁴ Elisabeth Badinter, *Mother Love: Myth and Reality*, pp. 314-315.

⁷⁵ Joseph C. Rheingold, *The Fear of Being a Woman*, p. 227.

⁷⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, 329; S. Vernon McCasland, *By the Finger of God; Demon Possession and Exorcism in Early Christianity in the Light of Modern Views of Mental Illness*. New York: Macmillan, 1951, p. 97.

⁷⁷ Alenka Puhar, "Childhood In Nineteenth-Century Slovenia," *The Journal of Psychohistory* 12(1985): 294; J. K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 154.

The severely immature parents of the past felt under such constant threat for success by malevolent forces—maternal alters—that their own children were constantly being used as poison containers for their dis-owned feelings. As one informant in a contemporary rural Greek community put it, “When you’re angry a demon gets inside of you. Only if a pure individual passes by, like a child for instance, will the bad leave you, for it will fall on the unpolluted.”⁷⁸ The dynamics are clear: the “demon inside you” is the alter, the “unpolluted child” is the poison container. A typical child sacrifice for parental success can be seen in Carthage, where archeologists have found a child cemetery called The Tophet that is filled with over 20,000 urns containing bones of children sacrificed by the parents, who would make a vow to kill their next child if the gods would grant them a favor—for instance, if their shipment of goods were to arrive safely in a foreign port.⁷⁹ They placed their children alive in the arms of a bronze statue of “the lady Tanit...the hands of the statue extended over a brazier into which the child fell once the flames had caused its limbs to contract and its mouth to open...the child was alive and conscious when burned...Philo specified that the sacrificed child was best-loved.”⁸⁰

Child sacrifice was the foundation of all great religions, depicted in myths as absolutely necessary to save the world from “chaos,” that is, from terrible inner annihilation anxiety as punishment for success. Despite the denunciations of child sacrifice by Hebrew prophets, ancient Jews continued to “pass their children through the fire.”⁸¹ Maccoby’s book, *The Sacred Executioner: Human Sacrifice and the Legacy of Guilt*, portrays the entire history of religion as dramas featuring a vengeful, bloodthirsty Sacred Executioner, demonstrating that the role of children, from Isaac to Christ, was to act as a sacrifice for the sins of the parents.⁸² Behind even male gods demanding sacrifice are Avenging Terrible Mothers of Death, says Lederer—Belili, Inanna, Tiamat, Ishtar, Astarte, Lilith, Hathor-Sekhmet,

⁷⁸ Richard and Evan Blum, *The Dangerous Hour: The Lore of Crisis and Mystery in Rural Greece*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1970, p. 55.

⁷⁹ Lawrence E. Stager and Samuel R. Wolff, “Child Sacrifice at Carthage: Religious Rite or Population Control?” *Biblical Archeological Review*, January 1984, pp. 31-46.

⁸⁰ Shelby Brown, *Late Carthaginian Child Sacrifice and Sacrificial Monuments in their Mediterranean Context*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991, pp. 22-23.

⁸¹ Abt-Garrison, *The History of Pediatrics*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1965, p. 29.

⁸² Hyam Maccoby, *The Sacred Executioner: Human Sacrifice and the Legacy of Guilt*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1982.

Izanami, Chicomecoatl—all Mother alters in the brains of the new parents, demanding revenge for the *hubris* of daring to be a parent.⁸³ The wealthier the family, the more children had to be sacrificed to the goddess, representing the infant's furious grandmother.⁸⁴

Child sacrifices have been found from the beginning of human history: decapitated skeletons of early hominid children have been found, with evidence of cannibalism, as their parents ate them on behalf of the spirits of their life-devouring grandmothers;⁸⁵ young children were buried with their skulls split by an ax at Woodhenge/Stonehenge;⁸⁶ decapitated infant sacrifices to the Great Goddess were found at Jericho;⁸⁷ early Arabians sacrificed their daughters to "the mothers;"⁸⁸ the serpent goddess of the Aztecs demanded skull and heart sacrifice of children, including the eating of the children's bodies and covering themselves with their blood;⁸⁹ Mayan and Incan sacrificed children are still being discovered in the South American mountains, along with children who have been killed by drug dealers to ward off revenge for their successful cocaine runs.⁹⁰ Abraham and Isaac notwithstanding, the Old Testament records the Israelites continued to sacrifice their children before the Jewish exile.⁹¹ In India, child-sacrifice was widespread, and children were still being thrown to the sharks as a sacrificial offering to the Goddess into the nineteenth century.⁹² The need to sacrifice children to ward off fears of success was so powerful that right through medieval times, when people built new buildings, walls or bridges, little children were sealed in them alive as "foundation sacrifices"

⁸³ Wolfgang Lederer, *The Fear of Women*. New York: Grune & Stratton, 1968, p. 126; John Day, *Molech: A God of Human Sacrifice in the Old Testament*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989; Lloyd deMause, "The History of Child Assault." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 18(1990): 3-29.

⁸⁴ Lawrence E. Stager, "The Rite of Child Sacrifice at Carthage." In John G. Pedley, *New Light on Ancient Carthage*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980, pp. 6-7.

⁸⁵ E. L. Simons, "Human Origins." *Science* 245(1989): 1344.

⁸⁶ Timothy Taylor, *The Prehistory of Sex*. New York: Bantam Books, 1996, p. 189.

⁸⁷ Sibylle von Cles-Reden, *The Realm of the Great Goddess: The Story of the Megalith Builders*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1962, p. 21.

⁸⁸ Evelyn Reed, *Woman's Evolution from Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family*. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1975, p. 408.

⁸⁹ Max Shein, *The Precolumbian Child*. Culver City: Labyrinthos, 1992, p. 97.

⁹⁰ Celia Carey, "Secrets: The Incas Appeased Mountain Gods With Their Children's Lives." *Discovering Archeology* July/August 1999, pp. 44-53.

⁹¹ Nigel Davies, *Human Sacrifice: In History and Today*. New York: Dorset Press, 1981, p. 64.

⁹² *Ibid*, p. 77.

to ward off the angry, avenging spirits, alters of parents who felt envious of the accomplishments of their children.⁹³

Even when children died in the past from natural causes, the sources often reveal a deep satisfaction by the parents. Sometimes an adult recalled their mother's death wishes in their memoirs—a typical passage occurs when Leopardi remembers clearly of his mother that

when she saw the death of one of her infants approaching, she experienced a deep happiness, which she attempted to conceal only from those who were likely to blame her...When, as several times happened, she seemed likely to lose an infant child, she did not pray God that it should die, since religion forbids it, but she did in fact rejoice.⁹⁴

Over and over again, death wishes are revealed in the historical sources, breaking out when adults interact with children. Epictetus admitted, "What harm is there if you whisper to yourself, at the very moment you are kissing your child, and say 'Tomorrow you will die?'"⁹⁵ Another recalled his mother tucking him into bed nightly with the words, "Soon my son you will exchange the bed for the grave, and your clothes for a winding sheet."⁹⁶ The deaths of children were rarely mourned: mothers were commonly reported to have "regarded the death of various daughters at school with great equanimity," and father(s) to "cheerfully remark when two of his fifteen children died that he still had left a baker's dozen."⁹⁷ Often adults recorded in their diaries a vow to have "the Lord" (the parent's parental alter) kill the child, as Cotton Mather did as each of his children died:

I resigned the Child unto the Lord; my Will was extinguished. I could say, *My Father, Kill my Child, if it be thy Pleasure to do so...* I had rather have him dy in his Infancy, than live in cursed and lothsome Wickedness...[my dead child is] a *Family-Sacrifice*...I would endeavour exceedingly to glorify God, by making a Sacrifice of the lovely Child...⁹⁸

⁹³ H. S. Darlington, "Ceremonial Behaviorism: Sacrifices for the Foundation of Houses." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 18(1931): 309-327.

⁹⁴ Iris Origo, *Leopari: A Study in Solitude*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1953, p. 16.

⁹⁵ Epictetus, *Discourses*, 2, 213.

⁹⁶ Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Yankee Saints and Southern Sinners*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985, p. 14.

⁹⁷ Ferdinand Mount, *The Subversive Family*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1982, p. 109.

⁹⁸ Cotton Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather*. Vol. 1. New York: Frederick Ungar, n.d., pp. 374, 7, 187.

As we will see in the sections that follow on infanticide, mutilation and abandonment, parents are the child's most lethal enemy, because inside the parents' psyches lie a powerful, dangerous alter that is their own parent's death wishes toward the child.

INFANTICIDE AS CHILD SACRIFICE TO THE GRANDMOTHER

Mothers who feel like killing their newborn children today are clinically found to be deeply depressed and lonely, because, according to Rheingold's study of 350 filicidal mothers, "It is only the fear of being a woman that can create the infanticidal impulse...having a child is the most forbidden act of self-realization...punishment is inescapable and punishment means annihilation...To appease the mother she must destroy the child, but the child is a love object too. To preserve the child she must renounce mother... She is trapped in a desperate conflict: kill mother and preserve the baby or kill the baby and preserve the mother."⁹⁹ Mothers in the past routinely chose killing the baby, by the billions, each one driven to it by her

devil alter (her own destructive mother image in her head).

In my previous articles on infanticide, I have shown that boy/girl sex ratios of preliterate tribes average 128/100, while boy/girl ratios from census and other sources in European history ranged from as high as 400/100 to 140/100 in the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁰ With Indian



Illustration 1. Mother commits infanticide with help of her devil alter.

⁹⁹ Joseph Rheingold, *The Fear of Being a Woman*, pp. 143, 157.

¹⁰⁰ Lloyd deMause, *Foundations of Psychohistory*, pp. 26-31, 109-131; William Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilizations*. 3rd Ed. London: Edward Arnold, 1952, p. 28; David Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia: The Social History of an Italian Town, 1200-1430*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967, p. 38; David Herlihy, *Medieval Households*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985, p. 66.

and Chinese boy/girl ratios in the nineteenth century running at 300/100 and higher,¹⁰¹ and with current Asian statistics still showing over 200 million girls “missing” in the census figures,¹⁰² I have determined that it is likely that overall infanticide rates of both sexes exceeded 30 percent in antiquity, and only slowly declined to the very small rate in advanced societies today.¹⁰³ Multiplying these infanticide rates by the 80 billion human births in the past 100,000 years¹⁰⁴—80 percent of them occurring before 1750, and even more of them occurring in areas with high Asian-style infanticide rates—a weighted average infanticide rate for the entire 80 billion births was likely at the very least 15 percent, or 12 billion children killed by their parents.

Even this astonishing figure is not the whole story of infanticide, however. Every study of infant death rates among children sent out to wet-nurses and abandoned in foundling homes shows much higher death rates, running to over 70 per cent and higher, even in modern times.¹⁰⁵ Doctors of every age agreed that “the most profound cause of the terrific waste of infant life [is] neglect...neglected by their own mothers and neglected by the nurses to whom they were abandoned...”¹⁰⁶ Since parents who sent their children to wetnurses and foundling homes knew quite well they would likely not see them again—indeed, often they were sent to so-called “killing wetnurses” with a small sum of money under the tacit assumption that they would not be returned¹⁰⁷—these “delayed infanticide” acts must be added to the estimated rate of child killing, increasing it by at the very least a third, or a total of 16 billion children killed by parental acts over the entire historical span. No wonder people in the past

¹⁰¹ Kanti B. Pakrasi, *Female Infanticide in India*. Calcutta, 1971, p. 88; Mildred Dickemann, “Female Infanticide...” In Napoleon A. Chagnon and William Irons, *Evolutionary Biology and Human Social Behavior*. North Scituate, MA: Duxbury Press, 1977, p. 341.

¹⁰² *The New York Times*, November 5, 1991, p. C1; Karin Evans, *The Lost Daughters of China*. New York: Putnam, 2000, p. 118.

¹⁰³ Lloyd deMause, *Foundations of Psychohistory*, p. 122; see chart in Chapter 5 of this book.

¹⁰⁴ Massimo Livi Bacci, *A Concise History of World Population*. Malden: Blackwell, 1997, p. 32. Larry S. Milner, *Hardness of Heart/Hardness of Life. The Story of Human Infanticide*. Lanham: University Press of America, 2000, p. 11, estimates 7 billion children murdered.

¹⁰⁵ George Frederic Still, *The History of Paediatrics*. London: Oxford University Press, 1931, p. 385.

¹⁰⁶ Bogna W. Lorence, “Parents and Children in Eighteenth-Century Europe.” *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2(1974): 11.

¹⁰⁷ Lloyd deMause, *Foundations of Psychohistory*, p. 32.

so often said that everywhere in their areas "you could hear coming out of the bottom of latrines and ponds and rivers the groanings of the children that one had thrown there."¹⁰⁸

Although poverty played some part in this holocaust of children, it is doubtful if it was the main cause of child deaths. In the first place, the cost of bringing up a girl is no more than the cost of bringing up a boy, so the differential infanticide rates are certainly parental choices. When, for instance, Arabs dug a grave next to the birthing place of every new mother so "if the newborn child was a female she could be immediately thrown by her mother into the grave,"¹⁰⁹ it was likely hatred of girls, not poverty, that was the motive. Secondly, if scarce resources were the main cause, then wealthy parents should kill less than poor. But the historical record shows exactly the opposite: historical boy/girl ratios are *higher* among wealthy parents,¹¹⁰ where economic necessity is no problem at all. Even in early modern England, the infant mortality rates for wealthy children were higher than the same rates for ordinary farmers, day laborers and craftsman.¹¹¹ Thirdly, many wealthy high civilizations such as Greece, Rome, China, India, Hawaii and Tahiti are very infanticidal, especially among their elite classes. As one visitor to Hawaii reported, there probably wasn't a single mother who didn't throw one or more of her children to the sharks.¹¹² There were even societies where virtually *all* newborn were killed to satisfy their overwhelming infanticidal needs, and infants had to be imported from adjoining groups to continue the society.¹¹³ Finally, many nations—like Japan until recently—kill their children selectively in order to balance out an equal number of boys and girls, a practice called *mabiki*, or "thinning out" the less promising ones,¹¹⁴ again revealing a quite different mo-

¹⁰⁸ Jacques Léauté, "L'infanticide à la fin du Moyen Age..." *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 50(1972): 232.

¹⁰⁹ Avner Gil'adi, *Children of Islam: Concepts of Childhood in Medieval Muslim Society*. Hampshire: Macmillan, 1992, p. 108.

¹¹⁰ See my summary of evidence in Lloyd deMause, "On Writing Childhood History." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 16(1988): 150; Richard Trexler, "Infanticide in Florence." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1(1974): 353-65; Emily Coleman, "L'infanticide dans le Haut Moyen Age," *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations* (1974): 315-335; Henri Bresc, "Europe: Town and Country (Thirteenth-Fifteenth Century)." In André Burguière et al., *A History of the Family. Vol. One*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996, p. 457.

¹¹¹ S. Ryan Johansson, "Centuries of Childhood/Centuries of Parenting." *Journal of Family History* 12(1987):358.

¹¹² Nigel Davies, *Human Sacrifice in History and Today*. New York: William Morrow, p. 192.

¹¹³ Larry S. Milner, *Hardness of Heart*, p. 143.

¹¹⁴ Lloyd deMause, "The History of Childhood in Japan." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 15(1987): 149.

tive than the purely economic. It is most certainly not economics that causes so many depressed women on the delivery tables even today to implore their mothers not to kill them after they have given birth.¹¹⁵ Women since the beginning of time have felt that their children "really" belonged to God—a symbol of the grandmother, and that "the child was a gift that God had every right to reclaim."¹¹⁶ When killing her child, therefore, the mother was simply acting as her own mother's avenger.

We are left, unfortunately, with what one psychoanalyst calls our "universal resistance to acknowledging the mother's filicidal drives, undoubtedly the most dreaded and uncanny truth for us to face."¹¹⁷ Our only defenses are denial and dissociation, like people in the past, who regularly dissociated from the emotional impact of their murder of their innocent little children with sayings such as: "Do we not cast away from us our spittle, lice and such which are engendered out of our own selves;" or "Mad dogs we knock on the head [and] we drown even children at birth," or "When children die there is no need to get excited...one is born every year...live and let die."¹¹⁸ Both mothers and fathers knew their own parents demanded a death; both struggled against the grandparents' dire threat to kill them if they dared to become parents themselves. What helped the dissociation was such beliefs as denying that the babies were human; so during most of history, East and West, if the mother would kill the newborn before it took any nourishment, it wasn't considered "really born," it wasn't human yet.¹¹⁹

Usually it was the mother or one of the other women of the gynarchy who did the killing, in the past as in the present,¹²⁰ usually violently, smashing in the baby's head, crushing it between her knees, asphyxiating it against her breasts, sitting on it, or throwing it alive into the privy, with the mother sometimes earning the nickname of "child-stabber" or "child-

¹¹⁵ Joseph Rheingold, *The Fear of Being a Woman*, p. 38.

¹¹⁶ Deborah Willis, *Malevolent Nurture*, p. 60.

¹¹⁷ Arnold Rascovsky, "On the Genesis of Acting Out and Psychopathic Behavior in Sophocles' *Oedipus*." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 49(1968): 390.

¹¹⁸ Bartholomey Batty, *The Christian Man's Closet*. 1581, p. 28; Seneca, *Moral Essays*, 145; Regina Schulte, "Infanticide in Rural Bavaria in the Nineteenth Century." In Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean, *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 91.

¹¹⁹ David Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, p. 54; Hiroshi Wagatsuma, "Child Abandonment and Infanticide: A Japanese Case." In Jill E. Korbin, Ed., *Child Abuse and Neglect: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, p. 131.

¹²⁰ Maria W. Piers, *Infanticide*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1978, p. 41; Larry S. Milner, *Hardness of Heart*, p. 126; Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1983, p. 66.

crusher."¹²¹ It helped to have gynecological writings like Soranus's on "How to Recognize the Newborn That Is Worth Rearing" to rationalize the infanticide.¹²² It helped to share the blame for the murder with your children, who were often made to help the mother kill their newborn siblings, and who would then be more likely to restage the murder upon their own newborn.¹²³ It helped to have daemonic beliefs like those still held in rural Greece that Evil Spirits had turned the newborn into a changeling, a demon baby, a *Striga*, which had to be strangled to protect the mother from harm.¹²⁴ The mother's struggle against the urge to kill her children was (and is) usually a conscious one, and the role of the dissociated parental alter is often evident—as when mothers today tell therapists that "someone keeps talking to me in my mind telling me to choke my daughter" or as when Medea struggled against killing her children, saying, "I know what wickedness I am about to do; but the *thumos* is stronger than my purposes, *thumos*, the root of our mankind's worst acts."¹²⁵ But the feeling of being driven by the Destructive Mother alter, the struggle against killing one's baby and the severe postpartum depression were all universal for mothers in traditional societies, and sixteen billion murdered children were the result of losing the sacrificial battle.

Opposition by society to infanticide was negligible until modern times. Jews considered any child who died within thirty days after birth, even by violence, to have been a "miscarriage."¹²⁶ Most ancient societies openly approved of infanticide; as has been mentioned, Christians were spoken of as odd because "they do not practice the exposure of new-born babes."¹²⁷ Although Roman law, in response to Christianity, made infanticide a capital offense in 374 C.E., no cases have been found punishing it.¹²⁸ Anglo-

¹²¹ Muriel Jolivet, *Japan: The Childless Society?*, p. 120; Regina Schulte, "Infanticide in Rural Bavaria...", pp. 87-89.

¹²² Soranus, *Gynecology*, 79.

¹²³ Marjorie Shostak, *Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981, p. 54.

¹²⁴ Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil*, p. 1; Richard and Eva Blum, *Health and Healing in Rural Greece: A Study of Three Communities*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965, p. 73.

¹²⁵ Joseph Rheingold, *The Fear of being a Woman*, p. 65; E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964, p. 186, 61.

¹²⁶ Immanuel Jakobovits, "Jewish Views on Infanticide." In Marvin Kohl, Ed., *Infanticide and the Value of Life*. Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1978, p. 24.

¹²⁷ Arnold Toynbee, *The Crucible of Christianity*. New York: World Publishing Co., p. 296.

¹²⁸ Valerie French, "Children in Antiquity." In Joseph Hawes, Ed., *Children in Historical and Comparative Perspective*, p. 21.

Saxons actually considered infanticide a virtue, not a crime, saying, "A child cries when he comes into the world, for he anticipates its wretchedness. It is well for him that he should die...he was placed on a slanting roof [and] if he laughed, he was reared, but if he was frightened and cried, he was thrust out to perish."¹²⁹ Philo describes what everyone in antiquity was familiar with: places where exposed children were eaten by "all the beasts that feed in human flesh [who] visit the spot and feast unhindered on the infants [thrown away] by their fathers and mothers."¹³⁰ Prosecutions for infanticide before the modern period were rare.¹³¹ Even medieval penitentials excused mothers who killed their newborn before feeding them.¹³² By Puritan times, a few mothers began being hanged for infanticide.¹³³ But even in the nineteenth century it was still "not an uncommon spectacle to see the corpses of infants lying in the streets or on the dunghills of London and other large cities."¹³⁴ The English at the end of the century had over seven million children enrolled in "burial insurance societies;" with the infant mortality rate at 50 percent, parents could easily collect the insurance by killing their child. As one doctor said, "sudden death in infants is too common a circumstance to be brought before the attention of the coroner...Free medical care for children was refused... 'No, thank you, he is in two burial clubs' was a frequent reply to offers of medical assistance for a sick child. Arsenic was a favorite poison..."¹³⁵

Century after century, the children in traditional societies who survived remembered the cries of their murdered brothers and sisters, feared their murderous parents, believed themselves unworthy of living and irredeemably bad, and grew up to inflict the killings on their own children.

MUTILATING CHILDREN'S BODIES

In the previous chapter, the propensity of preliterate tribes to cut, burn and otherwise mutilate the bodies of their children was discussed, partic-

¹²⁹ John Thrupp, *The Anglo-Saxon Home: A History of the Domestic Institutions and Customs of England*. London: Longman, Green, 1862, p. 78.

¹³⁰ Philo, *Works*. Vol. VII. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929, p. 549.

¹³¹ R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988, p. 153.

¹³² Rob Meens, "Children and Confession in the Early Middle Ages." In Diana Wood, Ed., *The Church and Childhood*. London: Blackwell Publishers, 1994, p. 57.

¹³³ Lyle Koehler, *A Search for Power: The 'Weaker Sex' in Seventeenth-Century New England*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980, p. 200.

¹³⁴ Daniel Beekman, *The Mechanical Baby: A Popular History of the Theory and Practice of Child Raising*. Westport: Lawrence Hill, 1977, p. 47.

¹³⁵ George K. Behlmer, *Child Abuse and Moral Reform in England, 1870-1908*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982, p. 131; Joseph C. Rheingold, *The Fear of Being a Woman*, p. 72.

ularly the role of genital mutilation, where during initiation rites boys' penises are sliced open under the conviction that it was necessary to expel the "mothers blood and bad words" that had lodged in them. The powerful need to mutilate children's bodies is found in nearly all cultures in some form, and reaches back to the Paleolithic caves where handprints on the walls¹³⁶ show clearly that children's fingers were cut off in the widespread belief by many cultures that the Devil (the destructive parental alter) demanded a child's finger to appease his wrath. Frazer documented these finger sacrifice rituals in many cultures, and sanctuaries have been found as far back as the Neolithic with finger bones, right up through ancient Greek times, when, Pausanias reported, finger sacrifice rituals were still performed to pacify pursuing demons.¹³⁷ Finger amputation was also endemic in Oceania, Polynesia and among North American Indians.¹³⁸

But more often it is the genitals, head or feet of children which are assaulted; as the Canadian Inuit Eskimos say, "A hurt baby is more lovable!" and mothers who feel affectionate toward their infants are reported as commonly "slapping it, squeezing it tightly, or biting it until it bursts into tears."¹³⁹ Few mothers even today are free of dreams in which their babies are badly hurt, though most are able to laugh off the impulses and perhaps only be overprotective toward their infants. But Rheingold's clinical studies reveal many mothers ward off maternal retribution for having the baby by what he terms a "mutilation impulse," which he finds mainly directed toward the genitals of the boy and the girl and toward the "insides" of the girl's body, producing in boys severe castration anxieties and "a fear of femaleness" in girls, including fears of injury to the pelvic region.¹⁴⁰

Cutting off parts or all of the girl's genitals is a widespread practice,¹⁴¹ possibly reaching back to Paleolithic times since a stone knife is often used, and is still practiced in preliterate tribes from Africa to Australia, where the girl's vagina is torn open with a stone knife and the child is then gang raped.¹⁴² Historical evidence dates from ancient Egypt, where mummies

¹³⁶ Armando R. Favazza, *Bodies Under Siege*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987, p. 106.

¹³⁷ Walter Burkert, *Creation of the Sacred: Tracks of Biology in Early Religions*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996, pp. 37-39.

¹³⁸ Armando R. Favazza, *Bodies Under Siege*, p. 108.

¹³⁹ Jean Briggs, "Living Dangerously: The Introductory Foundations of Value in Canadian Inuit Society." In Eleanor Leacock and Richard Lee, Eds., *Politics and History in Band Societies*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982, p. 117.

¹⁴⁰ Joseph C. Rheingold, *The Fear of Being a Woman*, pp. 85-88.

¹⁴¹ James DeMeo, *Saharasia*. Greensprings: Orgone Biophysical Research Lab, 1998, p. 125.

¹⁴² Nigel Davies, *The Rampant God: Eros Throughout the World*. New York: William Morrow, 1984, p. 46.

have been found with clitoral excision and labial fusions;¹⁴³ and Greek physicians like Soranos and Aetius regularly advocated the removal of a girl's clitoris if it was "overly large" so she would not be overly lustful.¹⁴⁴

There are over 100 million Arab females today who have had their genitals chopped off, having been told that "if the clitoris is left alone, it will grow and drag on the ground, and if left uncircumcised, they will be wild and...grow up horny."¹⁴⁵ Often the girl's labia are cut off in addition to the clitoris, and the remaining flesh is sewn together, leaving only a small opening for urination. The vagina must therefore be cut open again before intercourse, and the women have great difficulty giving birth and often are further cut to allow the baby to pass through.

During the mutilations—usually done around the age of six with rusty knives by the women of the gynarchy—the girls undergo excruciating pain, sometimes die of complications, usually hemorrhage, and often pass out from the shock since no anaesthetic is used.¹⁴⁶ The ritual—which is not a religious rite and is nowhere mentioned in the Koran—is accompanied by the joyful chanting of the women, who shout, "Now you are a woman;" "Bring her the groom now;" "Bring her a penis, she is ready for intercourse;" etc.¹⁴⁷ They act out in manic ritual Rheingold's dicta that destructive mothers "seem to have the urge to destroy her daughter's fe-



Illustration 2. A girl in Cairo is mutilated by her Mother.

¹⁴³ Sarah Blaffer Hrdy, *The Woman That Never Evolved*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983, p. 183.

¹⁴⁴ Bernadette J. Brooten, *Love Between Women*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996, p. 170; Marilyn French, *The War Against Women*. Summit Books, 1992, p. 109.

¹⁴⁵ Linda Burstyn, "Female Circumcision Comes to America." *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1995, p. 30.

¹⁴⁶ Olayinka Koso-Thomas, *The Circumcision of Women: A Strategy for Eradication*. London: Zed Books, 1987; Cathy Joseph, "Compassionate Accountability: An Embodied Consideration of Female Genital Mutilation." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 24(1996): 1-17; Lloyd deMause, "The Universality of Incest," *The Journal of Psychohistory* 19(1991):161; Hanny Lightfoot-Klein, *Prisoners of Ritual: An Odyssey Into Female Genital Circumcision in Africa*. New York: Harrington Park Press, 1989.

¹⁴⁷ John G. Kennedy, "Circumcision and Excision in Egyptian Nubia." *Man* 5(1970): 180.

maleness: her external genitals, her 'insides'...her total sexuality."¹⁴⁸ It is not surprising that the overwhelming majority of circumcised girls grow up to be frigid. Female circumcision was practiced historically in various groups from Russia to Latin America,¹⁴⁹ and was even inflicted on girls "who masturbated too much" in Europe and America in the nineteenth century, using a red hot iron to burn away the little girl's clitoris.¹⁵⁰ Strabo stated that female genital mutilation was performed by the Jews, and early Christian folklore even assumed that the Virgin Mary was circumcised like other Jewish girls of the time.¹⁵¹

Circumcision for boys might be thought of as less traumatic since it involves only removal of the foreskin, a far less painful and serious mutilation. Yet in many cultures circumcision of boys is quite painful, as when Moslem boys are circumcised between the ages of 3 and 7 in a painful, bloody ceremony, after which "he is placed on his mother's naked back [so] that his bleeding penis presses against her. His mother dances along with the other women until he stops crying."¹⁵² That this ceremony is connected with the incestuous feelings of the mother is apparent from the fact that genital mutilation is far more likely found in societies where the little boy sleeps with his mother while the father sleeps elsewhere.¹⁵³ Circumcision of boys—practiced from Egypt and Africa to Peru and Polynesia¹⁵⁴—makes them into "little mothers," with the peeling away of the foreskin uncovering the glans so that it can act as a maternal nipple. That circumcision of boys is still practiced so regularly in America is a testimony to the continuing ubiquity of parental assault on the sexuality of children.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁸ Joseph C. Rheingold, *The Fear of Being a Woman*, p. 227.

¹⁴⁹ Marielouise Janssen-Jurreit, *Sexism: The Male Monopoly on History and Thought*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1982, p. 247.

¹⁵⁰ Andrew Scull and Diane Favreau, "The Clitoridectomy Craze." *Social Research* 53(1986): 243-260; Uta Ranke-Heinemann, *Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven*, New York: Doubleday, p. 1990, p. 318.

¹⁵¹ Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.37 and 16.4.9; Allen Edwards, *Erotica Judaica: A Sexual History of the Jews*. New York: The Julian Press, 1967, p. 28.

¹⁵² Vincent Crapanzano, "Rite of Return: Circumcision in Morocco." In Werner Muensterberger and L. Bryce Boyer, Eds., *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society* 9. New York: Psychohistory Press, 1981, p. 29.

¹⁵³ Michio Kitahara. "A Cross-Cultural Test of the Freudian Theory of Circumcision." *International Journal of Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy* 5(1976):535-546.

¹⁵⁴ Reay Tannahill, *Flesh and Blood: A History of the Cannibal Complex*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1996, p. 41.

¹⁵⁵ David L. Gollaher, "From Ritual to Science: The Medical Transformation of Circumcision in America." *Journal of Social History* 28(1994): 5-35.

But the more serious genital mutilation of boys that occurred throughout history, East and West, was castration. Eunuchs were found in most cultures, beginning as a sacrificial rite to early goddesses: "Piles of freshly severed genitals lay beneath the altars in Egyptian temples, where hundreds of virile youths were initiated daily into male prostitution."¹⁵⁶ In addition, castration was necessary to satisfy all the men who preferred hairless castrated boys to rape, plus all those used as harem keepers, palace officials, boy singers, actors and many other roles thought to require castrates.¹⁵⁷ Nero was said to enjoy the use of eunuchs in his orgies, even marrying one of them.¹⁵⁸ When parents sent their boys to aristocratic households for sexual use, they were said to sometimes cut off their genitals and keep them in a jar.¹⁵⁹ Eunuchs were especially popular in Byzantium, while in the West Verdun was widely known as "the great eunuch factory." In some Italian towns, boys who were destined for the clergy were castrated at an early age; in Naples, signs hung above stores, "Boys castrated here."¹⁶⁰ Many cultures castrated boys when they were just infants, claiming they "really wanted" to be girls. They were then used as women, sexually and otherwise, when they grew up, as in the *hijras* of India or the *berdaches* of American Indian tribes.¹⁶¹ The testicles of these boys were either torn from them, crushed or seared off them with red-hot irons, usually between the ages of 3 and 7; in China, "both the penis and scrotum were removed with one cut."¹⁶² Castration of boys continued until recently in the Middle East, followed by burial of the mutilated boy in hot sand for several days to reduce hemorrhage—only one in five surviving the bloody operation.¹⁶³ Some societies had variations of circumcision that ap-

¹⁵⁶ Allen Edwards, *The Jewel in the Lotus: A Historical Survey of the Sexual Culture of the East*. New York: The Julian Press, 1959, p. 187.

¹⁵⁷ Charles Humana, *The Keeper of the Bed: The Story of the Eunuch*. London: Arlington Books, 1973; Anon., *Praeputii Incisio*. New York: The Panurge Press, 1931, p. 129.

¹⁵⁸ Peter Tompkins, *The Eunuch and the Virgin*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1962, p. 25.

¹⁵⁹ Taisuke Mitamura, *Chinese Eunuchs: The Structure of Intimate Politics*. Rutland: Charles Tuttle, 1970, p. 36.

¹⁶⁰ Patricia A. Quinn, *Better Than The Sons of Kings: Boys and Monks in the Early Middle Ages*. New York: Peter Lang, 1989, p. 55; Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995, p. 39; Albrecht Peiper, *Chronik der Kinderheilkunde*. Leipzig, 1966, p. 148.

¹⁶¹ Gilbert Herdt, Ed., *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*. New York: Zone Books, 1994.

¹⁶² Vern L. Bullough, *Sexual Variance in Society and History*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976, p. 306.

¹⁶³ Peter Tompkins, *The Eunuch and the Virgin*, p. 12.

proached castration, as in some Arab tribes where they performed *salkh*, which "consisted of flaying and removing all of the skin of the penis..."¹⁶⁴

The ancients' more usual assault on boys' genitals, however—called infibulation—was less painful, though longer lasting. Since they were so deprived of maternal love, ancients saw the boy's glans as an exciting nipple ("it strikes terror and wonder in the heart of man") and felt they needed to hide it, so they drew the prepuce foreword, drilled two holes in it, and closed it up with a ring, pin or clamp.¹⁶⁵ Infibulated penises are regularly shown in drawings of Greek and Roman athletes and was popular until modern times.¹⁶⁶ The same practice in the East is called *mohree*, sewing or cauterizing the prepuce over the glans, preventing erection; to this day some Japanese athletes use infibulation to prevent the loss of their strength, which could evaporate through the glans.¹⁶⁷ Aztec parents cut both boys' and girls' genitals regularly throughout their childhood, the blood being used in a sacrifice to their goddess, a ritual which was said to "cleanse one's heart of the guilt that could drive a person crazy."¹⁶⁸ Indeed, one is tempted to give the Aztecs the prize for the most sadistic parenting, since their children were routinely sacrificed, cut, tied to cradleboards, had holes drilled in their lips, were drugged, burned over fires, starved, stuck with spines, thrown naked into icewater, tortured and battered nearly every day of their lives.¹⁶⁹ But this would be a mistake. Aztec childhood was simply more fully described, by visitors from Europe. Equally graphic were those who described the ancient Chinese habit of beheading or strangling children who were "guilty of addressing abusive language to his or her father or mother,"¹⁷⁰ the nineteenth-century Yugoslav practice of smearing infants with excrement and holding them over the fire or pushing them into a bread-oven to cure "bewitchment," or the common medieval practice of hanging a baby over the fire to see if it was a "changeling."¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁴ Armando R. Favazza, *Bodies Under Siege*, p. 155.

¹⁶⁵ Eric John Dingwall, *Male Infibulation*. London: John Bale, 1925, pp. 54, 78.

¹⁶⁶ Uta Ranke-Heinemann, *Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven*, p. 316.

¹⁶⁷ Allen Edwards, *The Jewel in the Lotus*, p. 95.

¹⁶⁸ David Carrasco, *City of Sacrifice: The Aztec Empire and the Role of Violence in Civilization*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1999, pp. 184-5.

¹⁶⁹ Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

¹⁷⁰ T'ung-Tsu Ch'u, *Law and Society in Traditional China*. Paris: Mouton & Co, 1965, p. 432; George Thomas Staunton, *Ta Tsing Leu Lee; Being The Fundamental Laws...of the Penal Code of China*. Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing, 1966, p. 357.

¹⁷¹ Alenka Puhar, "Childhood in Nineteenth-Century Slovenia." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 12(1985): 295-6; Barbara A. Kellum, "Infanticide in England in the Later Middle Ages." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1(1974): 379.

Parents in traditional societies couldn't keep their hands off their little babies; they simply were compelled to hurt and torture them. The first thing most Western societies did to the newborn up until the twentieth century was cut the ligament under their tongue with their thumbnail, assaulting them in advance for what they experienced as maternal tongue-lashing.¹⁷² Then their heads and genitals would be forcibly "shaped:"

Long heads would be reshaped, indeed all babies' heads would be reshaped to make them conform to the desired shape. The nose would be corrected...the nurse would gently stretch the end of the foreskin every day...The scrotum would also be massaged...¹⁷³

This painful "moulding" of the head continued during the infant's first year of life, well into modern times, and was sometimes fatal. As one English mother wrote in 1596 of her nine-month-old infant: "The child died...the nurse had overput the mould of the head with striking it up too hard."¹⁷⁴

Severe cranial deformation can be seen in the drawings of Egyptian, Mayan, Aztec, Huns, Native American and other children, as their heads were routinely put between two boards, one at the back of the head and the other on the forehead, so as to squash the head into the angle formed by the boards—a practice found as far back as the Neanderthals and continuing "throughout much of Europe, especially in Holland and France, until the middle of the nineteenth century."¹⁷⁵

Particularly widespread was the impulse to burn children. Traditional Arab children had burn marks all over their bodies from being burned by their parents with red-hot irons or pins.¹⁷⁶ English newspapers reported

¹⁷² David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History: The Psychology of Family Life in Early Modern France*. New York: Basic Books, 1970, p. 114; Alenka Puhar, "Childhood in Nineteenth-Century Slovenia," p. 296; John Theobald, *The Young Wife's Guide in the Management of Her Children*. London: W. Griffen, 1764, p. 4.

¹⁷³ Aline Rousselle, *Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Antiquity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983, p. 54.

¹⁷⁴ A. L. Rowse, *Sex and Society in Shakespeare's Age: Simon Forman the Astrologer*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974. p. 58.

¹⁷⁵ Max Shein, *The PreColumbian Child*. Culver City: Labyrinthos, 1992, pp. 48-53; Timothy Taylor, *The Prehistory of Sex*. New York: Bantam Books, 1996, p. 253; John E. Pfeiffer, *The Creative Explosion: An Inquiry Into the Origins of Art and Religion*. New York: Harper & Row, 1982, p. 100; E. J. Dingwall, *Artificial Cranial Deformation*. London: J. Bale, Sons, 1931; Armando R. Favazza, *Bodies Under Siege*, pp. 62-65; James DeMeo, *Saharasia*. Greensprings: Orgone Biophysical Research Lab, 1998, pp. 11-115.

¹⁷⁶ Samuel M. Swemer, *Childhood in the Moslem World*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1915, p. 104.

examples such as a woman “stirring up the fire with [children’s] feet so that their toes rotted off...But we don’t hear that there are any proceedings against her on this score.”¹⁷⁷ The regular use of applying burning *moxa* to the child’s body is still common in Japan.¹⁷⁸ Pouring scalding hot water (“iron water”) over children was supposed to be curative in Eastern European therapy.¹⁷⁹ Similar results are ascribed to an Italian medieval practice in which “as soon as children be born, they cauterize or burn them in the neck with a hot iron, or else drop a burning wax candle upon the place...they think the brain is dried, and by pain the humour which doth flow is drawn to the hinder part of the head.”¹⁸⁰ Every kind of excuse was given for the torture of children. Parents of every period have forced children who have soiled their bed to consume their own excrement.¹⁸¹ Particularly crippling were severe mutilations like Chinese foot-binding, which breaks the bones of little girls so their flesh deteriorates, done in order to make the big toe stick out (as a penis substitute) so men could masturbate against it during the sex act.¹⁸²

THE LACK OF EMPATHY TOWARD CHILDREN AND MALNUTRITION IN HISTORY

Every childrearing practice in traditional societies around the globe betrays a profound lack of empathy toward children. This should not, however, be simply seen as a result of poverty or even “the brutality of human nature.” These parents are in thrall to their own mothers’ alters, demanding the torture and sacrifice of their grandchildren. A typical example of this thralldom can be seen in the following observation of a visitor to Italy who described a popular religious festival:

The most striking object of the solemnities is a procession [in which] a colossal car is dragged by a long team of buffaloes through the streets. Upon this are erected a great variety of objects, such as the sun, moon, and principal planets, set in rotary motion...The heart

¹⁷⁷ Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, *Children in English Society. I*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969, p. 303.

¹⁷⁸ Michio Kitahara, “Childhood in Japanese Culture.” *The Journal of Psychohistory* 17(1989): 49.

¹⁷⁹ Alenka Puhar, “Childhood in Slovenia,” p. 301.

¹⁸⁰ Robert Pemell, *De Morbis Puerorum, or, A Treatise of the Diseases of Children...* London: J. Legatt, 1653, p. 8.

¹⁸¹ Jules Renard, *Poils de Carotte*. Paris, 1894, p. 15.

¹⁸² Howard S. Levy, *Chinese Footbinding: The History of a Curious Erotic Custom*. London: Nevill Spearman, n.d.; Lloyd deMause, “The Universality of Incest,” p. 151.

sickens at sight of it [for] bound to the rays of sun and moon, to the circles forming the spheres of the various planets, are infants yet unweaned, whose mothers, for the gain of a few ducats, thus expose their offspring, to represent the cherub escort which is supposed to accompany the Virgin [Mary] to heaven.

When this huge machine has made its jolting round, these helpless creatures...having been whirled round and round for a period of seven hours, are taken down from this fatal machine, already dead or dying. Then ensues a scene impossible to describe—the mothers struggling with each other, screaming, and trampling each other down. It not being possible, on account of the number, for each mother to recognize her own child among the survivors, one disputes with the other the identity of her infant...The less fortunate mothers, as they receive the dead bodies of their infants, often already cold, rend the air with their fictitious lamentations, but consoled with the certainty that Maria, enamoured of her child, has taken it with her into Paradise.¹⁸³

The Mother Mary—symbol of the infant's grandmother—is shown as demanding possession of the child even unto death. The mothers give up their child's life to the infanticidal grandmother happily, knowing they are thereby being good little girls who obey the destructive wishes of their mothers.

This destructive grandmother-alter in every mother's head is the missing factor in historians' accounts of the ubiquitous cruelty toward children in the past. Edward Shorter, for instance, effectively counters the "poverty" argument for "the manifest callousness" with which children were treated in the past by showing how upper- and middle-class mothers "got the money for large weddings, dowries, and militia uniforms...yet omitted just as much as did the laborers to breast-feed infants while alive, and to grieve for them when dead."¹⁸⁴ Indeed, almost every mother who could afford to send their newborn out to wetnurses did so, even when the wetnurses fed them pap, not breast milk, and even though their children were more than likely to die from the wetnurse's callous treatment. In fact, mothers in the past seemed unable to even empathize enough with their infants to notice when they were hungry. Doctors throughout the centuries in all parts of the world routinely reported that "babies should only

¹⁸³ Richard Bentley, Ed., *Memoirs of Henrietta Caracciolo*. London: Richard Bentley, 1865, p. 15.

¹⁸⁴ Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family*. New York: Basic Books, 1977, p. xvii.

be fed two to three times in twenty-four hours."¹⁸⁵ Héroard's diary of little Louis XIII showed that despite over a dozen nurses and caretakers being assigned to provide for his needs, he was regularly malnourished, even close to death.¹⁸⁶ Even princesses as late as the eighteenth century were regularly reported to be "naked and dying of hunger."¹⁸⁷ Mothers and nurses in the past were closer than one wishes to admit to the mother chimpanzees whom we discussed in the previous chapter, who cannot empathize with their weaned babies enough to give them food or water or even to show them how to get it, so that one-third starve to death during the weaning crisis.¹⁸⁸ Human mothers, however, have gone far beyond this lack of empathy, and purposely starved their children in fasting or punishment rituals so beloved by many societies in the past.¹⁸⁹ Buchan's conclusion that "almost one half of the human species perish in infancy by improper management or neglect"¹⁹⁰ was quite accurate, and by no means restricted to the poor. When babies cried, mothers heard their own mothers' demanding voices, and only wanted to quiet them, so they would as likely feed them beer, wine or opium—available in every store as Godfrey's Cordial, Dalby's Carminative or Syrup of Poppies,¹⁹¹ which would either narcotize them enough to quiet them or would kill them.¹⁹² The use of opium on infants goes back to ancient Egypt, where the Ebers papyrus tells

¹⁸⁵ Magdalena King-Hall, *The Story of the Nursery*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958, p. 126; William Perkins, *Christian Economy...*In Joan Larsen Klein, Ed., *Daughters, Wives, and Widows*, p. 199; Max Shein, *The PreColumbian Child*. Culver City: Labyrinthos, 1992, p. 56.

¹⁸⁶ E. Soulie and E. de Barthelemy, Eds., *Journal de Jean Héroard sur l'Enfance et la Jeunesse de Louis XIII*, Vol. 1. Paris: Firmin Didot frères, 1868, p. 35.

¹⁸⁷ Hippolyte Adolphe Taine, *The Ancient Regime*. Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1962, p. 130; Avner Gil'adi, *Children of Islam*, p. 25.

¹⁸⁸ Jane Beckman Lancaster, *Primate Behavior and the Emergence of Human Culture*. New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1975, p. 37.

¹⁸⁹ William G. McLoughlin, "Evangelical Child Rearing in the Age of Jackson: Francis Wayland's Views on When and How to Subdue the Willfulness of Children." In N. Ray Hiner and Joseph M. Hawes, Eds., *Growing Up in America: Children in Historical Perspective*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985, pp. 87-89.

¹⁹⁰ William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*. Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1809, p. 9.

¹⁹¹ Stephanie de Genlis, *Memoirs of the Countess de Genlis*. Vol. 1. New York: Wilder & Campbell, 1825, p. 10; John B. Beck, "The Effects of Opium on the Infant Subject." *New York Journal of Medicine*, January, 1844, p. 6; Thomas E. Jordan, *Victorian Childhood: Themes and Variations*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987, p. 99; James Walvin, *A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914*. New York: Penguin Books, 1982, p. 26.

¹⁹² George Frederic Still, *The History of Paediatrics*. London: Oxford University Press, 1931, p. 466.

parents: "It acts at once!"¹⁹³ Physicians complained of the thousands of infants killed every year by nurses "forever pouring Godfrey's Cordial down their little throats, which is a strong opiate and in the end as fatal as arsenic."¹⁹⁴ At all costs the baby must be quieted; Rheingold describes mothers in treatment who "stop producing milk every time their mothers appear" because they "fear their own vengeful mothers and fear that she may destroy her child."¹⁹⁵

There is no conscious guilt on the part of mothers who allow their children to starve to death, since they blame the children "for wanting to die."¹⁹⁶ Many mothers and wetnurses didn't breastfeed at all, but just gave infants pap, "gruel" (*bouillie*), made of water or sour milk mixed with flour,¹⁹⁷ which has very little nourishment and was so thick that "soon the whole belly is clogged, convulsions set in, and the little ones die."¹⁹⁸ In Bavaria, for instance, mothers considered nursing their children "disgusting," while the fathers were totally lacking in empathy, telling their wives "those breasts are mine" and threatening to go on a hunger strike if the mothers nursed their baby.¹⁹⁹ All sorts of past childrearing practices contributed to the starvation or malnutrition of infants. Newborn babies were usually not fed at all for the first week or more, since the mother's colostrum was believed to be poisonous to the baby. Swaddled babies were hung on a peg or put in a cradle in another room, where their hunger cries could not be heard; in addition, tight swaddling makes infants withdraw into themselves so they refrain from crying when hungry. Infants sent out to wetnurse, after not being fed during the journey, were given to women who often attempted to nurse up to five or more babies at a time as they worked in the fields, while "the child is left to himself, drowning in his own excrement, bound like a criminal..."²⁰⁰ Particularly malnourished were those babies fed on pap by nurses, sometimes taking on as many as

¹⁹³ A. Hymanson, "A Short Review of the History of Infant Feeding." *Archives of Pediatrics* 51(1934): 4.

¹⁹⁴ Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, *Children in English Society, Vol. 1*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969, p. 301.

¹⁹⁵ Joseph Rheingold, *The Fear of Being a Woman*, p. 568.

¹⁹⁶ Nancy Scheper-Hughes, "Culture, Scarcity and Maternal Thinking: Maternal Detachment and Infant Survival in a Brazilian Shantytown." *Ethos* 13(1985): 291-317.

¹⁹⁷ David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History*, p. 115.

¹⁹⁸ Elisabeth Badinter, *Mother Love: Myth and Reality*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1981, p. 95.

¹⁹⁹ John Knodel and Etienne Van de Walle, "Breast Feeding, Fertility and Infant Mortality: An Analysis of Some Early German Data." *Population Studies* 21(1967): 119.

²⁰⁰ Elisabeth Badinter, *Mother Love: Myth and Reality*, p. 95.

40 children at a time, most dying, while mothers continued to send them their subsequent babies.²⁰¹ These and other starvation practices made malnutrition for most babies a near certainty until modern times.

SENDING TO WETNURSE AS A DELEGATE OF THE DESTRUCTIVE GRANDMOTHER

Most historians have been as little able to feel empathy for infants sent to wetnurses as the mothers themselves were, claiming it "reflected not so much a lack of love for them as a deep fear of loving them,"²⁰² or that it was just "a harmless convention not a rejection of the child."²⁰³ Most mothers who could afford to send their babies out did so; for instance, from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century, less than 5 percent of the babies born in Paris were nursed by their own mothers, rich or poor alike.²⁰⁴ Six percent of eighteenth-century Parisian parents that wetnursed their babies were noble, 44 percent were master artisans and tradesmen and 24 percent were journeymen or other workers; over a third of the children died during their time at wetnurse, a mortality rate at least double that of maternal nursing, with the mortality rate of foundlings placed at wetnurse being a deadly 92 percent.²⁰⁵ Parents, of course, knew these enormous infant mortality figures when they condemned their innocent babies to wetnurse.

Mothers knew their own mothers would be jealous if they cared about the newborn rather than devoting themselves to the grandmother, so they rarely inquired about the baby at wetnurse. One unusual mother who actually visited her baby at wetnurse was warned by a relative that "such exaggerated love was a crime against God [her maternal alter], and he [she] would surely punish it."²⁰⁶ Besides, "many young mothers say... 'If I turn nurse, I should destroy my husband's life, and my own too.'"²⁰⁷ Upper-class mothers almost never nursed their babies, saying, "Nourish an infant! Indeed, Indeed! ...I

²⁰¹ Valerie Fildes, *Wet Nursing: A History from Antiquity to the Present*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988, p. 97.

²⁰² Philip Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti, 1410-1536*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1990, p. 19.

²⁰³ Shari L. Thurer, *The Myths of Motherhood: How Culture Reinvents the Good Mother*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1994, p. 93.

²⁰⁴ George D. Sussman, *Selling Mothers' Milk: The Wet-Nursing Business in France, 1718-1914*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982.

²⁰⁵ Ibid, pp. 24, 67.

²⁰⁶ Patrick P. Dunn, "Fathers and Sons Revisited: The Childhood of Vissarion Belinskii." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1(1974): 133.

²⁰⁷ Mrs. Frank Malleon, *Notes on the Early Training of Children*. Third Edition. Boston: D. C. Heath, 1887, p. 22.

must have my sleep o'nights...And a new gown to wear at the Opera...What! Must the brat have my paps too?"²⁰⁸ Defoe called suckling babies by ladies of quality "a thing as unnatural as if God had never intended it."²⁰⁹ Newborn babies were experienced as demon alters—dragon-snakes (*drákoι*)—until they were exorcized at baptism.²¹⁰ Even when her babies had in-house nurses to care for them, the mother wouldn't breastfeed them herself. Breast milk was supposed to have been made from the mother's blood, and mothers imagined that "every time the baby sucks on her breasts, she feeleth the blood come from her heart to nourish it,"²¹¹ making her feel like the baby depleted her of her very life's blood. Doctors beginning with Soranus agreed that mothers who nursed their babies would "grow prematurely old, having spent herself through the daily suckling."²¹² In addition, since it was believed that "sperm would spoil the milk and turn it sour,"²¹³ for most of history maternal breastfeeding meant no sex for the mother while nursing. Still others rejected breastfeeding because it felt "too sensual,"²¹⁴ violating the anti-sexual prohibitions of their family upbringing.

Physicians have complained since antiquity about parents who routinely gave their newborn over to negligent and abusive wetnurses. "At birth our children are handed over to some silly little Greek serving girl," says Tacitus;²¹⁵ Soranus warns about "some wet-nurses so lacking in sympathy towards the nursling that they not only pay no heed when it cries for a long time, but [are] angry women like maniacs and sometimes when the newborn cries from fear and they are unable to restrain it, they let it drop from their hands or overturn it dangerously."²¹⁶ Aulus Gellius says wetnurses are chosen at random from the most useless slaves: "they take the first woman who has milk."²¹⁷ Throughout history, parents were quite

²⁰⁸ Edmond & Jules de Goncourt, *The Woman of the Eighteenth Century*. Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1928, p. 145.

²⁰⁹ Daniel Defoe, *The Compleat English Gentleman*. London, 1890 (1729), p. 72.

²¹⁰ Charles Stewart, *Demons and the Devil*, p. 55.

²¹¹ Joan Larsen Klein, Ed., *Daughters, Wives, and Widows*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992, p. 293.

²¹² Soranus of Ephesus, *Gynecology*, 90.

²¹³ Elisabeth Badinter, *Mother Love: Myth and Reality*, p. 70.

²¹⁴ Stephen Kern, "Freud and the Discovery of Child Sexuality." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1(1973):124.

²¹⁵ Tacitus, *Dialogus de Oratoribus* 29.

²¹⁶ Soranus, *Gynaecology* 2.18.

²¹⁷ Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae*, XII, I; Sandra R. Joshel, "Nurturing the Master's Child: Slavery and the Roman Child-Nurse." In Jean F. O'Barr et al., Eds, *Ties That Bind: Essays on Mothering and Patriarchy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990, pp. 109-128.

casual about entrusting their babies for from two to seven years with wet-nurses. An agent would “stop the first peasant woman he might come across, without examining her health or her milk [or use] a placement office [who would] get rid of him cheap or hand him over to the first person who comes along...”²¹⁸ The child-peddlers who hawked their services in the streets or by newspaper ads were not expected to know anything about the wetnurse, only to take the infant off the mother’s hands. Those few parents who tried to find a good wetnurse were usually disappointed; one diarist wrote of his own life: “Four different wet-nurses were alternately turn’d out of doors on my account...The first...nearly suffocated me in bed...The second let me fall from her arms on the stones till my head was almost fractured...The third carried me under an old brick wall which fell [on me]...while the fourth proved to be a thief, and deprived me even of my very baby clothes.”²¹⁹

The trip to wetnurse began the infant’s traumatic life experiences. “The infants were bundled upright in groups of four or five in pannier baskets strapped to the backs of donkeys. Those who died on the journey were just thrown out *en route*.”²²⁰ Once there, their parents “seldom inquired about the survival of their infants and were often uninformed as to their whereabouts.”²²¹ Mothers sent each newborn to wetnurse “despite the killing off, one by one, of their children...Neither poverty nor ignorance explains such infanticide—only indifference...Mothers on learning of their child’s death at the nurse’s console themselves, without wondering about the cause, by saying, ‘Ah well, another angel in heaven!’”²²²

The wetnurse herself was usually an infanticidal mother. The common practice was to require that she get rid of her own baby in order to nurse the stranger—termed “a life for a life” by parents in the past.²²³ Montaigne lamented “Every day we snatch children from the arms of their mothers and put our own in their charge for a very small payment.”²²⁴ Society thought this system fair, since “by the sacrifice of the infant of the poor woman, the

²¹⁸ Elisabeth Badinter, *Mother Love: Myth and Reality*, p. 93.

²¹⁹ Linda A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

²²⁰ Olwin H. Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974, p. 345.

²²¹ Elisabeth Badinter, *Mother Love: Myth and Reality*, p. x.

²²² *Ibid*, pp. 113, 62.

²²³ Janet Golden, *A Social History of Wet Nursing in America: From Breast to Bottle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 126.

²²⁴ Elisabeth Badinter, *Mother Love: Myth and Reality*, p. 41.

offspring of the wealthy will be preserved."²²⁵ It is not surprising, then, that wetnurses were universally described as "vicious, slothful and inclined to drunkenness,"²²⁶ "debauched, indolent, superstitious,"²²⁷ guilty of "gross negligence...leaving babies...unattended when helping with the harvest...crawling or falling into the fire and being attacked by animals, especially pigs,"²²⁸ "hung from a nail like a bundle of old clothes...the unfortunate one remains thus crucified [with] a purple face and violently compressed chest."²²⁹ The wetnurses' superstitions included a belief "in favor of cradle cap and of human wastes, which were thought to have therapeutic value,"²³⁰ so infants were rarely washed and lived in their own feces and urine for their entire time at nurse: "Infants sat in animal and human filth, were suspended on a hook in unchanged swaddling bands or were slung from the rafters in an improvised hammock...their mouths crammed with rotting rags."²³¹ Even live-in wetnurses were described as unfeeling:

When he cried she used to shake him—when she washed him she used to stuff the sponge in his little mouth—push her finger (beast!) in his little throat—say she hated the child, wished he were dead—used to let him lie on the floor screaming while she sat quietly by and said screams did not annoy her...²³²

Complaints by physicians that wetnurses let infants die of simple neglect were legion: "While the women attend to the vineyards, the infant remains alone...swaddled to a board and suspended from a hook on the wall...crying and hungry in putrid diapers. Often the child cries so hard it ends up with a hernia...turkeys peck out the eyes of a child...or they fall into a fire, or drown in pails left carelessly on doorsteps."²³³ Children were described as being "kept ragged and bare, sickly and starved...in terror of

²²⁵ Charles West, *Lectures on the Diseases of Infancy and Childhood*. 5th Ed. Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea, 1874, p. 45.

²²⁶ David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History: The Psychology of Family Life in Early Modern France*. New York: Basic Books, 1970, p. 101.

²²⁷ Mary Lindemann, "Love for Hire: The Regulation of the Wet-Nursing Business in Eighteenth-Century Hamburg." *Journal of Family History* 16(1981): 379.

²²⁸ George D. Sussman, *Selling Mothers' Milk*, p. 55.

²²⁹ Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England*, p. 425.

²³⁰ George Sussman, *Selling Mothers' Milk*, p. 54.

²³¹ Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989, p. 146.

²³² Linda Pollock, *A Lasting Relationship*, p. 71.

²³³ Joan Sherwood, *Poverty in Eighteenth-Century Spain: The Women and Children of the Inclusa*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988, p. 80.

their nurse, who handed out blows and vituperation freely" or who "tied them up by the shoulders and wrists with ragged ends of sheets...face down on the floor...to protect them from injuring themselves while she was away...Never played with or cuddled...it is a holiday when they are taken for a walk around the room by the nurses..."²³⁴ Infants who are sent to "killing nurses" are described as being fed while the nurse croons, "Cry no more! Soon you will go, *deté drago*, soon... 'Tis truly better that you go, dear infant...onto the lap of Virgin Mary, Mother of Jesus."²³⁵ The destructive Mother of Jesus, who gave birth only for him to be sacrificed, was never far away from the child, nor was the cradleboard (cross) to which children were tied. It is no wonder that well into the nineteenth century, many areas had a two-thirds mortality rate of infants sent to wetnurse.²³⁶

Since their parents seldom visited them, the children were total strangers when they were returned to them years later. "If they returned home alive, they often came back in a pitiable state: thin, tiny, deformed, consumed by fevers, prone to convulsions."²³⁷ The mother has by then nearly forgotten her baby, since, as physicians complained since antiquity, "When a child is given to another and removed from its mother's sight, the strength of maternal ardor is gradually and little by little extinguished and it is almost as completely forgotten as if it had been lost by death."²³⁸ One typical report came from a woman who described her mother saying when she was returned at two from wetnurse, "My God! What have you brought me here! This goggle-eyed, splatter-faced, gabbart-mouthed wretch is not my child! Take her away!"²³⁹ Another is praised by Locke for beating her child when she first saw her, saying she was "forced to whip her little *Daughter*, at her first coming home from Nurse, eight times successively the same Morning, before she could master her *Stubbornness* and obtain a compliance in a very easie and indifferent matter."²⁴⁰

²³⁴ Ibid, pp. 81, 132.

²³⁵ Louis Adamic, *Cradle of Life: The Story of One Man's Beginnings*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1936, p. 48.

²³⁶ Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household and Sexuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 204.

²³⁷ Elisabeth Badinter, *Mother Love: Myth and Reality*, p. 163.

²³⁸ Anna Ferraris Oliverio, "Infanticide in Western Cultures: A Historical Overview." In Stefano Parmigiani and Frederick S. vom Saal, *Infanticide and Parental Care*. Zurich: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1994, p. 113.

²³⁹ George Anne Bellamy, *An apology for the life of George Anne Bellamy...* London: London Press, 1785, p. 26.

²⁴⁰ Edmund Leites, *The Puritan Conscience and Modern Sexuality*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986, p. 45.

The return home to mother from wetnurse was often like going from the frying pan into the fire.

Wetnursing was practiced by societies all over the world, from Europe to Asia, as far back as records exist.²⁴¹ The Code of Hammurabi even allowed the wetnurse to sell the baby if the parents couldn't pay her the contracted amount.²⁴² The first improvement did not come until the seventeenth century, when wetnurses began more often to be brought into the parents' homes, especially in England, Holland and America.²⁴³ The next step was for the mother to nurse herself. The decision was made purely for psychogenic reasons; no new invention nor social condition caused the change. Nor was it due to a change in the opinions of experts—the pro-nursing tracts of Rousseau and others had little affect on the near-universal wetnursing practice in France, for instance, while in America, even in the South where slave nurses were available, mothers themselves usually nursed by the eighteenth century.²⁴⁴ Advanced mothers began by telling each other they would find new delights in nursing their own infants, for, “in recompence whereof, he endeavors to show her a thousand delights...he kisseth her, strokes her hair, nose and ears, he flatters her...”²⁴⁵ Rather than a draining of vital blood, nursing could actually be a pleasure to the mother! The new middle class took the lead in maternal nursing, while—even in England—the upper classes gave their infants to wetnurses well into the nineteenth century; Victoria was the first English monarch who was not put out to wetnurse.²⁴⁶ All of these changes took place before the advent of sterilized bottle feeding in

²⁴¹ Valerie Fildes, *Wet Nursing*; Pei-Yi Wu, “Childhood Remembered: Parents and Children in China, 800-1700.” In Anne Behnke Kinney, Ed., *Chinese Views of Childhood*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995, p. 130; Avner Giladi, *Infants, Parents and Wet Nurses: Medieval Islamic Views on Breastfeeding and Their Social Implications*. Leiden: Brill, 1999, p. 3.

²⁴² Valerie Fildes, *Wet Nursing*, p. 24.

²⁴³ Fiona Newall, “Wet Nursing and Child Care in Aldenham, Hertfordshire, 1595-1726: Some Evidence on the Circumstances and Effects of Seventeenth-Century Child Rearing Practices.” In Valerie Fildes, Ed. *Women As Mothers in Pre-Industrial England*. London: Routledge, 1990, p. 125; Patricia Crawford, “The Sucking Child”: Adult Attitudes to Child Care in the First year of Life in Seventeenth-Century England.” *Continuity and Change* 1(1986): 31; Rudolf Dekker, *Childhood, Memory and Autobiography in Holland: From the Golden Age to Romanticism*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000, p. 27; Janet Golden, *A Social History of Wet Nursing in America*, pp. 35, 44, 56.

²⁴⁴ Sally McMillen, “Mothers' Sacred Duty: Breast-feeding Patterns Among Middle- and Upper-Class Women in the Antebellum South.” *Journal of Southern History* 51(1985): 333-56; Catherine M. Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society*, p. 62.

²⁴⁵ Jacques Guillimeau, *The Nursing of Children*. London: A. Hatfield, 1612, p. 3.

²⁴⁶ Charles Carlton, *Royal Childhoods*. London: Routledge, 1986, p. 122.

the twentieth century. Infant mortality in these areas immediately plunged,²⁴⁷ and mothers began to work out how to face the new emotional challenges of relating to their babies.

SWADDLING THE EVIL INFANT

Since "infant humans are inclined in their hearts to adultery, fornication, impure desires, lewdness...anger, strife, gluttony, hatred and more,"²⁴⁸ they had to be tightly tied up so they "be not crooked nor evil shapen."²⁴⁹ It was feared that a child would "tear its ears off, scratch its eyes out, break its legs, or touch its genitals,"²⁵⁰ would undoubtedly "fall to pieces,"²⁵¹ and would certainly "go upon all four, as most other animals do."²⁵² Worse, infants were always on the verge of turning into your own angry mother; there was so much "viciousness in all children [if you] pamper them the least little bit, at once they will rule their parents."²⁵³ Infants were thought to be so violent that even their heads must be "firmly tied down, that they might not throw off their heads from their shoulders."²⁵⁴ Physicians complained: "Mothers and nurses bind and tie their children so hard [they] made me weep [as they] lie the children behind the hot oven, whereby the child may soon be stifled or choked..."²⁵⁵ The swaddling process was much the same for millennia:

[The mother] stretches the baby out on a board or straw mattress and dresses it in a little gown or a coarse, crumpled diaper, on top of which she begins to apply the swaddling bands. She pins the infant's arms against its chest, then passes the band under the armpits, which presses the arms firmly into place. Around and around she winds the

²⁴⁷ R. E. Jones, "Further Evidence on the Decline in Infant Mortality in Pre-industrial England: North Shropshire, 1561-1810." *Population Studies* 34(1980):247.

²⁴⁸ Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500*. London: Longman, 1995, p. 49.

²⁴⁹ G. G. Coulton, *Social Life in Britain: From the Conquest to the Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1918, p. 46.

²⁵⁰ Ruth Benedict, "Child Rearing in Certain European Countries." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 19(1949): 345.

²⁵¹ Rhoda E. White, *From Infancy to Womanhood. A Book of Instruction For Young Mothers*. London: Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1882, p. 19.

²⁵² Francois Mauriceau, *The Diseases of Women with Child*. London: T. Cox, 1736, p. 309.

²⁵³ Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Introduction of the Young in the German Reformation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, p. 97.

²⁵⁴ John Jones, *Medical, Philosophical and Vulgar Errors of Various Kinds...* London, 1797, p. 73.

²⁵⁵ Felix Würtz, *The Children's Book*. Frankfurt, 1563, pp. 202, 205.



Illustration 3. Mother swaddling a baby.

band down to the buttocks, tighter and tighter...clear down to the feet, and...covers the baby's head with a bonnet [all of which] is fastened with pins.²⁵⁶

Physicians have complained that the infant "is lucky if he is not squeezed so hard that he is unable to breathe, and if he has been placed on his side, so that the water which he has to pass through his mouth can run out," or he will choke to death.²⁵⁷ Swaddled Albanian infants were described as follows in a 1934 study:

The child began immediately to passionately scream and tried to free himself...This seemed to be a signal for the mother to rock the cradle violently; at the same time she covered the head of the baby with a white sheet. While the baby's miserable screaming made a strong impression to us, it seemed to be an everyday thing to the mother, to which she did not react except by rocking the cradle as strongly as possible...²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family*, p. 197.

²⁵⁷ David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History*, p. 131; Count de Buffon, *A Natural History*. Vol. I. London: Thomas Kelly, 1781, p. 211.

²⁵⁸ Lotte Danzinger and Liselotte Frankl, "Zum Problem der Funktionsreifeung." *Zeitschrift für Kinderforschung* 43(1934): 229.



Illustration 4. Baby hanging on nail on wall.

The traditional “benumbing shaking” of the baby and “violent rocking” of the cradle—described over and over again by our sources²⁵⁹—“puts the babe into a dazed condition in order that he may not trouble those that have the care of him,”²⁶⁰ and is sometimes supplemented by “a piece of linen rag stuffed into its mouth”²⁶¹ to stop the screaming. Because straight pins were used to keep the swaddling bands in place,²⁶² “nurses, blinded by passion and prejudice, do not hesitate to beat the helpless babe, without examining whether its cries are not occasioned by a pin...”²⁶³ Because every visitor to the home represents the jealous grandmother, infants are usually

kept in dark rooms and their faces are covered by blankets to ward off the “world full of angry, malevolent, burning, glaring looks, a world dominated by evil and fear...usually represented by an older woman...Sharp objects are placed into the cradle or stuck between the swaddling bands—knives, needles, forks, nails—to protect against incubi...”²⁶⁴ Salt was rubbed into the baby’s skin, irritating it terribly;²⁶⁵ excrement was sometimes smeared on its nipples; infants were made to drink their own urine; and neighbors would often spit on it, saying: “Ugh, aren’t you just ugly,” all to ward off jealous “evil eye” spirits.²⁶⁶ Since the infants were nursed while swaddled, they stewed in their own excrement for days at a time, the mothers leaving their babies “crying with all their might” in the cradle or “tossed in a corner” or “hung from a nail on the wall” while they “spend

²⁵⁹ Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family*, p. 170.

²⁶⁰ W. Preyer, *Mental Development in the Child*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1907, p. 41.

²⁶¹ Alenka Puhar, “Childhood In Nineteenth-Century Slovenia,” p. 308.

²⁶² Karin Calvert, *Children in the House*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992, p. 22.

²⁶³ Christian Augustus Struve, *A Familiar Treatise on the Physical Education of Children...* London, 1801, p. 382.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 294-5.

²⁶⁵ Diana Dick, *Yesterday’s Babies: A History of Babycare*. London: The Bodley Head, 1987, p. 8.

²⁶⁶ Alenka Puhar, “Childhood In Nineteenth-Century Slovenia,” p. 295.

hours away from their cottages" during the day.²⁶⁷ Few traditional mothers or nurses heeded doctors' pleas "not to let them lie in their filth,"²⁶⁸ so that during their first year of life²⁶⁹ they were usually "covered with excrement, reeking of a pestilential stench [their] skin completely inflamed [and] covered with filthy ulcerations [so that] if touched...they let out piercing cries."²⁷⁰

Swaddling was a world-wide practice, undoubtedly reaching back to tribal cultures, since so many of them have featured tying up children to cradleboards for as long as three years as their way of controlling the infant's supposedly aggressive tendencies.²⁷¹ Asian parents favored techniques like wrapping the child in a blanket and tying it into a basket made of straw or bamboo (*ejiko*) until it was three or four years old.²⁷² Eighteenth-century Anglo-Saxon physicians began to suggest doing away with swaddling entirely, at least during the day, stressing what mothers had been unable so far to notice: "that particular happiness, which a child shows by all its powers of expression, when it is newly undressed. How pleased! How delightful! it is with this new liberty."²⁷³ Soon, more and more mothers discovered "the extreme pleasure that all children discover when stript of their incumbrances, the content and satisfaction with which they stretch themselves, enjoying the freedom of voluntary motion;"²⁷⁴ and by the

²⁶⁷ Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family*, pp. 170-1; David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History*, p. 126.

²⁶⁸ Jacques Guillemeau, *A Treatise of the Diseases of Infants, and Young Children*. London, A. Hatfield, 1612, p. 26.

²⁶⁹ Plato, *Laws VII*. 7; David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History*, p. 127; Lotte Danzinger, "Zum Problem der Funktionsreife," p. 232; Anne Buck, *Clothes and the Child*. Carlton: Ruth Bean, 1996, p. 24; John Peckey, *A General Treatise of the Diseases of Infants and Children*. London: R. Wellington, 1697, p. 6; Nicholas Culpepper, *A directory for midwives...* London: J. Streater, 1671, p. 229.

²⁷⁰ Elisabeth Badinter, *Mother Love: Myth and Reality*, pp. 96-7.

²⁷¹ Stanley Walens, *Feasting With Cannibals: An Essay on Kwakiutl Cosmology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981, p. 15; John W. M. Whiting, "Adolescent Rituals and Identity Conflicts." In James W. Stigler, et al., Eds, *Cultural Psychology: Essays on Comparative Human Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 358; Gwen J. Broude, *Growing Up: A Cross-Cultural Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clío, 1995, p. 172.

²⁷² E. Lipton et al., "Swaddling, A Child Care Practice: Historical, Cultural and Experimental Observations." *Paediatrics, Supplement*, 35 (1965), pp. 519-67; Michio Kitahara, "Childhood in Japanese Culture," p. 44.

²⁷³ William Smellie, *Of the Management of New-Born Children...* London, 1762; Catherine M. Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society*, p. 74.

²⁷⁴ Hester Chapone, *Chapone on the Improvement of the Mind*. Philadelphia: L. Johnson, 1830, p. 203.

nineteenth century, swaddling was “unheard of” in France, England and America, though continuing in Germany into the twentieth century and in various parts of Eastern Europe even today.²⁷⁵

The effects of swaddling upon every human born during the past ten millennia were catastrophic. Besides having “the pressure force blood to their heads and make their little faces purple,” besides “crushing his breast and ribs” and “compressing the flesh almost to gangrene, the circulation nearly arrested,”²⁷⁶ swaddled infants were severely withdrawn, listless and physically retarded in the onset of walking, which often didn’t begin until from two to five years of age (see my table of historical ages of first walking).²⁷⁷ The effects of swaddling on all adults’ emotional lives is even more profound. Because of the lack of warmth and holding, there is a lifelong deficit in oxytocin and oversupply of cortisol, the stress hormone, resulting in a lifetime of rage and anxiety states.²⁷⁸ Even rats lose neurons in the hippocampus and orbital frontal lobes when tied up like human infants were, developing depletions in serotonin, norepinephrine and dopamine, exacerbated aggressive behavior and a severe decrease in social capabilities.²⁷⁹ In the next chapter, we will discuss the enormous transformation produced in Western science, politics and culture by the ending of wetnursing and swaddling and the evolution of parental love during the modern period.

²⁷⁵ Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family*, p. 197; Th. Bentzon, “About French Children.” *Century Magazine* 52(1896): 805; Elisabeth Badinter, *Mother Love: Myth and Reality*, p. 172; An American Matron, *The Maternal Physician...* New York: Isaac Riley, 1811, p. 136; Alenka Puhar, “Childhood Origins of the War in Yugoslavia.” *The Journal of Psychohistory* 20(1993): 374.

²⁷⁶ Priscilla Robertson, “Home As a Nest: Middle Class Childhood in Nineteenth-Century Europe.” In deMause, Ed., *The History of Childhood*, p. 412; Daniel Beekman, *The Mechanical Baby: A Popular History of the Theory and Practice of Child Raising*. Westport: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1977, p. 31; William P. Dewees, *A Treatise on the Physical and Medical Treatment of Children*. Philadelphia: H. C. Carey, 1826, p. 4.

²⁷⁷ D. M. Levy, “On the Problems of Movement Restraint.” *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 14(1944): 644-71; Sylvia Brody, *Patterns of Mothering: Maternal Influence During Infancy*. New York: International Universities Press, 1956, p. 104; Michio Kitahara, “Childrearing in Japanese Culture,” p. 44; Lotte Danzinger, “Zum Problem der Funktionsreifung,” pp. 249-53; *Scientific American, Mind and Brain*. New York: W. H. Freeman and Co., 1993, p. 16; Lloyd deMause, “The Evolution of Childhood,” p. 60.

²⁷⁸ Arthur Janov, *The Biology of Love*. Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2000, pp. 35, 303.

²⁷⁹ Bruce D. Perry, “Neurobiological Sequelae of Childhood Trauma: PTSD in Children.” In M. Michele Murburg, *Catecholamine Function in Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: Emerging Concepts*. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press, 1994, pp. 223-254; Jean Carper, *Your Miracle Brain*. New York: HarperCollins, 2000, p. 31; Debra Hiehoff, *The Biology of Violence*. New York: The Free Press, 1999, p. 126; F. Lamprecht et al, “Rat Fighting Behavior.” *Brain Research* 525(1990): 285-293.

THE HISTORY OF CHILD BEATING

Despite belief to the contrary, mothers beat their children today "at a rate approaching twice that of fathers,"²⁸⁰ and mothers in the past were even more likely to be the child beaters than today. The typical mother of the hundreds I have collected from memoirs in the past was described as endlessly beating her children:

She was a curious woman, my mother. Children seemed to inspire her with a vindictive animosity, with a fury for beating and banging them, against walls, against, chairs, upon the ground...²⁸¹

My mother...strictly followed Solomon's advice, in never sparing the rod; insomuch that I have frequently been whipped for looking blue on a frosty morning; and, whether I deserved it or not, I was sure of correction every day of my life.²⁸²

Mama whipped us for the least thing...sometimes the chastisement could better be called a flogging...we kept the marks for many many days.²⁸³

I was often whipped. My mother said that one mustn't spoil children, and she whipped me every morning; if she didn't have time in the morning, she would do so at noon, rarely later than four o'clock.²⁸⁴

If the mother could not spare the time to beat her child, or if she complained "I have a little pain in my back with whipping Susan today, who struggled so that I have got a wrench,"²⁸⁵ she could always hire a "professional flagellant" who advertised their child-beating services in newspaper ads²⁸⁶ or, like one mother, she could hire a "garde-de-ville to whip her

²⁸⁰ Judith Sherven and James Sniechowski, "Women Are Responsible, Too." *Survivors of Female Incest Emerge* 3(1995):5; Ross D. Parke and Armin A. Brott, *Throwaway Dads: The Myths and Barriers That Keep Men from Being the Fathers They Want to Be*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1999, p. 50; Murray Strauss and Richard Gelles, *Physical Violence in American Families*. New Brunswick: Transaction Press, 1990, p. 4.

²⁸¹ Hannah Lynch, *Autobiography of a Child*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1899, p. 3.

²⁸² Letitia Pilkington, *Memoirs of Mrs. Letitia Pilkington. 1712-1750*. New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1928, p. 31.

²⁸³ Lisi Cipriani, *A Tuscan Childhood*. New York: The Century Co., 1907, p. 40.

²⁸⁴ Elisabeth Badinter, *Mother Love: Myth and Reality*, p. 240.

²⁸⁵ Rosalind K. Marshall, *Childhood in Seventeenth Century Scotland*. Edinburgh: The Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1976, p. 20.

²⁸⁶ Lionel Rose, *The Erosion of Childhood: Child Oppression in Britain 1860-1918*. London: Routledge, 1991, p. 231.



Illustration 5. Mother beating her child.

less babe...if it disobeys you, all you have to do is to...inflict bodily pain so steadily and so invariably that disobedience and suffering shall be indissolubly connected in the mind of the child."²⁸⁷ After all, until just recently, all experts advised that mothers should "let the child from a year old be taught to fear the rod, and cry softly...make him do as he is bid, if you whip him ten times running to do it."²⁸⁸ Since "God has given every mother the power [and] placed in your hands a helpless babe...if it disobeys you, all you have to do is to...inflict bodily pain so steadily and so invariably that disobedience and suffering shall be indissolubly connected in the mind of the child."²⁸⁹ And since your child needs you so much, "he does not bear a grudge against those who have hurt him...However much his mother whips him, he looks for her and values her above all others."²⁹⁰ "After thou hast beat him...then he hath forgotten all that was done to him before and will come to thee...running...to please thee and to kiss thee."²⁹¹

Children throughout history began being beaten in the womb. Pregnant mothers in the past were usually beaten by their husbands, who had a legal right to do so until the twentieth century;²⁹² and even today over a third of pregnant women are in physically abusive relationships—physical assault escalating during pregnancy.²⁹³ "Unborn children, trapped in their mother's wombs, are victims...from the father's blows to the abdomen."²⁹⁴ After birth,

²⁸⁷ Richard Heath. *Edgar Quinet: His Early Life and Writings*. London: Tribner & Co., 1881, p. 3.

²⁸⁸ John Hersey, *Advice to Christian Parents*. Baltimore: Armstrong & Berry, 1839, p. 83.

²⁸⁹ John S. C. Abbott, *The Mother At Home*. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1834, p. 39.

²⁹⁰ John Chrysostom, *Homily on Matthew 62.4*.

²⁹¹ G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961, p. 34.

²⁹² Terry Davidson, "Wifebeating: A Recurring Phenomenon Throughout History." In Maria Roy, Ed., *Battered Women: A Psychosociological Study of Domestic Violence*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1977, p. 19.

²⁹³ Amy L. Gilliland and Thomas R. Verny, "The Effects of Domestic Abuse on the Unborn Child." *Journal of Prenatal and Perinatal Psychology and Health* 13(1999): 236.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 243.

a half or more—depending upon the area—of American mothers today begin hitting their infants during their first year of life;²⁹⁵ in the past, nearly all were beaten in their cribs. Susanna Wesley's children were typical:

[I would] break their wills...before they can speak...[Before they] turned a year old they were taught to fear the rod and to cry softly...that most odious noise of the crying of children was rarely heard in the house, but the family usually lived in as much quietness as if there had not been a child among them.²⁹⁶

Usually the mother managed to effect what she felt was total control of the infant early on:

I have begun to govern Sally. She has been Whip'd [and] when she has done any thing that she suspects is wrong, will look with concern to see what Mama says, and if I only knit my brow she will cry till I smile, and although She is not quite Ten months old, yet...tis time she should be taught.²⁹⁷

Even when the infant didn't stop crying and begin to obey the mother's merest glance, the early beatings had to begin in earnest, as with this mother and her four-month-old infant:

I whipped him till he was actually black and blue, and until I *could not* whip him any more, and he never gave up one single inch.²⁹⁸

Even if the crying is because the child is sick, the rod must be applied, since the mother still hears the child's cries as critical of her:

Our little daughter...before she was quite a year old, we began to correct her for crying...It has taught her a command over her feelings...even when she is unwell, and blurts into a loud cry, we generally correct her until she suppresses it...[using] a rod...²⁹⁹

Children, says Locke, must always show total "submission and ready obedience...it must be early, or else it will cost pains and blows to recover

²⁹⁵ R. Parke and C. Collmer, "Child Abuse: An Interdisciplinary Analysis." In M. Hetherington, Ed., *Review of Child Development*. Vol. 5. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975, p. 509.

²⁹⁶ Robert Southey, *The Life of Wesley*. London: Oxford University Press, Vol. 2, p. 304.

²⁹⁷ Philip Greven, *Spare the Child: The Religious Roots of Punishment and the Psychological Impact of Physical Abuse*. New York: Vintage Books, 1990, p. 21.

²⁹⁸ Logan Pearsall Smith, *Unforgotten Years*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1939, p. 36.

²⁹⁹ "Extract From a Mother's Journal." *Mother's Magazine*, 1934, p. 43.

it."³⁰⁰ An Irish mother puts it more succinctly: "You've got to slash them while they're still too young to remember it and hold it against you."³⁰¹ In ancient times, children could be stoned to death if they were "uncontrollable;" Philo wrote:

It is right that parents should rebuke their children...beat them, disgrace them, and imprison them...if they still rebel...the law permits that they even be punished with death.³⁰²

Seneca described the public floggings of children in Sparta, where boys were often beaten to death:

Do you imagine that the Lacedaemonians hate their children when they test their mettle by lashing them in public? Their own fathers call upon them to endure bravely the blows of the whip, and ask them, though mangled and half-dead, to keep offering their wounded bodies to further wounds.³⁰³

Brutal floggings continued throughout the lives of most children in history, so that diaries well into recent times are filled with entries of "the dog-whip over the door," "the razor-strap hanging on a nail on the kitchen shelf," and "the carpet-beater in the corner. Mother didn't have to use it. If we were being naughty, we just followed her eyes to the corner..."³⁰⁴

The beating process was ritualized, to relieve the parents' guilt and to enhance its sexualization. Children often would be forced to "ask for God's blessing on the flogging;" "the wife then bares the child's bottom with delight for the flogging;" "the child must ask to be beaten...(Batty rhapsodizes on God's wisdom in providing children with bottoms so they can be beaten repeatedly without permanent damage)."³⁰⁵ After the beatings, the child would often be made to kiss or thank the beating instrument or the beater for the beating, as when Roger North recalled "being made to stop crying and thank 'the good rail which [mother]

³⁰⁰ John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., 1996, p. 23.

³⁰¹ Nancy Scheper-Hughes, *Saints, Scholars, and Schizophrenics: Mental Illness in Rural Ireland*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, p. 154.

³⁰² Graeme Newman, *The Punishment Response*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1978, p. 61.

³⁰³ Seneca, *De providentia* 4.16.

³⁰⁴ Jeremy Seabrook, *Working-Class Childhood*. London: Gollancz, 1982, p. 22.

³⁰⁵ Gordon Rattray Taylor, *The Angel Makers: A Study in the Psychological Origins of Historical Change 1750-1850*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1974, p. 305-6.

said was to break our spirits.'"³⁰⁶ Parents usually are described as being out of control, "fearce and eager upon the child, striking, flinging, kicking it, as the usual manner is."³⁰⁷ Even mothers who wrote about being nice to their children, like Anne Bradstreet, stressed the need to flog until "the plough of correction makes long furrows on their back."³⁰⁸ Professional floggers hired by parents used more openly sexually sadistic equipment:

Preparations consist in having ready a strong narrow table, straps (waist-band with sliding straps, anklets and wristlets), cushions, and a good, long, pliable birch rod, telling her to prepare by removing her dress...For screams increased strokes must be given. If a girl tries very hard indeed to bear it bravely, then, perhaps, I give ten instead of twelve.³⁰⁹

Children of wealthy parents were, if anything, more severely beaten than others, by both their caretakers and parents. Louis XIII was routinely "beaten mercilessly...On waking in the morning...he was beaten on the buttocks by his nurse with a birch or a switch...his father whipped him himself when in a rage..."³¹⁰ On the day of his coronation at eight, after being whipped, he said he "would rather do without so much obeisance and honor if they wouldn't have me whipped."³¹¹ Noble parents demanded nurses whip their children; Henri IV wrote: "I have a complaint to make: you do not send word that you have whipped my son...when I was his age I was often whipped. That is why I want you to whip him..."³¹² The beatings were usually bloody:

Katharine by a blow on th'ear given by her mother did bleed at the nose very much...coming home an hour, she bled again, very sore, by gushes and pulses, very fresh good blood, whereupon I perceived it to be the blood of the artery..."³¹³

³⁰⁶ Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995, p. 208.

³⁰⁷ Ezekias Woodward, *A Childes patrimony*. London: I. Legatt, 1640, p. 30.

³⁰⁸ Stephanie Coontz, *The Social Origins of Private Life: A History of American Families, 1600-1900*. London: Verso, 1988, p. 87.

³⁰⁹ Ian Gibson, *The English Vice: Beating, Sex and Shame in Victorian England and After*. London: Duckworth, 1978, p. 55.

³¹⁰ Shari L. Thurer, *The Myths of Motherhood*, p. 104.

³¹¹ E. Soulie and E. de Barthelemy, Eds., *Journal de Jean Héroard sur l'Enfance et la Jeunesse de Louis XIII, Vol. 1*, p. 436.

³¹² David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History*, p. 135.

³¹³ Ralph Houlbrooke, Ed., *English Family Life, 1576-1716: An Anthology from Diaries*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988, p. 138.

Laws did not protect children against cruelty until the modern period unless they were beaten to death; as one thirteenth-century law put it, "If one beats a child until it bleeds, then it will remember, but if one beats it to death, the law applies."³¹⁴ Since children were beaten with the same instruments as criminals and slaves, floggings could be accomplished with whips, shovels, canes, iron rods, cat-o'-nine tails, bundles of sticks, shovels, whatever came to hand.³¹⁵ Parents could avoid killing them, said Bartholomew Batty, if they would not "strike and buffet their children about the face and head, and lace upon them like malt sacks with cudgels, staves, fork or fire shovel...[but instead] hit him upon the sides with the rod, he shall not die thereof."³¹⁶

When children went to school, the beatings continued with increased ferocity. Beatings were considered the basis for learning, since, as one educator said, "fear is good for putting the child in the mood to hear and to understand. A child cannot quickly forget what he has learned in fear."³¹⁷ Augustine recalled the regular beatings he received at school and described the use of "racks and hooks and other torments."³¹⁸ Children were beaten for every error, such as "being flogged for not marking the ablative case,"³¹⁹ and since sexual sadism was rampant among teachers throughout the centuries, the floggings were often described as being administered to children "stripped in front of the whole community and beaten until they bled,"³²⁰ and beatings were often described as being made by teachers "with a gloating glance of sensual cruelty."³²¹ Schoolmasters were often described as taking "the most pretty and amorous boys...into his lodgings and after a jerke or two [a blow with a rod or a whip] to meddle with their privities..."³²² Many books and articles have been written detailing the "erotic flagellation" of British schools,³²³ but the erotic content of school

³¹⁴ Albrecht Peiper, *Chronik der Kinderheilkunde*, p. 309.

³¹⁵ Lloyd deMause, "The Evolution of Childhood," p. 49.

³¹⁶ Bartholomey Batty, *The Christian Man's Closet*, pp. 14, 26.

³¹⁷ James A. Schultz, *The Knowledge of Childhood in the German Middle Ages, 1100-1350*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995, p. 94.

³¹⁸ Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Introduction of the Young in the German Reformation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, p. 13.

³¹⁹ Jame Walvin, *A Child's World*, p. 48.

³²⁰ Graeme Newman, *The Punishment Response*. Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1978, p. 63.

³²¹ William Russell, *An Autobiography of William Russell*. Baltimore: Gobreight, Thorne, 1852, p. 17.

³²² Guildhall Library, London, document 11588/3/295.

³²³ Jonathan Benthall, "Invisible Wounds: Corporal Punishment in British Schools as a Form of Ritual." *Child Abuse and Neglect* 15(1991): 377-88.

beatings was well-known everywhere since early times.³²⁴ Children wondered why: "We are taught during our first five or six years to hide our buttocks and shameful parts; then...along comes a teacher who forces us to unbutton our trousers, push them down, lift our shirt, show everything and receive the whip in the middle of the class."³²⁵ Girls were equally flogged. Hannah Lynch's beatings in the nineteenth century were typical: "The superioress took my head tightly under her arm, and the brawny red-cheeked lay-sister scourged my back with a three-pointed whip till the blood gushed from the long strips and I fainted."³²⁶

No child in antiquity and the Middle Ages can be found who escaped severe physical abuse—at home, at school, in apprenticeship, all suffered from "battered child syndrome," from infancy until adolescence. The Old Testament not only demands the beating of children; it says children who curse their mother or father "shall surely be put to death," and of stubborn sons that "all the men of the city shall stone him to death with stones."³²⁷ Spartan boys were flogged in public contest to see who could endure the longest, and ritually whipped at altars which became filled with their blood.³²⁸ Chinese parents punished children by "a hundred blows with a bamboo...strangulation [or] having his flesh torn from his body with red-hot pincers."³²⁹ Education was similarly full of floggings. St. Ambrose praised tutors for being "unsparing with the whip;"³³⁰ Augustine "lived in dread of the whip of his teacher;" and Martial "jokes about the complaints of neighbours living next to a schoolroom: the sounds of students being beaten awakens them annoyingly early in the morning."³³¹ Munteer described Roman education as routinely brutal: "Canes, whips, dried eel's skin, or bundles of dried reeds were used with such ferocity on children's hands that they became so swollen the children had trouble holding their books."³³² Mothers are depicted as bringing their children to school and

³²⁴ Carl A. Munteer, "Roman Childhood, 200 B.C. to A.D. 600." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 14(1987): 239.

³²⁵ Ian Gibson, *The English Vice*, p. 24.

³²⁶ Hannah Lynch, *Autobiography of a Child*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1899, p. 142.

³²⁷ Deut. 21:21.

³²⁸ William Armstrong Percy III, *Pederasty and Pedagogy in Archaic Greece*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996, p. 83.

³²⁹ Larry S. Milner, *Hardness of Heart/Hardness of Life*, p. 51.

³³⁰ Saint Ambrose. *Hexameron*. New York: Fathers of the Church, 1961, p. 251.

³³¹ Richard Saller, "Corporal Punishment, Authority, and Obedience in the Roman Household." In Beryl Rawson, Ed., *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, p. 163.

³³² Carl A. Munteer, "God the Father and Gregory the Great: The Discovery of a Late Roman Childhood." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 25(1998): 437.

demanding they be beaten; and descriptions of beatings by the *ferula*, a cane with knots in it, tell how “children’s hands were so swollen by this instrument that they could barely hold their books.”³³³

By the Middle Ages, a few reformers, like Saint Anselm, began questioning whether whipping children “day and night” was wise,³³⁴ and saying that “casting them on the ground [and] kicking them like dogs [is a] manner of correcting I judge to be detested...”³³⁵ Still, little changed for most children, except that by the seventeenth century sometimes if they were whipped to death during apprenticeship, the master could be convicted of manslaughter.³³⁶ Small infants were the first to be exempted from whippings; “a babe at six months cries when its mother gives it into the arms of another person...the child ought not to be whipped for this...”³³⁷ By the eighteenth century’s socializing mode parenting, I have found the first children in history who could be said not to have been beaten at all³³⁸ —particularly in America, where European visitors agreed “one and all that American children were badly spoiled.”³³⁹ Although Pleck’s massive study of American family violence found all eighteenth-century children “were hit with an object...ranging from a belt to a horsewhip,”³⁴⁰ she found some in the nineteenth century who were not hit at all. Mothers discovered for the first time in history that they could have “a deep, unquenchable love for [their] offspring,”³⁴¹ and would abjure all “whipping, caning, slapping, ear-pulling or hair-dragging,”³⁴² favoring chastising words or locking up in a room instead. By the early twentieth century, twelve percent of white Americans in one study claimed never to have been spanked.³⁴³ In schools, however, most Americans agreed with the teacher who said that “moral suasion’s my belief but lickin’s my prac-

³³³ Herondas, *The Schoolmaster* 1; Carl A. Mounteer, “Roman Childhood,” p. 239.

³³⁴ Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, *Children in the Middle Ages: Fifth-Fifteenth Centuries*, p. 40.

³³⁵ Bartholemew Batty, *The Christian Man’s Closet*, p. 25.

³³⁶ Geraldine Youda, *Minding the Children*. New York: Scribners, 1998, p. 36.

³³⁷ Albertine Adrienne Necker, *Progressive Education, Commencing with the Infant*. Boston: W. D. Ticknor, 1935, p. 336.

³³⁸ Lloyd deMause, “The Evolution of Childhood,” p. 49.

³³⁹ Charles H. Sherrill, *French Memories of Eighteenth-Century America*. New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1915, p. 72.

³⁴⁰ Elizabeth Pleck, *Domestic Tyranny: The Making of Social Policy Against Family Violence from Colonial Times to the Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 46.

³⁴¹ Jan Lewis, “Mother’s Love: The Construction of an Emotion in Nineteenth-Century America.” Rima D. Apple and Janet Golden, Eds., *Mothers & Motherhood: Readings in American History*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997, p. 52.

³⁴² Melesina French, *Thoughts on Education By a Parent*. Southampton: Not Published. 1810.

³⁴³ David I. Macleod, *The Age of the Child: Children in America, 1890-1920*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998, p. 59.

tice,"³⁴⁴ and Boston schools in 1850 found that it took "sixty-five beatings a day to operate a school of four hundred."³⁴⁵ Still, even though twenty-three states approve of school beatings, and three million children are still paddled in American schools yearly,³⁴⁶ corporal punishment in the U.S. is nothing like the infamous British school floggings that continued unabated



Illustration 6. Child being beaten by teacher.

throughout the twentieth century, where the beatings were too often inflicted by flagellomaniac teachers in public displays of cruelty.³⁴⁷

Polls of American parents' spanking practices show about a quarter still hit their children with some hard object, mothers beating more than fathers and toddlers being the ones most often beaten.³⁴⁸ In 1992, over 90% of American parents hit their young children; this rate dropped to 57% by 1999.³⁴⁹ No relationship has been found between amount of wealth and the use of corporal punishment.³⁵⁰ In 1979 Sweden became the first country in the world to ban all corporal punishment of children, so that even though there is no punishment given to parents who hit their children, the disapproval alone, plus the training of high school children in alternatives to hitting, has reduced the number of children hit to under 30 percent.³⁵¹ There are, at this writing, eight more European nations which

³⁴⁴ LeRoy Ashby, *Endangered Children: Dependency, Neglect, and Abuse in American History*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997, p. 20.

³⁴⁵ Irwin A. Hyman, *Reading, Writing, and the Hickory Stick: The Appalling Story of Physical and Psychological Abuse in American Schools*. Lexington: Lexington Books, 1990, p. 35.

³⁴⁶ *The New York Times*, July 9, 1987, p. A1.

³⁴⁷ Ian Gibson, *The English Vice*, 1978.

³⁴⁸ *The New York Times*, December 7, 1995, p. B16; Murray A. Straus and Anita K. Mathur, "Social Change and Trends in Approval of Corporal Punishment by Parents from 1968 to 1994." In D. Frehsee et al., Eds., *Violence Against Children*. New York: Walter de Gruyter, p. 100; Murray A. Straus, *Beating the Devil Out of Them: Corporal Punishment in American Families*. New York: Lexington Books, 1994, p. 23.

³⁴⁹ Tracy L. Dietz, "Disciplining Children: Characteristics Associated With The Use of Corporal Punishment." *Child Abuse & Neglect* 24(2000), 1529, 1536.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 1531.

³⁵¹ Susan H. Bitensky, "Spare the Rod, Embrace Our Humanity: Toward a New Legal Regime Prohibiting Corporal Punishment of Children." *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform* 31(1998): 367; Joan E. Durrant, "Evaluating the Success of Sweden's Corporal Punishment Ban." *Child Abuse and Neglect* 23(1999): 435-447.

have anti-spanking statutes, and even Germany and England are considering them, though the practice itself has not yet been affected by the statutes.³⁵² Most of the nations of Western Europe currently have hitting rates somewhat higher than those of America, while outside of Western Europe most rates are considerably higher.³⁵³

FREEZING, TOSSING AND TORTURING CHILDREN

The number of daily tortures routinely inflicted upon children in the past seem beyond comprehension. From birth, children had to endure constant freezing practices, including ice-water bathing and baptism:

Children were baptized by being plunged into a large hole which had been made in the ice [on the river] Neva, then covered with five feet of ice...the priest happened to let one of the children slip through his hands. "Give me another," he cried...I saw that the father and mother of the child were in an ecstasy of joy...the babe had been carried straight to heaven.³⁵⁴

The mother took the naked baby and a pot of hot water into the backyard...poured the water on the snow, melting it and creating a pool which could serve as a washing basin for several days; all she had to do the next day was to break the ice.³⁵⁵

Ice-water bathing was a widespread historical practice from antiquity to modern times, "the colder the Bath the better...use every Day,"³⁵⁶ so that "the shock was dreadful, the poor child's horror of it, every morning, when taken out of bed, still more so."³⁵⁷ The excuse given was that it was necessary for "hardening" the child, "to toughen their bodies by dipping

³⁵² See website of EPOCH-USA at <www.stophitting.com>

³⁵³ Detlev Frehsee, "Einige Daten zur endlosen Geschichte des Züchtigungsrechts." Bielefeld: Deutscher Kinderschutzbund, 1997; Harry Hendrick, *Children, Childhood and English Society, 1880-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997; Ken Schoolland, *Shogun's Ghost: The Dark Side of Japanese Education*. New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1990; Michio Kitahara, "Childhood in Japanese Culture." p. 49; Catherine So-kum Tang, "The Rate of Physical Child Abuse in Chinese Families: A Community Survey in Hong Kong." *Child Abuse & Neglect* 22(1998): 381-391; Igor S. Kon, *The Sexual Revolution in Russia*. New York: The Free Press, 1995, p. 215.

³⁵⁴ Arthur Machen, Trans., *The Memoirs of Jacques Casanova de Seingalt*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, n.d., Vol. V, p. 512.

³⁵⁵ Alenka Puhar, "On Childhood Origins of Violence in Yugoslavia: II. The Zadruga." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 21(1993): 186.

³⁵⁶ Bogna Lorence, "Parents and Children in Eighteenth-Century Europe," p. 17.

³⁵⁷ Charles Southey, *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*. New York: Harper, 1855, p. 24.

them into cold water like white-hot iron,"³⁵⁸ so that when the "little infant [is washed] in cold water...itself in one continuous scream [the] mother covering her ears under the bed-clothes that she may not be distressed by its cries,"³⁵⁹ it can be hardened to life's cruelties. John Locke not only recommended parents wash the feet of their children every day in cold water, but also make them wear "shoes so thin that they might leak and let in water" and clothes and sleeping quarters that allow them to be cold all the time.³⁶⁰ Most societies used these Spartan hardening practices: Russians complained about traditional hardening such as being put to bed wrapped in wet cold towels,³⁶¹ and Colonial New Englanders regularly complained that they were made to sit with wet feet "more than half the time."³⁶² Alternatively, mothers were so unable to empathize with their children that they often "take no notice what pains they cause and make baths for children so hot" they were badly burned.³⁶³

Many people over the centuries complained of parents who "customarily" tossed infants, as when the brother of Henri IV, while being passed for amusement from one window to another, was dropped and killed."³⁶⁴ Children were often put to bed tied up by the hands; made to wear corsets with bone stays, iron bodices and steel collars; and forced to sit many hours a day in stocks, strapped to a backboard, supposedly to teach them restraint.³⁶⁵ Reports of shutting up little children in closets for hours were legion.³⁶⁶ Painful enemas were given regularly, since "it was thought that children should be purged especially before eating 'for fear that the milk will be mixed with some ordure...'"³⁶⁷ Children were often put to bed and told to think about their death and the misery they

³⁵⁸ Galen, *De Sanitate Tuenda*. 33.

³⁵⁹ Scevole de St. Marthe, *Paedotrophia: or, The Art of Nursing and Rearing Children*. London: John Nichols, 1797, p. 63.

³⁶⁰ John J. Waters, "James Otis, Jr.: An Ambivalent Revolutionary." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1(1973): 144.

³⁶¹ Isaac Deutscher, *Lenin's Childhood*. London: Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 10.

³⁶² James Bossard, *The Sociology of Child Development*. New York: Harper, 1948, p. 630.

³⁶³ Felix Wurtz, *The Surgeons Guide: or Military and Domestique Surgery with A Guide for Women in the Nursing of their New-born Children*. London, 1658, p. 346.

³⁶⁴ Lloyd deMause, "The Evolution of Childhood," p. 34.

³⁶⁵ Alice Morse Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America*. Vol. I. New York: Macmillan, 1903, p. 317.

³⁶⁶ Jack Lindsay, *1764: The Hurlyburly of Daily Life...* London: Frederick Muller, 1959, p. 42; Elizabeth Grant Smith, *Memoirs of a Highland Lady*. London: John Murray, 1898, p. 49.

³⁶⁷ David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History*, p. 144.

will feel in Hell.³⁶⁸ Children were religiously taken to witness public executions, then "on returning home, whipp[ed]...to make them remember the example."³⁶⁹ Children from antiquity were not only endlessly frightened that they would be eaten up, abducted or cut up by ghosts, Lamia, "the black man who comes for naughty children," "the goblin in the basement," "the tailor with the huge sizzors," "Striga that attack children, defile their bodies and rend the flesh of sucklings with their beaks."³⁷⁰ To make the terror more real, their caretakers would actually dress up dummies in order to terrorize them; or would paint themselves as the werewolf or bloody monster and "roar and scream at the child [and] make as if it would swallow the infant up."³⁷¹ All this terrorizing by parents and caretakers for no other reason than to act out concretely the destructive mother alters in their own heads.

THE ABANDONMENT OF CHILDREN

Abandonment of children may seem less traumatic than tying up, beating and terrorizing them, but adult autobiographers rarely fail to mention the deep hurt they felt as children when they were given away by their parents—as *most* children in history were, under one excuse or another. Newborn infants who were abandoned on the side of the road, of course, almost always died;³⁷² but even the one-third to two-thirds of babies born who were abandoned to foundling homes, beginning in the modern period, usually died from maltreatment in the institutions.³⁷³ Visitors to these foundling homes regularly described the children there as:

stunted creatures, neither childlike nor human...they sit close-packed against the wall or gathered into knots, dull and stupefied...Never

³⁶⁸ Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage*, p. 173; Sanford Fleming, *Children and Puritanism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933, p. 100.

³⁶⁹ Gordon Rattray Taylor, *The Angel Makers*, p. 313.

³⁷⁰ John Cuthbert Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910, p. 174-184; Ovid, *Fasti*. London: William Heinemann, 1931, p. 329; George K. Behlmer, *Child Abuse and Moral Reform in England, 1870-1908*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982, p. 5; Mrs. Hoare, *Hints for the Improvement of Early Education*. Salem: James Buffum, 1826, p. 69.

³⁷¹ Anon., *Dialogues on the Passions, Habits and Affections Peculiar to Children*. London: R. Griffiths, 1748, p. 31.

³⁷² Boswell's assumption that they were picked up by other parents is wholly undocumented; see John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1988.

³⁷³ David I. Kertzer, *Sacrificed for Honor: Italian Infant Abandonment and the Politics of Reproductive Control*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993, pp. 73.

played with or cuddled...it is a holiday when they are taken for a walk around the room...It is a room of filth, filled with ceaseless crying, where their lack of decent covering, their misery and consequent infirmities combine to bring about their death within a few days.³⁷⁴

The congestion of the infants in narrow, cold, and humid rooms, with no cleanliness, the lack of linens and the poor choice of wet-nurses, shorten the painful agony before death...Often a wetnurse was forced to nurse up to five or six children, and, to ensure that the last of these did not suck on breasts that had been entirely emptied by the first, she tore the babies from her breast, screaming.³⁷⁵

Most of the children abandoned in foundling homes were legitimate³⁷⁶—more girls than boys³⁷⁷—and up to 90 percent of foundlings died either in the hospital or when sent to wetnurse; so it is no wonder that it was proposed that a motto be carved over the gate of one foundling home: "Here children are killed at public expense."³⁷⁸ It is unlikely that historians are correct in concluding that this mass abandonment of babies "reflected not so much a lack of love for them as a deep fear of loving them[sic]."³⁷⁹ Meladze describes his experiences in a Communist-run foster home in Moscow recently as follows:

Children were regularly stripped naked and their genitals ridiculed... the foster parents deriving sexual gratification and feelings of power from these weekly rituals....Psychological torture and brainwashing were interspersed with sexual abuse. The aunt, the primary torturer, slept in a double bed with her mother. I slept in between the two. In the evening, before bed, the great aunt would undress in front of me and ask me if I wanted to suck her breasts...The aunt stripped off my

³⁷⁴ Joan Sherwood, *Poverty in Eighteenth-Century Spain: The Women and Children of the Inclusa*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988, pp. 132, 148.

³⁷⁵ David I. Kertzer, *Sacrificed for Honor*, pp. 124-5.

³⁷⁶ Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500*, p. 94.

³⁷⁷ David I. Kertzer, *Sacrificed for Honor*, p. 111.

³⁷⁸ Beatrice Gottlieb, *The Family in the Western World from the Black Death to the Industrial Age*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 146; Volker Hunecke, *Die Findelkinder von Mailand*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1987; Jules Michelet, *Woman*. New York: Carleton, 1867, p. 67; Janet Golden, *A Social History of Wet Nursing in America*, p. 14; Sarah Blaffer Hrdy, *Mother Nature: A History of Mothers, Infants, and Natural Selection*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1999, p. 304; Louise A. Tilly et al., "Child Abandonment in European History: A Symposium." *Journal of Family History* 17(1992): 1-23.

³⁷⁹ Philip Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1990, p. 19.

pajamas and laughed at my genitals shouting she would castrate me:
 “We will cut your balls off and make you into a girl...”³⁸⁰

Babies not abandoned to foundling homes could be sold by their parents as slaves during most of history; indeed, there are still hundreds of thousands of chattel slaves around the world today, even more in debt bondage.³⁸¹ Public auctions of children were common throughout Europe and Asia well into modern times.³⁸² One American colonist described the sale of children in debt bondage that took place as ships arrived in Philadelphia: “Many parents must sell and trade away their children like so many head of cattle; for if their children take the debt upon themselves, the parents can leave the ship free and unrestrained...”³⁸³

The one institution to which parents could abandon their children and know they were likely to live was the religious order. Parents knew monasteries and nunneries were abusive—“there is an inscription over the gate of hell: ‘Abandon all hope, you who enter’; on the gate of monasteries, the same should appear”³⁸⁴—but they nevertheless paid good money to dump their children in them permanently.³⁸⁵ Most oblates were children of aristocrats (so there is no argument for economic necessity), who gave large gifts to the religious orders to take their children, usually at around five years of age.³⁸⁶ The child became a *holocaust*, a sacrifice, to God, the destructive grandmother in the parent’s unconscious, and the cloister “became a cruel life of hard labor, boring routine, beatings, and fear of sexual sin and assault.”³⁸⁷ In return, the parents could expect “clerical prayer and, ultimately, salvation”³⁸⁸—i.e., some peace in their heads from the punitive maternal alter. The children held the legal status of slaves of the monastery, and they were endlessly whipped, stripped naked, regularly

³⁸⁰ Victor Meladze, *Beneath the Hammer*. *The Journal of Psychohistory* 27(1999): 45, 50.

³⁸¹ Roger Sawyer, *Children Enslaved*. London: Routledge, 1988, pp. 22, 45; LeRoy Ashby, *Endangered Children: Dependency, Neglect, and Abuse in American History*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997, p. 14; Lloyd deMause, “The Evolution of Childhood,” p. 35.

³⁸² James Bossard, *The Sociology of Child Development*, p. 607-8.

³⁸³ Alden T. Vaughan, *America Before The Revolution 1725-1775*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1967, p. 43.

³⁸⁴ Elizabeth Abbott, *A History of Celibacy*. New York: Scribner, 2000, p. 141.

³⁸⁵ Danièle Alexandre-Bidon and Didier Lett, *Children in the Middle Ages*, p. 49.

³⁸⁶ Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel’s Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996, pp. 5, 158.

³⁸⁷ Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983, p. 14.

³⁸⁸ Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel’s Image*, p. 57.

starved in severe fasts, only allowed to sleep for five hours a night and used sexually by clerics and older boys.³⁸⁹ Although most monks were earlier oblates, oblation began to decline in the late twelfth century as wealthy parents decided they preferred to hire servants to whip, starve, torture and sexually abuse their children in their own homes.³⁹⁰

SENDING OUT CHILDREN TO FOSTERAGE, APPRENTICESHIP AND SERVICE

Another widespread abandonment practice throughout history was fosterage:

Fosterage was found mainly among royalty and other well-to-do parents [and] was so common that the remark that 'all the children grew up at home' was offered as an unusual occurrence....sons obtained new networks of kin relations, but bonding with the mother was most often precluded, and—most surprising to the modern reader—she did not seem to have desired her son's company.³⁹¹

Children might be sent to fosterage "for affection or for payment" as soon as they returned from wetnurse, usually to other family members, and not returned until adolescence.³⁹² Since so many families simply traded children with each other, the custom was puzzling unless one realizes that adults emotionally were able to treat foster children more abusively—working them like slaves, beating them, using them sexually—than if they had kept their own children and not traded them to others.³⁹³ Parents who put their children out to foster care today usually explain that they "cannot effectively discipline their own offspring" if they keep them themselves.³⁹⁴ Fostering in archaic civilizations was so common, the mother's brother was often called the "upbringer" or "fostering brother;" and "among Hittites, Greeks, Romans, Celts and Germans, mother's brothers

³⁸⁹ Patricia A. Quinn, *Better Than The Sons of Kings: Boys and Monks in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 26, 115, 130.

³⁹⁰ Joseph H. Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry Into Religious Life From 1000 to 1260: A Social, Economic, and Legal Study*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976.

³⁹¹ Jenny Jochens, "Old Norse Motherhood." In John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler, Eds., *Medieval Mothering*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1996, p. 204.

³⁹² P. W. Joyce, *A Social History of Ancient Ireland... Third Ed.* London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1920, Vol. 2, pp. 15-19.

³⁹³ Catherine M. Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society*, p. 64.

³⁹⁴ Joan B. Silk, "Adoption and Fosterage in Human Societies: Adaptation or Enigmas?" *Cultural Anthropology* 2(1987): 44.

[would] supervise initiation and...ritually sodomize his ward..."³⁹⁵ Fosterage was practiced in all complex civilizations in every continent on earth, right into modern times.³⁹⁶ Parents would simply ask the uncles or grandparents if they "needed a child"³⁹⁷ and shipped one off to them without tears. If one sent one's child to royalty and it was killed by abuse, one was expected to thank the foster parent and bring another.³⁹⁸

There was little difference between fosterage, adoption, apprenticeship and service. All involved virtual slavery without rights for the children. The opinion of the Italian at the end of the fifteenth century that "the want of affection in the English is strongly manifested towards their children...they put them out, both males and females, to hard service in the houses of other people...few are born who are exempted from this fate, for



Illustration 7. Mother beating servant.

every one, however rich he may be, sends away his children into the houses of others; whilst he, in return, receives those of strangers into his own" is often quoted—but in fact Italians of the time equally fostered out and apprenticed their children.³⁹⁹ Everyone agreed that "It is good to remove children from the sight of their father and mother and give them to friends so that they do not become quarrelsome; also, when they are in a strange house, they are more timid and do not dare to enjoy themselves and fear being scolded..."⁴⁰⁰ Half of

³⁹⁵ David F. Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988, p. 109; Mark Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, p. 145.

³⁹⁶ Grant McCracken, "The Exchange of Children in Tudor England: An Anthropological Phenomenon in Historical Context." *The Journal of Family History* 8(1983): 303-313.

³⁹⁷ A. I. Richards, "Authority Patterns in Traditional Buganda." In L. A. Fallers, Ed., *The King's Men: Leadership and States in Buganda*...Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 260.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

³⁹⁹ Anon., *A Relation or rather a True Account of the Island of England...about the Year 1500*. Camden Society, Vol. 37. London, 1847, p. 24.

⁴⁰⁰ Philippe Ariès, "An Interpretation to be Used for a History of Mentalities." In Patricia Ranum, Ed., *Popular Attitudes Toward Birth Control in Pre-Industrial France and England*. New York: Harper, 1972, p. 117.

all persons who came to the colonies in the American South were indentured children.⁴⁰¹ England continued to send hundreds of thousands of children to Canada and Australia for fosterage well into the twentieth century; a Canadian minister complained about England's practice of using Canada as "a dumping ground for the refuse of the highways...waifs, strays, and the children of vicious and criminal tendencies..."⁴⁰² The practice continues in many areas of the world for tens of millions of children today.⁴⁰³

Apprenticeship and service were the fate of virtually all children, rich or poor alike.⁴⁰⁴ A master "may be a tiger in cruelty, he may beat, abuse, strip naked, starve or do what he will to the poor innocent lad, few people take much notice."⁴⁰⁵ Mothers also beat the girls apprenticed to them. A typical eighteenth-century description read: "Elizabeth began to beat and kick them about, and would drag them up and down stairs making use of the most horrible expressions. She always kept a rod soaking in brine, with which she used to beat them on their bare skin when they were undressed to go to bed...She frequently tied the girl up naked and beat her with a hearth broom, a horsewhip or a cane, till the child was absolutely speechless."⁴⁰⁶ Rape of these children was widespread—since they felt so lonely and rejected, they more easily allowed themselves to be used sexually in return for the illusion of some feeling. Entries in diaries like "my master came to my bed at 2 o'clock in the morning and violated my person"⁴⁰⁷ were common; and relatives who sent children to be servants would assure the new master that she "will match your cock."⁴⁰⁸ Masters frequently slept with their servants and raped them, both the boys and the girls.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰¹ Mary Ann Mason, *From Father's Property to Children's Rights*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994, p. 32.

⁴⁰² Patricia T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, "The 'King's Children' in English Canada: A Psychohistorical Study of Abandonment, Rejection and Colonial Response (1869-1930)." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 8(1981): 387.

⁴⁰³ Esther Goody, "Parental Strategies: Calculation or Sentiment?: Fostering Practices Among West Africans." In Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean, Eds., *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 265-277.

⁴⁰⁴ Michael Mitterauer, "Servants and Youth." *Continuity and Change* 5(1990): 11-38.

⁴⁰⁵ M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Harper, 1964, p. 227.

⁴⁰⁶ Mary Hopkirk, *Nobody Wanted Sam: The Story of the Unwelcomed Child, 1530-1948*. London: John Murray, 1949, p. 62.

⁴⁰⁷ Françoise Barret-Ducroca, *Love in the Time of Victoria*. New York: Penguin Books, 1989, p. 48.

⁴⁰⁸ Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800*, p. 160.

⁴⁰⁹ Jonathan Goldber, *Queering the Renaissance*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1994, pp. 236-244.

The work done by even small children sent out to others was often the heaviest and most dangerous that needed to be done.⁴¹⁰ Whether it was 12 hours a day of heavy labor in the fields,⁴¹¹ or the risky work of “climbing boys” who were constantly “pinned, beaten, cold, pinched and abused,”⁴¹² even small children could not count on simple empathy during their time with others:

Little boys had to go on sweeping chimneys and getting stuck in them or suffocated with soot, or even roasted...Their terror of the dark, and often suffocating, flues had somehow to be overcome by the pressure of a greater terror below...masters would threaten to beat them [or] would set straw on fire below or thrust pins into their feet...no wonder nursemaids threatened to give naughty children to the sweep, and children shrieked at sight of him.⁴¹³

Even when schools began to be more widespread in the eighteenth century, the children would only go for a few years, then be sent to apprenticeship. One English girl remembered:

On the day that I was eight years of age, I left school, and began to work fourteen hours a day in the fields, with from forty to fifty other children...We were followed all day long by an old man carrying a long whip in his hand which he did not forget to use.⁴¹⁴

Beyond formal abandonment like fosterage and apprenticeship, mothers throughout history were constantly giving away their children for all kinds of rationalized reasons: “because the mother was expecting another child” (Johannes Butzbach), “to learn to speak” (Disraeli), “to cure timidity” (Clara Barton), for “health” (Edmund Burke), “as pledge for a debt” (Madame d’Aubigné), or simply because they were not wanted (Richard Baxter, Richard Savage, Augustus Hare, Swift, Yeats, etc.) Hare’s mother expresses the casualness of these abandonments: “Yes, certainly, the baby shall be sent as soon as it is weaned; and, if anyone else would like one,

⁴¹⁰ Colin Heywood, *Childhood in Nineteenth-Century France: Work, Health, and Education Among the Classes Populaires*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

⁴¹¹ Ruth Inglis, *Sins of the Fathers: A Study of the Physical and Emotional Abuse of Children*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1978, p. 19.

⁴¹² Peter G. Clamp, “Climbing Boys, Childhood, and Society in Nineteenth-Century England.” *The Journal of Psychohistory* 12(1984): 194.

⁴¹³ Mrs. C. S. Peel, *The Stream of Time: Social and Domestic Life in England 1805-1861*. London: John Lane, 1931, p. 56.

⁴¹⁴ Martin Hoyles, *Changing Childhood*. London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1979, p. 3.

would you kindly recollect that we have others."⁴¹⁵ If no one wanted the child, it would most often be assigned to older children or nurses or others to care for (autobiographers regularly recalled "I never saw my father and mother but for an instant in the morning"),⁴¹⁶ so that they very often wandered off into the fire or fell down the well.⁴¹⁷ Even in the modern period, when mothers began to show some delight in infants, they soon grew tired of caretaking and sent their children elsewhere. On June 7, 1748, Madame d'Epainay got her 20-month-old son back from wetnurse, and writes in her diary:

My son is back with me...He cries when I leave him. He is already afraid of me, and I am not sorry for it, for I do not want to spoil him. I sometimes think, when he smiles as he looks at me, and shows his delight at seeing me by clapping his little hands, that there is no satisfaction equal to that of making one's fellow-creatures happy.⁴¹⁸

But she soon finds caretaking depressing, writes about the "apathy and indifference" she feels because her children "are only an occupation, a duty for me, and do not fill my heart at all," and turns them over to the nurse, taking a lover for herself.

MATERNAL INCEST: THE CHILD AS BREAST

In the previous chapter, widespread maternal incest—with the mother using the child as an erotic breast-substitute by masturbating it or sucking on its genitals—was documented for many contemporary preliterate tribes. Although equally clear evidence is hard to come by in history because of the lack of detailed descriptions of early mothering in the past, it is likely the sexual abuse by both mothers and wetnurses continued until modern times. Primate mothers are widely reported as copulating with their children; indeed, many cannot learn to reproduce unless they have had sex with adults when they were children.⁴¹⁹ Many immature primates

⁴¹⁵ Augustus J. C. Hare, *The Story of My Life*. Vol. 1. London, 1896, p. 51.

⁴¹⁶ Stephanie de Genlis, *Memoirs*, p. 20.

⁴¹⁷ Barbara A. Hanawalt, "Childrearing Among the Lower Classes of Late Medieval England." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8(1977):17; Barbara A. Hanawalt, *The Ties That Bound*, p. 158; Carl Holliday, *Woman's Life in Colonial Days*. Boston: The Cornhill Publishing Co., 1922, p. 25.

⁴¹⁸ Louise Florence P. d'Epainay, *Memoirs of Madame d'Epainay*. Vol. I. Paris: Sociétés Bibliophiles, 1903, p. 106.

⁴¹⁹ Jay R. Reierman, "A Biosocial Overview of Adult Human Sexual Behavior with Children and Adolescents." In Jay R. Feierman, Ed., *Pedophilia: Biosocial Dimensions*. New York: Springer-Verlag, 1990, p. 30.

"copulate with their mothers...explore adult genitalia and experience manipulation of their own."⁴²⁰ Our closest ancestors, the bonobo chimps—termed "the erotic champions" of primates—spend much of their time in sucking and masturbating the genitals and "genitogenital rubbing" of both male and female juveniles, "to reduce tensions."⁴²¹ Primate young are regularly observed being taught to thrust against their mothers' genitals.⁴²² This "sexualization of the infant" was likely extended when human infants grew much larger heads, since it meant in order to get through the narrow birth canal before the head grew too large, human infants had to be "born fetal," extremely immature and increasingly helpless, so that in early humans "maternal attention was not sufficient to care for more helpless infants..."⁴²³ This in turn meant a selection for those babies who could most satisfy the mother's erotic needs—for instance through the extension of non-hairy, erotic skin areas—for they would be best nursed and cared for as an erotic, tension-reducing object. Likewise, those human mothers were selected who had evolved the largest and most erotic breasts⁴²⁴ and who had genitals shifted around to the front, where they could rub them against their children.⁴²⁵

The psychogenic evolution of the central motivation for mothering from incest to empathy took millennia, and earlier modes are still far more prevalent than is realized. As we detailed in the previous chapter, researchers have described mothers in various tribal areas and countries outside of the West as routinely sucking and masturbating their children, but have concluded that this was not incest since the society didn't believe it was sexual abuse. Since both the perpetrators and the victims of maternal

⁴²⁰ Ray H. Bixler, "Do We/Should We Behave Like Animals?" In William O'Donohue, Ed., *The Sexual Abuse of Children*, Vol. 1. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1992, p. 94.

⁴²¹ Frans de Waal, *Bonobo: The Forgotten Ape*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, pp. 100-105; Alexandra Maryanski and Jonathan H. Turner, *The Social Cage: Human Nature and the Evolution of Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992, pp. 22-23.

⁴²² Clara Mears Harlow, *From Learning to Love: The Selected Papers of H. F. Harlow*. New York: Praeger, 1986, p. 228; Gregory C. Leavitt, "Sociobiological Explanations of Incest Avoidance: A Critical Review of Evidential Claims." *American Anthropologist* 92(1990): 981; R. Dale Guthrie, *Body Hot Spots: The Anatomy of Human Social Organs and Behavior*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1976, p. 96.

⁴²³ Wenda R. Trevathan, *Human Birth: An Evolutionary Perspective*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1987, p. 33.

⁴²⁴ Helen E. Fisher, *Anatomy of Love: The Natural History of Monogamy, Adultery, and Divorce*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1992, p. 180.

⁴²⁵ Lloyd deMause, "The Role of Adaptation and Selection in Psychohistorical Evolution." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 16(1989): 362.

incest also collude—each for their own reasons—in denying its occurrence, current figures for sexual abuse by females—13 percent of girl victims and 24 percent of boy victims—are considered likely to be underestimates.⁴²⁶ (Some studies actually find girls twice as likely to be abused by women as by men.)⁴²⁷ This denial is possible because women sexually abuse children at a much younger age than men do, so the incidents are more likely to be repressed by victims of female abuse.⁴²⁸ Maternal sexual abuse is acknowledged to “remain undetected”⁴²⁹ and therefore to be badly “under-reported...unless coercion was involved...[because] sexual abuse of children by adult females is usually nonviolent and at times quite subtle [involving] intercourse, cunnilingus, analingus, fellatio, genital fondling, digital penetration...and direct exposure to adult sexual activity.”⁴³⁰ Genital contact with the parent is even more prevalent; in America, “more than fifty percent of eight- to ten-year-old daughters touched their mother’s...genitals [and] more than forty percent of eight- to ten-year-old sons touched their mother’s genitals...”⁴³¹ Some clinical studies reveal widespread female masturbation of little children: “to counter her feelings of lethargy, depression and deadness,” “the only way she could make herself go to sleep,” or “painful manipulation of the genitals by mother [with] the wish to destroy the sexuality of the child.”⁴³²

The sexual use of children by mothers has been widely reported by outside observers in both non-literate and literate nations outside the West. Childhood in much of India earlier in the century was said to begin with masturbation by the mother: “high caste or low caste, the girl ‘to make her

⁴²⁶ Anne Banning, “Mother-Son Incest: Confronting a Prejudice.” *Child Abuse & Neglect* 13(1989): 564.

⁴²⁷ Michele Elliott, “What Survivors Tell Us—An Overview.” In Michele Elliott, Ed., *Female Sexual Abuse of Children: The Ultimate Taboo*. Harlow: Longman, 1993, p. 9.

⁴²⁸ Margaret M. Rudin, et al., “Characteristics of Child Sexual Abuse Victims According to Perpetrator Gender.” *Child Abuse & Neglect* 19(1995): 963.

⁴²⁹ Adele Mayer, *Women Sex Offenders*. Holmes Beach: Learning Publications, 1992, p. 5.

⁴³⁰ Christine Lawson, “Mother-Son Sexual Abuse: Rare or Underreported? A Critique of the Research.” *Child Abuse & Neglect* 17(1993): 261, 266; Ira J. Chasnoff, et al., “Maternal-Neonatal Incest.” *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 56(1986): 577-80.

⁴³¹ A. A. Rosenfeld, et al., “Determining Contact Between Parent and Child: Frequency of Children Touching Parents’ Genitals in a Non-Clinical Population.” *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry* 25(1986): 229.

⁴³² Estela V. Welldon, *Mother, Madonna, Whore: The Idealization and Denigration of Motherhood*. New York: The Guilford Press, 1988, p. 96; Stanley J. Coen, “Sexualization as a Predominant Mode of Defense.” *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 29(1981): 905; Joseph C. Rheingold, *The Fear of Being a Woman*, p. 108. Also see Mike Lew, *Victims No Longer: Men Recovering From Incest*. New York: Harper & Row, 1988.

sleep well,' the boy 'to make him manly.'" ⁴³³ Like most traditional families, children rotated around the extended family as sleeping partners rather like a comfort blanket, and one sociologist who did interviews modeled on the Kinsey studies reported "there is a lot of incest...It is hidden along with other secrets of families and rarely gets a chance to come out, like seduction at the hands of trusted friends of the family...To arrive at even a passable estimate of incest cases would be to touch the hornet's nest..." ⁴³⁴ Throughout Indian history, says Spencer, "mothers stimulated the penises of their infants and gave a 'deep massage' to their daughters as a form of affectionate consolation." ⁴³⁵ Arab mothers are said to "rub the penis long and energetically to increase its size;" "In China, Manchu mothers tickle the genitals of their little daughters and suck the penis of a small son;" "in Thailand, mothers habitually stroke their son's genitals," etc. ⁴³⁶

Western observers even today often notice that Japanese mothers masturbate their young children during the day in public and at night in the family bed—in order, they say, "to put them to sleep." ⁴³⁷ The average Japanese mother sleeps with her children until they are ten or fifteen years old, traditionally sleeping "skin-to-skin" (*dakine*) while embracing her child because the father—as in the traditional gynarchy—is usually absent, over two-thirds of Japanese husbands being involved in extramarital intercourse. ⁴³⁸ Japanese mothers often teach their sons how to masturbate, helping them achieve first ejaculation in much the same manner as with toilet training. ⁴³⁹ A "mental health hotline" in Tokyo recently reported being flooded with calls about incest, 29 percent of them with complaints such as that the mother would offer her body for sex while telling the son: "You cannot study if you cannot have sex. You may use my body," or "I don't want you to get into trouble with a girl. Have sex with me in-

⁴³³ Katherine Mayo, *Mother India*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1927, p. 25.

⁴³⁴ S. N. Rampal, *Indian Women and Sex*. New Delhi: Printoy, 1978, p. 69.

⁴³⁵ Colin Spencer, *Homosexuality in History*. New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1996, p. 79.

⁴³⁶ Allen Edwardes, *The Cradle of Erotica*. New York: The Julian Press, 1963, p. 40; Raphael Patai, *The Arab Mind*. New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1983, p. 38; Given J. Broude, *Growing Up*, p. 303.

⁴³⁷ Robert J. Smith and Ella Lury Wiswell, *The Women of Suze Mura*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982, pp. 68-72; Douglas G. Harig, "Aspects of Personal Character in Japan." In Douglas G. Haring, Ed., *Personal Character and Cultural Milieu*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1956, p. 416; Nicolas Bornoff, *Pink Saurai: Love, Marriage and Sex in Contemporary Japan*. New York: Pocket Books, 1991, p. 76.

⁴³⁸ Edgar Gregersen, *Sexual Practices: The Story of Human Sexuality*. New York: Franklin Watts, 1983, p. 246.

⁴³⁹ Machio Kitahara, "Childhood in Japanese Culture," p. 56.

stead."⁴⁴⁰ Wagatsuma reports, "Japanese mothers often exhibit an obsession with their sons' penises...[they are] usually brought in by their mothers who fear that their sons' penises are abnormally small,"⁴⁴¹ with the result that Japanese marriage clinics find "60 percent of their patients are afflicted with the 'no-touch syndrome,' that is, they will have no physical contact with their wives for fear that it will lead to sex...[termed] the 'I love mommy' complex."⁴⁴² Adams and Hill and Rosenman have thoroughly documented the castration anxieties resulting from Japanese maternal incest.⁴⁴³

Maternal incest in history is, of course, almost impossible to document except for indirect evidence. Doctors told mothers and nurses to "gently stretch the end of the foreskin every day" and to "massage the scrotum" as well as to infibulate the foreskin later.⁴⁴⁴ Rabbinic sources deemed "a woman 'rubbing' with her minor son" common enough to have a law concerning it.⁴⁴⁵ Myths and drama endlessly depicted maternal incest,⁴⁴⁶ and dream-books like Artemidorus' mostly interpreted dreams of maternal incest as indicating good luck.⁴⁴⁷ Sophocles has Oedipus claim that "in dreams... many a man has lain with his own mother,"⁴⁴⁸ a fact mainly true of actual victims of maternal incest. Incest in antiquity was not illegal,⁴⁴⁹ nor was it spoken of as a *miasma*, an impurity;⁴⁵⁰ and early civilizations from

⁴⁴⁰ Michio Kitahara, "Incest—Japanese Style." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 17(1989): 446.

⁴⁴¹ Kenneth Alan Adams and Lester Hill, Jr., "The Phallic Planet." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 28(2000): 33.

⁴⁴² Ibid., p. 31.

⁴⁴³ Kenneth Alan Adams and Lester Hill, Jr., "Castration Anxiety in Japanese Group-Fantasies." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 26(1999): 779-809; Kenneth Alan Adams and Lester Hill, Jr., "The Phallic Planet," pp. 24-52; Stanley Rosenman, "The Spawning Grounds of the Japanese Rapists of Nanking." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 28(2000): 2-23.

⁴⁴⁴ Aline Rousselle, *Porneia*, p. 54.

⁴⁴⁵ Michael L. Satlow, "They Abused Him Like a Woman': Homoeroticism, Gender Blurring, and the Rabbis in Late Antiquity," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5(1994): 15.

⁴⁴⁶ Franz Borkenau, *End and Begining: On the Generations of Cultures and the Origins of the West*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981, pp. 116-117; Wolfgang Lederer, *The Fear of Women*. New York: Grune & Stratton, 1968, p. 121.

⁴⁴⁷ Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* 1, 79-80; John J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece*. New York: Routledge, pp. 34, 211-215.

⁴⁴⁸ Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 980.

⁴⁴⁹ Luciano P. R. Santiago, *The Children of Oedipus: Brother-Sister Incest in Psychiatry, Literature, History and Mythology*. Roslyn Heights: Libra Publications, 1973, p. 23.

⁴⁵⁰ Robert Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983, p. 97.

Egypt and Iran to Peru and Hawaii had brother-sister incestuous marriages where the parents played out their incestuous needs by forcing their children to marry each other—a third or more of marriages being incestuous in the case of Roman Egypt.⁴⁵¹

Still, direct evidence of widespread maternal sexual use of children in history can hardly be expected if even today it is everywhere denied. True, doctors from Soranus to Fallopius counsel mothers “to take every pain in infancy to enlarge the penis of boys (by massage and the application of stimulants)...”⁴⁵² But usually the only reference to maternal incest is in the penitentials, where the Canons of Theodore mention that “a mother simulating sexual intercourse with her small son is to abstain from meat for



Illustration 8. Christ's genitals are stroked by his grandmother.

three years...,”⁴⁵³ or, as in Dominici and Gerson, the *child* is told not to allow the mother to touch him.⁴⁵⁴ One could also cite various clerics' warnings about maternal incest, the many illustrations of mothers and grandmothers being shown with their hands on or near their children's genitals; or one could detail the nearly endless accounts in autobiographies and other direct reports of the sexual use of children by nurses and other female servants who masturbated and had intercourse with their

⁴⁵¹ Keith Hopkins, “Brother-Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22(1980): 303-354; R. H. Bixler, “Sibling Incest in the Royal Families of Egypt, Peru and Hawaii.” *Journal of Sex Research* 18(1983): 264-81; Russell Middleton, “Brother-Sister and Father-Daughter Marriage in Ancient Egypt.” *American Sociological Review* 27(1988): 603-11.

⁴⁵² Soranus, *Gynecology*, 107; Gabriel Fallopius, “De decoraturie trachtaties,” cap. 9, *Opera Omnia*, Vol. 2. Frankfurt, 1600, p. 336.

⁴⁵³ Pierre J. Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials: The Development of a Sexual Code: 550-1150*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984, p. 31.

⁴⁵⁴ Giovanni Dominici, *On the Education of Children*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1927, p. 41; Jean Gerson, *Oevres Complètes*. Vol. IX. Paris: Desclée & Cie, 1973, p. 43.



Illustration 9. Mothers with their children in bathhouse.

charges “to keep them quiet,” “for fun,” or “to put them to sleep.”⁴⁵⁵ Alternatively, one could document various other routine practices of mothers that indicated they used their children erotically, such as the habit of grandmothers and mothers to “lick it with ‘the basting tongue’” all day long, sucking their lips, faces and breasts as though the child was itself a breast;⁴⁵⁶ or one could describe the incestuous behavior in the public baths (many of them doubling as brothels) in which mothers and children co-bathed.⁴⁵⁷ But just how widespread these incestuous maternal practices were escapes our research tools.

⁴⁵⁵ Uta Ranke-Heinemann, *Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven*, p. 123; Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion*. 2nd Ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996, p. 9, 40, 73; Jean-Jacques Bouchard, *Les Confessions de Jean-Jacques Bouchard*. Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1930, pp. 28-36; Wilhelm Reich, *Passion of Youth: An Autobiography, 1897-1922*. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1988, pp. 6-25; Joseph W. Howe, *Excessive Venery, Masturbation and Continence*. New York: E. B. Treat, 1893, p. 63; Bernard Grebanier, *The Uninhibited Byron: An Account of His Sexual Confusion*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1970, p. 24; C. Gasquoine Hartley, *Motherhood and the Relationships of the Sexes*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1917, p. 312.

⁴⁵⁶ Daphne duMaurier, *The Young George duMaurier: A Selection of His Letters 1860-67*. London: Peter Davies, 1951, p. 223; David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978, p. 255; Christian Augustus Struve, *A Familiar Treatise on the Physical Education of Children...* London: Murray & Highley, 1801, p. 273.

⁴⁵⁷ Abeelwahab Bouhdiba, *Sexuality in Islam*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985, pp. 119, 165-173; Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994, p. 135; Fernando Henriques, *Prostitution in Europe and the Americas*. New York: The Citadel Press, 1965, p. 57.

There is, however, one indirect measure of maternal incestuous practice that could indicate that mothers, until well into the Middle Ages, were acting out their erotic need to violate their daughters' genitals. Mothers in China and India have been observed to "clean the sexual organs of the little children during daily washings...so scrupulously" that the girls have no trace of a hymen...Even Chinese doctors do not know anything about the existence of the hymen."⁴⁵⁸ Some Arab mothers also "practice 'deep cleansing' on their very young daughters, purposely tearing the girls' hymen."⁴⁵⁹ A survey of physicians from antiquity to early modern times reveals that none of them were able to discover a hymen on any of the little girls they examined.⁴⁶⁰ Obviously the mothers and wetnurses of little girls during this period were routinely rupturing the hymen during some assault on their vaginas. Even Paré in the sixteenth century found, when he dissected innumerable little girls as young as three years old, "I was never able to perceive it."⁴⁶¹ Occasionally a doctor like Soranus would find a hymen with his probe, but considered it an aberration.⁴⁶² If one wanted to determine if a girl was a virgin in Greece, one resorted to magical virginity tests, like sending her to a cave where a poisonous snake lived, and "if they were bitten, it was a sign that they were no longer chaste."⁴⁶³ By the fifteenth century, the existence of the hymen and the act of deflowering by breaking it was finally recognized,⁴⁶⁴ indicating that the practice of assaulting girls' genitals had become less than universal.⁴⁶⁵

By the sixteenth century, giant communal family beds, "with people packed like sardines between the blankets,"⁴⁶⁶ including "grandparents, parents, children, servants and visitors,"⁴⁶⁷ began to diminish, so that over

⁴⁵⁸ Heinrich Ploss, *Das weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde. Anthropologische Studien. 2. Band 1.* Leipzig, 1887, p. 300.

⁴⁵⁹ Edgar Gregersen, *Sexual Practices*, p. 228.

⁴⁶⁰ Giulia Sissa, *Greek Virginity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁴⁶³ Bradley A. Te Paske, *Rape and Ritual: A Psychological Study*. Toronto: Inner City Books, 1982, p. 117.

⁴⁶⁴ Danielle Jacquart and Claude Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988, p. 44.

⁴⁶⁵ Esther Lastique and Helen Rodnite Lemay, "A Medieval Physician's Guide to Virginity." In Joyce E. Salisbury, Ed., *Sex in the Middle Ages*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991, p. 56.

⁴⁶⁶ Reginald Reynolds, *Beds: With Many Noteworthy Instances of Lying On, Under, or About Them*. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1951, p. 20.

⁴⁶⁷ William Manchester, *The World Lit Only By Fire: The Medieval Mind and the Renaissance*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1992, p. 53.

the next three centuries more and more people asked each other nostalgically, "Do you not remember those big beds in which everyone slept together without difficulty?...[I]n those days men did not become aroused at the sight of naked women [but now] each one has his own separate bed..."⁴⁶⁸ The change was completely psychogenic, as it occurred in rich and poor families alike. Those who couldn't afford separate beds simply turned the children around so their heads were opposite to their parents, and nightclothes were used rather than "skin-to-skin" sleeping of previous times, so that even "working-class children seldom saw a naked body because most of their parents slept with their clothes on and changed clothing in a corner when others were not looking."⁴⁶⁹ By 1908, incest was finally made a criminal offence; it is today a minor felony in most nations.⁴⁷⁰

THE UBIQUITY OF CHILD SEXUAL MOLESTATION

The best studies of incidence of sexual molestation of children are those of American adults conducted by Wyatt and Russell,⁴⁷¹ both based upon face-to-face interviews lasting from one to eight hours, so that time is allowed for the trust necessary for accurate recall. Russell found 38 percent and Wyatt 45 percent of women interviewed reported memories of sexual abuse during their childhood. In my article "The Universality of Incest," I corrected these figures to reflect the major biases in their studies: Their population does not include groups who have far higher than average sexual molestation experiences, such as criminals, prostitutes, the mentally ill, etc.; they did not count those who refused to be interviewed; and they did not count those who might have suppressed conscious memories, nor did they allow for the possibility of unconscious memories, which most early molestation produces. Adjusting for these factors, I posited a 60 percent rate of sexual abuse for girls. Using Landis' figures on men, I posited a 45 percent rate of sexual abuse for boys.⁴⁷² The average age of the child molested

⁴⁶⁸ Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household and Sexuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 100.

⁴⁶⁹ J. Robert Wegs, *Growing Up Working Class: Continuity and Change Among Viennese Youth, 1890-1938*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989, p. 126.

⁴⁷⁰ Louise A. Jackson, *Child Sexual Abuse in Victorian England*. London: Routledge, 2000, p. 3; Andrew Vachss, "Comment on 'The Universality of Incest.'" *The Journal of Psychohistory* 19(1991): 219.

⁴⁷¹ Gail Elizabeth Wyatt, "The Sexual Abuse of Afro-American and White Women in Childhood." *Child Abuse & Neglect* 9(1985): 507-19; Diana E. H. Russell, *The Secret Trauma: Incest in the Lives of Girls and Women*. New York: Basic Books, 1986.

⁴⁷² Judson T. Landis, "Experiences of 500 Children with Adults' Sexual Deviance." *Psychiatric Quarterly Supplement* 30(1956): 91-109.

was only 7 years old,⁴⁷³ the average duration of abuse was 5 years,⁴⁷⁴ and boys were more often molested by females while girls were more often molested by males.⁴⁷⁵ The only comparable studies from interviews were a Canadian Gallup study, a York University study and two British surveys, all four of which conclude with incidence rates the same or higher than the U.S. studies.⁴⁷⁶ Non-statistical studies of sexual molestation in other countries indicate the likelihood of rates being even higher.⁴⁷⁷

With over half of the children even today being subjected to sexual abuse—about half occurring between family members and most of the remainder occurring with the complicity if not outright collusion of one of the parents—children in the past were likely to have been routinely used as sexual objects by the adults around them. Although intimate historical records of past sexual abuse within the family are obviously selective, a few unusual glimpses of the widespread frequency of this molestation can be recovered. For instance, when Beatrice Webb and others reported in the nineteenth century that they had found that the sexual abuse of young girls by their fathers and brothers was so common in the families they visited that the girls often joked about their babies being products of incest,⁴⁷⁸ or when anthropologists report incest between fathers and daughters was quite common in rural villages from Greece to Japan,⁴⁷⁹ one can reject the reports as being perhaps unrepresentative of whole nations. But when Karen Taylor studied 381 cases of “Venereal Disease in Nineteenth-Century Children” and found that doctors in nineteenth-century Europe and America routinely treated children with venereal disease, mainly on

⁴⁷³ Kathleen A. Kendall-Tackett and Arthur F. Simon, “Molestation and the Onset of Puberty: Data From 365 Adults Molested As Children.” *Child Abuse and Neglect* 12(1988): 73.

⁴⁷⁴ Henry B. Bill and Richard S. Solomon, *Child Maltreatment and Paternal Deprivation*. Lexington: Lexington Books, 1986, p. 59.

⁴⁷⁵ M. Fromuth, “Childhood Sexual Victimization Among College Men.” *Violence and Victim* 2(1987): 241-253; G. Fritz et al., “A Comparison of Males and Females Who Were Sexually Molested as Children.” *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy* 7(1981): 54-59.

⁴⁷⁶ R. F. Badgley, *Sexual Offenses Against Children. 2 Vols.* Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1984; D. J. West, Ed., *Sexual Victimization: Two Recent Researches Into Sex Problems and Their Social Effects*. Aldershot: Hants, 1985; Judy Steed, *Our Little Secret: Confronting Child Sexual Abuse in Canada*. Toronto: Random House of Canada, 1994, p. xii.

⁴⁷⁷ Lloyd deMause, “The Universality of Incest,” pp. 140-164.

⁴⁷⁸ Beatrice Webb, *My Apprenticeship*. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1926, p. 321.

⁴⁷⁹ Richard and Eva Blum, *Health and Healing in Rural Greece: A Study of Three Communities*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965; Shunichi Kubo, “Researches on Incest in Japan.” *Hiroshima Journal of Medical Science* 8(1959): 99-159.

their genitals, anuses and mouths, she finds she agreed with almost all of them that "there is no doubt in my mind that the father of this family was the source whence all the others received infections."⁴⁸⁰ Since the diseases cannot spread except by intimate contact with open wounds, when doctors found fathers with ulcerations of the penis in the same families with children who had ulcerations on the genitals, anus or mouth, incest had to be the cause. Reports from European hospitals showed similar patterns of venereal disease from incest in children.⁴⁸¹

A second method that can reveal the extent of sexual abuse of children is to study measurable physical results of the abuse and determine their overall patterns in past centuries. One of these physical results of sexual and other severe childhood abuse is that girls who are abused reach puberty a few years ahead of others because of substantial increases in the stress hormone cortisol, in testosterone and in adrenal hormones, all of which accelerate their age of menarche.⁴⁸² The age of menarche was approximately 12 in antiquity, rose to around 17 in the early modern period, then dropped steadily in the past 200 years down to the present 13 years of age in modern nations.⁴⁸³ The cause of the overall drop recently has been demonstrated as due to the improvement in the overall population of more protein and calories during children's growth years.⁴⁸⁴ But since mainly wealthy children made up the measured population of menarche from antiquity to modern times—and these wealthy children did not eat

⁴⁸⁰ Karen J. Taylor, "Venereal Disease In Nineteenth-Century Children." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 12(1985): 441.

⁴⁸¹ J. Robert Wegs, *Growing Up Working Class: Continuity and Change Among Viennese Youth, 1890-1938*, p. 125.

⁴⁸² Jay Belsky, Laurence Steinberg and Patricia Draper, "Childhood Experience, Interpersonal Development, and Reproductive Strategy: An Evolutionary Theory of Socialization." *Child Development* 62(1991): 655, 659; "Marks of Abuse." *Newsday*, April 2, 1991, p. 69.

⁴⁸³ D. W. Amundsen, "The Age of Menarche in Classical Greece and Rome." *Human Biology* 41(1969): 125-132; Carol Jean Diers, "Historical Trends in the Age at Menarche and Menopause." *Psychological Reports* 34(1974): 931-937; Phyllis B. Eveleth, "Timing of Menarche." In J. B. Lancaster, Ed. *School-Age Pregnancy and Parenthood: Biosocial Dimensions*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1986, pp. 39-52; Peter Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977, pp. 214-217; Janice Delaney et al., *The Curse: A Cultural History of Menstruation*. Rev. Ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976, p. 49; Peter Laslett, "Age at Menarche in Europe Since the Eighteenth Century." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2(1971): 221-225; Heide Wunder, *He Is the Sun, She Is the Moon: Women in Early Modern Germany*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998, p. 25.

⁴⁸⁴ J. M. Tanner, "Sequence, Tempo, and Individual Variation in Growth and Development of Boys and Girls Aged Twelve to Sixteen." In Jerome Kagan and Robert Coles, *Twelve to Sixteen: Early Adolescence*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1972, p. 23.

less protein and calories than the entire population of children around 1700—only a slowly diminishing rate of sexual abuse of girls can account for the rise from 12 to 17 during the earlier two millennia. Only if most girls in antiquity and the Middle Ages were sexually molested could they have such an early average age of menarche and age of first children.

Boys do not have such an easily identifiable mark of puberty as girls, nor do they accelerate their sexual development as girls do when abused. In fact, boys *delay* their onset of puberty as a result of sexual and physical abuse, as John Money's work on the Kaspar Hauser Syndrome revealed, again connected with a deficiency of thyroid and growth hormones from the pituitary.⁴⁸⁵ Was boys' sexual development delayed in early history? It turns out it was. The growth of first beard in antiquity and the Middle Ages first appeared in the boys' twenties, compared to appearing around 14 years of age today.⁴⁸⁶ The historical pattern was that the age of first beards began its reduction in the West from the 20s down to 14 around 200 years ago, which, as we will see in the next two sections, was when most of the reduction in frequency of sexual abuse took place.

A third method of revealing the routine nature of sexual abuse of children is to examine one child's life that is adequately recorded and see how everyone around him casually uses him sexually. The best-documented life of a child in past times was that of Louis XIII (born 1601), through the daily diary of Jean Héroard, his physician.⁴⁸⁷ The assault on little Louis's erotic zones began at birth, with daily enemas and suppositories. These had nothing to do with toilet training or cleanliness—he was left filthy, and was nearly seven years old before he had his first bath. As doctors regularly recommended for all infants,⁴⁸⁸ frequent enemas or even fingers routinely put deep into the anus were for the purpose of removing the evil inside contents of the child, contents projected into them by the adults around them as a poison container. As David Hunt described the process: "The bowels of children were thought to harbor matter which spoke to the adult world insolently, threateningly, with malice and insubordination...the excrement which was regularly washed out of him was regarded

⁴⁸⁵ John Money, *The Kaspar Hauser Syndrome of "Psychosocial Dwarfism": Deficient Statural, Intellectual, and Social Growth Induced by Child Abuse*. Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1992, pp. 55, 115. It is also likely that the short stature of even the wealthy in premodern times was more due to child abuse than to poor nutrition.

⁴⁸⁶ Amy Richlin, "Not Before Homosexuality: The Materiality of the *Cinaedus* and the Roman Law Against Love Between Men." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3(1993): 547.

⁴⁸⁷ Jean Héroard, *Journal de Jean Héroard sur l'enfance et la jeunesse de Louix XIII*...Ed. Soulié et Barthélemy. Paris: Firmin Didot frères, 1868.

⁴⁸⁸ Seymour Byman, "Psychohistory Attacked." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 5(1978): 578; Friedrich von Zglinicki, *Geschichte des Klistiers*. Frankfurt: Viola Press, n.d.

as the insulting message of an inner demon, indicating the 'bad humors' which lurked within."⁴⁸⁹ Thus infants must be purged of their badness before each nursing so the "good" milk wouldn't get mixed up with the "bad" feces.

Fondling, sucking and kissing little Louis's penis and nipples were common practices by everyone around him—his parents, his nurses, his servants—beginning in his infancy and continuing throughout his childhood. This was done openly, without guilt; and sexual play with others became Louis's main topic of conversation, recorded in detail by Héroard. When he was an infant, all the women around him could hardly refrain from putting their hands up under his clothes, and at one year of age, still unable to walk, the entire court lined up to "kiss his cock."⁴⁹⁰ At the same time, he was made to feel guilty for his own assault, being told, "Monsieur, never let anybody touch your nipples or your cock or they will cut it off." His parents often undressed him in the middle of the day and took him to bed with them and "gambled about freely" while they had intercourse.⁴⁹¹ After his father stretches out his penis and says, "Behold what made you what you are," Louis reports that "papa's penis is much longer than his, that it is this long, indicating half the length of his arm." "The Queen, touching his cock, tells him: 'Son, I am holding your spout.'... "He was undressed and [his sister] too and they were placed naked in bed with the King, where they kissed and twittered and gave great amusement to the King. The King asked him: 'Son, where is the Infanta's bundle?' He showed it to him, saying: 'There is no bone in it, Papa.' Then, as it was slightly distended, he added: 'There is now, there is sometimes.'"⁴⁹² By the time he was four, he was also routinely taken to bed by his ladies-in-waiting and nurses and encouraged to explore their genitals and play sexual games like whipping their buttocks, later commenting publicly, 'Mercier has a cunt as big as that,' showing his two fists, and saying that 'there's a lot of water inside....the cunt of Saint-Georges is big as this box [and] the cunt of Dubois is big as my belly.'⁴⁹³ His nurse, Mercier, usually slept with him and used him sexually. When asked "What have you seen of Mercier?" he answered, "I've seen her hole." "Is

⁴⁸⁹ David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History*, p. 144.

⁴⁹⁰ Elizabeth W. Marvick, "Childhood History and Decisions of State: The Case of Louis XIII." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2(1974): 150.

⁴⁹¹ Lucy Crump, *Nursery Life 300 Years Ago*. London: George Routledge & Sons, 1929, p. 64.

⁴⁹² Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962, p. 101.

⁴⁹³ David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History*, pp. 163, 167.

it pretty then?" "No, it's pretty fat." "How do you know that?" "He answers that he has pissed on her."

The constant sexual use of little children in the past cannot be written off as harmless, as Ariès does when he writes, "All that was involved was a game whose scabrous nature we should beware of exaggerating."⁴⁹⁴ Nor was it limited to poor, illiterate peasants or workers. It was universal—indeed, it is still the rule for most of the children on earth—and it was done solely for psychological reasons. The final two sections of this chapter will examine more deeply the rape first of girls and then of boys throughout history.

THE RAPE OF GIRLS IN HISTORY

The attitude of most adults until the twentieth century toward raping girls is summed up in the comments of a British journalist in 1924 who wrote: "Cases of incest are terribly common in all classes. [Usually] the criminal goes unpunished...Two men coming out from [a rape] trial were overheard saying to a woman who deplored there had been no conviction, 'What nonsense! Men should not be punished for a thing like that. It doesn't harm the child.'"⁴⁹⁵ The conviction that girls always "forget" about being raped after they grow up reaches back to Maimonides, who assures us that the rape of a girl under three was no cause for alarm for, once past three, "she will recover her virginity and be like other virgins."⁴⁹⁶ Historians continue today to idealize the rape of girls in early societies who were forced to serve as "sacred prostitutes."⁴⁹⁷ Guilt about rape was missing in the past because men recognized only two sexual categories: rapists and raped, dominators or dominated. Socarides' pedophile patient tells him why he rapes little girls:

"Women are filthy. They have menstruation, blood...Kids are cleaner...I have sex with kids so I won't die. It keeps me young, keeps me youthful. Having sex with women means that you are grown up already. Kids don't have sex with women, only grownups have sex with women. If I don't grow up, I don't die."⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁴ Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, p. 105.

⁴⁹⁵ Maria Adelaide Lowndes, "Child Assault in England." In Sheila Jeffreys, *The Sexuality Debates*. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987, p. 278.

⁴⁹⁶ Florence Rush, *The Best Kept Secret: Sexual Abuse of Children*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1980, p. 27.

⁴⁹⁷ Nancy Qualls-Corbett, *The Sacred Prostitute: Eternal Aspects of the Feminine*. Toronto: Inner City Books, 1988.

⁴⁹⁸ Charles W. Socarides, *The Preoedipal Origin and Psychoanalytic Therapy of Sexual Perversions*. Madison: International Universities Press, 1988, p. 455.

Child rapists are so afraid of individuating that "grownup sex" with women means leaving their neglectful/destructive mothers, which means death to them. Raping a child means having possession of a "good breast devoid of frightening configurations" and overcoming an overpowering sense of emptiness, abandonment and death. Rapists in history over and over again tell how "rejuvenating" raping children can be. Epictetus gives this advice to those who want to help others overcome their fear of death: "What if you offer him a little girl? And if it is in darkness?"⁴⁹⁹ The traditional world was full of children—slaves, servants, sisters, street urchins, child prostitutes—all available to stave off death and loneliness and to revenge oneself upon the unloving mother.

Empathy for raped girls was missing in traditional societies. Even when the rapist was punished—and this was rare—it was only because "rape or seduction without paternal consent undermined the father's sovereign authority over his daughter."⁵⁰⁰ A girl was quite unprotected if she did not live under the actual supervision of her father. Moreover, this protection did not extend to lower class girls, and if the guilty person was of high rank he was never prosecuted.⁵⁰¹ It was the general practice to brutally punish the girl if she was raped, so few ever told anyone about it.⁵⁰² Vives says, "I know that many fathers have cut the throats of their daughters [if raped]...Hippomenes, a great man of Athens, when he knew his daughter debauched, shut her up in a stable with a wild horse, kept meatless, [who] tore the young woman [apart] to feed himself..."⁵⁰³ Girls in the past—as in many Arab countries still today—would often be killed if they had been raped.⁵⁰⁴ Even today in rural Greek communities, anthropologists report that "incest may sometimes be practiced, with the father, or both the fathers and the brothers, exploiting the growing girl....If the girl should become pregnant...her brothers or her father will kill her [in] an 'honor' killing."⁵⁰⁵ Or, in antiquity, "the father could exercise his power by putting

⁴⁹⁹ Aline Rousselle, "The Family Under the Roman Empire: Signs and Gestures." In André Burguière, et al., Eds., *A History of the Family: Vol. One*, p. 280.

⁵⁰⁰ Giulia Sissa, *Greek Virginity*, p. 88.

⁵⁰¹ Martin Killias, "The Historic Origins of Penal Statutes Concerning Sexual Activities Involving Children and Adolescents." *Journal of Homosexuality* 20(1990): 43.

⁵⁰² Anna Clark, *Women's Silence, Men's Violence: Sexual Assault in England 1770-1845*. London: Pandora, 1987, p. 30.

⁵⁰³ Juan Luis Vives, "A Very Fruitful and Pleasant Book Called the Instruction of a Christian Woman." In Joan Larsen Klein, Ed., *Daughters, Wives, and Widows*, p. 105.

⁵⁰⁴ WCBS-TV, "60 Minutes," October 19, 2000.

⁵⁰⁵ Richard and Eva Blum, *Healthy and Healing in Rural Greece: A Study of Three Communities*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965, p. 49.

the raped girl up for sale."⁵⁰⁶ Or the father would "give his daughter to the ravisher in marriage,"⁵⁰⁷ a custom still practiced in many areas of the world today.⁵⁰⁸

Men began raping girls when they were extremely young. Even today, the average age of rape is 7 years, with 81 percent of sexual abuse occurring before puberty and 42 percent under age 7.⁵⁰⁹ Incestuous rape was ubiquitous in traditional societies; as the Indian proverb put it, "For a girl to be a virgin at ten years old/ She must have neither brothers nor cousin nor father."⁵¹⁰ In the Babylonian Talmud, a celebrated rabbi is told by a woman that she was raped when she was under three years of age, and he tells her it didn't matter because she "ultimately enjoyed the experience."⁵¹¹ Little girls were routinely sexually used throughout history. Well into the modern period, many people thought raping little girls was actually a good idea because it was "instructive" for them; a woman physician wrote in 1878:

Infants but two and three years of age are often raped, by men of all ages, not only for present gratification, but to familiarize girls of immature ages with carnal matters and to excite, so that seduction may be easy in the future....We cannot too strongly impress upon the fathers of daughters their duty in seeing that their little girls are instructed in regard to the certainty of protecting themselves against rapes, by grabbing the testicles.⁵¹²

Not all fathers in the past were protective of their daughters' virginity. Although only three percent of women report incest with fathers in America today,⁵¹³ Gorden found far more widespread incest in nineteenth-century American families, with biological fathers accounting for nearly

⁵⁰⁶ Giulia Sissa, *Greek Virginity*, p. 88.

⁵⁰⁷ Richard Zacks, *History Laid Bare*. New York: HarperCollins, 1994, p. 1.

⁵⁰⁸ Alenka Puhar, "On Childhood Origins of Violence in Yugoslavia," p. 181.

⁵⁰⁹ Kathleen A. Kendall-Tackett, "Molestation and the Onset of Puberty." *Child Abuse & Neglect* 12(1988): 76; David Finkelhor, *Child Sexual Abuse: New Theory and Research*. New York: Free Press, 1984; J. Michael Cupoli, "One Thousand Fifty-Nine Children With a Chief Complaint of Sexual Abuse." *Child Abuse & Neglect* 12(1988): 158.

⁵¹⁰ Paul G. Brewster, *The Incest Theme in Folksong*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1972, p. 27.

⁵¹¹ R. E. L. Masters and Edward Lea, *Sex Crimes in History*. New York: The Julian Press, 1963, p. 195.

⁵¹² A Woman Physician and Surgeon, *Unmasked, or, The Science of Immorality*. Philadelphia: William H. Boyd, 1878, pp. 88, 91.

⁵¹³ Diana E. H. Russell, *The Secret Trauma*, p. 234.

half of the cases that reached Boston courts;⁵¹⁴ and Lowndes reported that the only reason British courts were not swamped by paternal incest cases was that they simply didn't believe the victims, and that the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children was precluded from touching incest cases.⁵¹⁵ "Cases were hushed up, the rapist bribed parents not to report them, and wives might refuse to believe that the husbands were capable of such monstrosity, and even turn on their own daughters if they tried to complain."⁵¹⁶ Records of mothers colluding with the fathers' rape were legion, as in the colonial American family where the mother "forced her daughter to go to bed with her stepfather, and, as the girl told the court, 'my mother held me by the hand whilst my father did abuse me and had his will of me.'"⁵¹⁷ Many if not most "delinquent" girls in the past were simply victims of incest:

A Chicago study of delinquent girls in 1917 included many anecdotal cases of [sexual] abuse by relatives or neighbors, including "one girl raped by her own father when she was ten years of age, one by an uncle, two by boarders." In such accounts, phrases like "incest with a father" and "raped by a lodger" recur in a bleak litany. Jane Addams noted in 1913 that "a surprising number of little girls have first become involved in wrongdoing through the men of their own households," often as a result of assaults that occurred before the victims were eight years old.⁵¹⁸

Many societies prefer incestuous marriages—in China, for instance, some families would avoid marriages to strangers by adopting girls when infants and raising them with their sons so they can marry their sisters.⁵¹⁹ In many poor countries, "girls were regularly allowed to die off—through giving them less food and by other neglect—if they did not appeal sexually to the men around them. Even though this meant very high sexual abuse rates for young girls and severe sexual problems for them as women, the

⁵¹⁴ Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence – Boston 1880-1960*. New York: Viking, 1988, p. 211.

⁵¹⁵ Maria Adelaide Lowndes, "Child Assault in England," pp. 271-278.

⁵¹⁶ Lionel Rose, *The Erosion of Childhood: Child Oppression in Britain 1860-1918*. London: Routledge, 1991, p. 22.

⁵¹⁷ David H. Flaherty, *Privacy in Colonial New England*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972, p. 80.

⁵¹⁸ Philip Jenkins, *Moral Panic: Changing Concepts of the Child Molester in Modern America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, p. 33.

⁵¹⁹ Arthur P. Wolf, "Adopt a Daughter-in-Law, Marry a Sister: A Chinese Solution to the Problem of the Incest Taboo." *American Anthropologist* 70(1968): 864-874.

girls' flirtatious traits were adaptive..."⁵²⁰ Again, the entire gynarchy often colluded in the rapes. One of Madame Du Barry's main duties was "to search the land for the most beautiful girls who could be bought or kidnapped [as] 'baby-mistresses'" for Louis XV: "And with each of them, it was his custom before violating them to have them kneel with him in prayer at the edge of the bed which was to be the place of their defloration."⁵²¹ Even Queen Elizabeth was made to play sexual games in bed with her foster-father in the home where she was sent as a teenager⁵²²—which could be the reason why she never married.

The fact that most girls were routinely badly beaten in the past made rapes more easy to cover up. A typical case was reported by a Boston physician:

A relative began masturbating her when she was about 8. He threatened to tell her father about some childish error if she wouldn't let him do as he pleased and she was afraid of her father....She has cut herself 28 or 30 times...Cuts herself slowly to bring out the pain...Mother whipped her with horsewhip...A Dr. in Lynn told her she should have connections [sexual intercourse] that it would cure her desire to cut herself...Stuck pen-knife in her vagina...Dr. Briggs [a previous physician she'd consulted] got a 'hard-on.' Took her hand and put it on his penis...Then he masturbated her breasts and genitals over an hour...[her uncle] often used to hurt her horribly when he masturbated her.⁵²³

If the father had no daughter, he could use his son's child bride:

Fathers marry their sons to some blooming girl in the village at a very early age, and then send the young men either to Moscow or St. Petersburg to seek employment...when the son returns to his cottage, he finds himself nominal father of several children, the offspring of his own parent...This is done all over Russia.⁵²⁴

It is not surprising that Duby reports of medieval families that they were "a hotbed of sexual adventure...penitentials forbid a man to know his

⁵²⁰ Ursula M. Cowgill and G. E. Hutchinson, "Sex Ratio in Childhood and the Depopulation of the Peten, Guatemala." *Human Biology* 35(1963): 90.

⁵²¹ Russell Trainer, *The Lolita Complex*. New York: Citadel Press, 1966, p. 22.

⁵²² Alison Plowden, *The Young Elizabeth*. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1971, pp. 87-88.

⁵²³ Martin Bauml Duberman, *About Time: Exploring the Gay Past*. New York: Gay Presses of New York, 1986, pp. 68-74.

⁵²⁴ Robert Ker Porter, "Traveling Sketches in Russia and Sweden, 1805-08." In Peter Putnam, Ed., *Seven Britons in Imperial Russia, 1698-1812*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952, p. 327.

wife's sister or daughter, his brother's wife...[M]aidservants, female relatives, women still 'vacant,' or not yet disposed of [were] an open invitation to male licentiousness. In this small enclosed Paradise every man was an Adam: the young, the not so young, and first and foremost the head of the family, all were constantly exposed to temptation."⁵²⁵ Grandfathers in particular had to be warned by early psychoanalysts not to insert their fingers into their granddaughters' vaginas.⁵²⁶ The traditional family of the past was similar to families in less advanced areas today: for instance, a recent report of Middle Eastern women found four out of five recalled having been forced into fellatio between the ages of 3 and 6 by older brothers and other relatives.⁵²⁷ The molestation begins with masturbation or fellatio and proceeds to intercourse: "In most cases the girl surrenders and is afraid to complain since, if there is any punishment to be meted out, it will always end up by being inflicted on her."⁵²⁸ Consent of the girl to intercourse is such a foreign notion that Old French doesn't even have a word for "rape, although medieval French literature is full of comic portrayals of violent sexual assaults on young girls."⁵²⁹ Rape of girls was little noticed and rarely punished well into the eighteenth century, because, as Anna Clark puts it, "men seemed to regard rape as a trivial issue..."⁵³⁰

Sexual slavery—whether of actual slaves or of foster children, servants or apprentices—was very widespread in the past. Even today there are over 100 million sexual slaves around the world, most of them starting their sexual services as children.⁵³¹ Nor is the sale always forced by poverty: "A recent survey in Thailand found that of the families who sold their daughters, two-thirds could afford not to do so but instead preferred to buy color televisions and video equipment."⁵³² Rape of girl servants in the past was nearly universal:

Masters seemed to believe that they had a right to their servants' or apprentices' sexual favours, a right they would claim by force if ser-

⁵²⁵ Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1983, p. 70.

⁵²⁶ Florence Rush, *The Best Kept Secret*, p. 57.

⁵²⁷ Allen Edwardes, *The Cradle of Erotica*, p. 300.

⁵²⁸ Nawal El Saadawi, *The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab World*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1980, p. 14.

⁵²⁹ Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991, pp. 2, 128.

⁵³⁰ Anna Clark, *Women's Silence, Men's Violence: Sexual Assault in England, 1770-1845*. London: Pandora Press, 1987, p. 44.

⁵³¹ Gordon Thomas, *Enslaved*. New York: Pharos Books, 1991, p. 3.

⁵³² Kevin Bales, *Disposable People*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 220.

vants did not acquiesce...In 1772, when Sarah Bishop, aged sixteen, claimed to her mistress that her master had raped her, the mistress told her "he always served all his servants so the night they came into the house." ...Rape seems to have been almost a ritual assertion of the master's authority...he believed that he had committed no crime.⁵³³

The majority of girls raped were done so with some sort of collusion of their parents. Mothers commonly rented out rooms to boarders and forced their daughters to sleep with them.⁵³⁴ Throughout medieval Europe "daughters were loaned to guests as an act of hospitality."⁵³⁵ In Victorian London, "children went out onto the streets 'with the connivance of the mother,' returned home at night, and made their contribution to 'the profit of the household.'"⁵³⁶ Children as young as six were openly offered for sale and sexual use by public advertisements in most cities of Europe.⁵³⁷ One British chaplain declared that trying to stop child prostitution was like "taking a spoon to empty the Mersey;"⁵³⁸ it was estimated in Victorian London that one house in sixty was a brothel (6,000 in all) and one female in sixteen a prostitute.⁵³⁹ Virtually all prostitutes began their trade either after rape in homes as children, or because they were sold by their parents into prostitution.⁵⁴⁰ In antiquity, either "sacred" prostitution—with as many as six thousand prostitutes available in many temples—or profane prostitution or sex slavery was the lot of the majority of little girls born.⁵⁴¹ Fathers sold and rented out their daughters for sexual use without the least guilt.⁵⁴² If Genesis is to be believed, Lot handed over his two daughters for

⁵³³ Anna Clark, *Women's Silence, Men's Violence*, p. 41.

⁵³⁴ Louise A. Jackson, *Child Sexual Abuse in Victorian England*. London: Routledge, 2000, p. 111.

⁵³⁵ Samuel X. Radbill, "Children in a World of Violence: A History of Child Abuse." In Ray E. Helfer and Ruth S. Kampe, *The Battered Child. Fourth Ed.*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987, p. 9.

⁵³⁶ Michael Pearson, *The Five-Pound Virgins*. New York: Saturday Review Press, 1972, p. 29.

⁵³⁷ Russell Trainer, *The Lolita Complex*, p. 23; Charles Terrot, *The Maiden Tribute: A Study of the White Slave Traffic of the Nineteenth Century*. London: Frederick Mulley, 1959, p. 17.

⁵³⁸ Ronald Pearsall, *Night's Black Angels: The Forms and Faces of Victorian Cruelty*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975, p. 244.

⁵³⁹ Florence Rush, *The Best Kept Secret*, p. 61.

⁵⁴⁰ Franz Seraphim Hügel, *Zur Geschichte, Statistik und Regelung der Prostitution*. Wien, 1865, p. 207.

⁵⁴¹ Nancy Qualls Corbett, *The Sacred Prostitute: Eternal Aspects of the Feminine*. Toronto: Inner City Books, 1988, p. 37; Cathy Joseph, "Scarlet Wounding: Issues of Child Prostitution." *The Journal of Psychohistory* 23(1995): 14.

⁵⁴² Ellen Bass, *I Never Told Anyone: Writings by Women Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse*. New York: Harper & Row, 1983, p. 34.

sexual use without even a payment.⁵⁴³ Chinese chiefs would provide harem girls for guests to rape, and one of them, Shihu, chief of the Huns, even had one of his harem girls cooked and served to his guests as a delicacy.⁵⁴⁴ Greek plays portray the sexual use of slave-girls as routine.⁵⁴⁵ Greek wives were often not allowed to do farming chores lest they be raped.⁵⁴⁶ John Chrysostom tells parents to frighten their children not to go out into the streets because they "ran the risk of sexual attack by pedophiles offering sweets and nuts."⁵⁴⁷ Christianity changed little in the use of young girls for raping. Convents were open brothels where "monks and confessors alike treated nuns and young novitiates as wives, but their victims' mouths were sealed by the dread of excommunication threatened by their spiritual fathers."⁵⁴⁸ In many cities, "nunneries were often little more than whorehouses [providing] fornication between nuns and their gentlemen callers."⁵⁴⁹ The clergy—in the past as in the present—was often reported as preferring little children to rape: "At Pope Alexander VI's celebration of Catholic Spain's victory over the Moors, children were passed amongst the clergy in a veritable 'sexual bacchanalia.'"⁵⁵⁰

Girls who went into the streets alone sometimes carried knives for protection against rape.⁵⁵¹ Since rape was thought to be "a mere trifle (*paulum quiddam*)," rapists until very recently were rarely prosecuted and even more rarely found guilty (since there had to be others who witnessed the rape),⁵⁵² and even if found guilty, most were let off with a mild fine.⁵⁵³ One of the most-used excuses for raping girls was the widespread belief that rape of a virgin cures one of venereal disease; if you said this was your

⁵⁴³ Genesis 19.8.

⁵⁴⁴ Reay Tannahill, *Flesh and Blood*, p. 49.

⁵⁴⁵ Roger Just, *Women in Athenian Law and Life*. London: Routledge, 1989, p. 142.

⁵⁴⁶ Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece*, p. 21.

⁵⁴⁷ John Lascaratos and Effie Poulakou-Rebelakou, "Child Sexual Abuse: Historical Cases in the Byzantine Empire (324-1453 A.D.)" *Child Abuse & Neglect* 24(2000): 1088.

⁵⁴⁸ Florence Rush, *The Best Kept Secret*, p. 37.

⁵⁴⁹ Elizabeth Abbott, *A History of Celibacy*, p. 143.

⁵⁵⁰ Elinor Burkett and Frank Bruni, *A Gospel of Shame: Children, Sexual Abuse and the Catholic Church*. New York: Viking, 1993, p. 27.

⁵⁵¹ David Nicholas, *The Domestic Life of a Medieval City: Women, Children, and the Family in Fourteenth-Century Ghent*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985, p. 64.

⁵⁵² John Marshall Carter, *Rape in Medieval England: An Historical and Sociological Study*. New York: University Press of America, 1985, p. 148.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 126; Guido Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crimes and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 93.

reason for rape, you were usually let go.⁵⁵⁴ The belief was the typical "poison container" theory, that sexual intercourse with the pure was an antidote to the impure. Even the bubonic plague was thought to be cured by raping pure girls.⁵⁵⁵ Many brothels in the past and in the present specialized in providing "virgins" to men suffering from venereal disease for supposed "treatment" for the disease.⁵⁵⁶

Perhaps the most popular way to rape girls in the past was in the "raping gangs" that existed in nearly every country from antiquity to modern times. Roving gangs of "youths"—who practiced homosexual submission to the older among them⁵⁵⁷—practiced nightly collective raping attacks on unprotected women, "forcing the doors of a woman's house and, without concealing their identity and mixing brutality with blandishments, threats and insults, would rape their prey on the spot [and] drag the victim through the streets, eventually pulling her into a house whose keepers were accessories to the plot, where they would do as they pleased, all night long."⁵⁵⁸ Gang rapes made up to 80 percent of all sexual assaults in many areas,⁵⁵⁹ and violent gang rape "constituted a veritable rite of initiation" for youth in the past.⁵⁶⁰ Neighbors did not intervene; indeed, the rapes were considered "public performances" and the gang rapes were considered just normal, youthful "sporting" activities by their fathers and other city officials.⁵⁶¹ Over half of the youth of the cities participated in the gang rapes, and over the years a large minority of the young girls of the city would end up being raped, giving credence to the conclusion that gang

⁵⁵⁴ Antony E. Simpson, "Vulnerability and the Age of Female Consent: Legal Innovation and Its Effect on Prosecutions for Rape in Eighteenth-Century London." In G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter, Eds., *Sexual Underworlds of the Enlightenment*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988, p. 193.

⁵⁵⁵ B. W. Brewster, "The Incest Theme in Folksong." *Folklore Fellows Communications* 90(212): 3.

⁵⁵⁶ V. R. Bhalerao, "Profile of Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Child Prostitutes in the Red Light Areas of Bombay." In Usha S. Naidu and Kamini R. Kapadia, Eds., *Child Labour and Health: Problems and Prospects*. Bombay: Tata Institute of Social Sciences, 1985, p. 203.

⁵⁵⁷ David F. Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality*, p. 259.

⁵⁵⁸ Jacques Rossiaud, "Prostitution, Youth and Society in the Towns of Southeastern France in the Fifteenth Century." In Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, Eds., *Deviants and the Abandoned in French Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1978, p. 6.

⁵⁵⁹ Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Sex in the Western World: The Development of Attitudes and Behaviour*. Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991, p. 272.

⁵⁶⁰ William Manchester, *A World Lit Only By Fire*, Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1992, p. 41; John Marshall Carter, *Rape in Medieval England*, p. 57.

⁵⁶¹ Jacques Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988, p. 39.

rape was a rite of initiation for youth in traditional societies, a preparation for the violence of knightly society.⁵⁶²

Finally, even when the girl got married, the marriage was usually at a very young age and to a man who was chosen by the parents, so in fact it would be considered child rape today. Girls were usually married off in antiquity between 12 and 14, to men in their 30s;⁵⁶³ "it was not uncommon," says Blümner, "since Greek girls married very early, for them to play with their dolls up to the time of their marriage, and just before their wedding to take these to some temple...and there dedicate them as a pious offering."⁵⁶⁴ Christian canon law ostensibly forbade child marriage, but the legal age for girls was twelve, and for most of medieval times "it was not at all uncommon for a girl to be a bride at ten [since] one of tender years [could] be married to a septuagenarian while 'church laws did not rescind the nuptials.'"⁵⁶⁵ Marriage thus was simply the final rape for most girls throughout history until modern times.

THE UNIVERSALITY OF HISTORICAL PEDERASTY

Pederasts past and present use boys for sexual purposes to make up for the traumas of their own childhood, "the male child representing his ideal self, whose youthfulness protects him from annihilation (death anxiety)."⁵⁶⁶ The boy is the smooth, maternal breast, the penis is the nipple, and raping the boy is an act of revenge toward the mother, showing that the pederast is in total control, dominating the boy to overcome his sense of emptiness and abandonment. As one pederast put it, "I want to hold him in my arms, control him, dominate him, make him do my bidding, that I'm all-powerful."⁵⁶⁷ The pederast's sexual targets are so interchangeable that he often seduces hundreds of boys in his lifetime. The sexual use of boys is not to be thought of as "a lack of impulse controls" or even as "only a different object choice" as most historians claim; pederasts are driven not by their sexual instincts but by their overwhelming anxieties.

Domination rather than tender love was in fact the central aim of all sexuality until modern times. Raping boys was by far the preferred sexual activity of men; it was considered more "according to nature" than het-

⁵⁶² Ibid., p. 21.

⁵⁶³ Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Sex in the Western World*, p. 269.

⁵⁶⁴ Philip E. Slater, *The Glory of Hera: Greek Mythology and the Greek Family*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968, p. 24.

⁵⁶⁵ Florence Rush, *The Best Kept Secret*, p. 31.

⁵⁶⁶ Charles Socarides, *The Preoedipal Origin and Psychoanalytic Therapy of Sexual Perversions*, p. 463.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 462.



Illustration 10. Greek pederast with boy.

erosexuality, "an ordinance enacted by divine laws."⁵⁶⁸ Pythagoras, when asked when one should have sex with women rather than boys, replied: "When you want to lose what strength you have."⁵⁶⁹ As one historian of sexuality put it, "The world was divided into the screwers—all male—and the screwed—both male and female."⁵⁷⁰ Because the boy represented the ideal self with whom the rapist merged, he must be without hair: "I like the smooth surface of the young boy's body, I don't like hair on it, I can't stand it..."⁵⁷¹ So as soon as boys reached puberty, they were felt to be

useless for sexual purposes, and all pederastic poetry mentions the first hairs terminate the boy's attractiveness. According to graffiti and poetry, the boy is most often raped anally.⁵⁷² Lucilius compares sexual relations with boys and women: "She bloodies you, but he on the other hand beshits you."⁵⁷³ While the vagina is "castigated in invective as smelly, dirty, wet, loose, noisy, hairy, and so on...no such feeling seems to have been applied to the anuses of *pueri*."⁵⁷⁴ Boys' anuses were called "rosebud, sometimes compared to the sweetest of fruits, the fig, other times again equated with gold."⁵⁷⁵ The only precaution taken was to depilate boys' anuses, say Martial and Suetonius.⁵⁷⁶ Indeed, as Martial put it, men must

⁵⁶⁸ Robin Scroggs, *The New Testament and Homosexuality: Contextual Background for Contemporary Debate*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983, p. 48.

⁵⁶⁹ Elizabeth Abbott, *A History of Celibacy*, p. 49.

⁵⁷⁰ Daniel Boyarin, "Are There Any Jews in 'The History of Sexuality'?" *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5(1995): 333.

⁵⁷¹ Charles Socarides, *The Preoedipal Origin and Psychoanalytic Therapy of Sexual Perversions*, p. 463.

⁵⁷² William Armstrong Percy III, *Pederasty and Pedagogy in Archaic Greece*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996, p. 31; Craig A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, p. 20.

⁵⁷³ Craig A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, p. 24.

⁵⁷⁴ Amy Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983, p. 68.

⁵⁷⁵ Eva Centarella, *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992, p. 26.

⁵⁷⁶ Frederick Charles Forberg, *Manual of Classical Erotology*. New York: Grove Press, 1966, p. 101-103.

only penetrate the anus of boys, warning a man who was stimulating a boy's penis: "Nature has divided the male into two parts: one was made for girls, the other for men. Use *your* part."⁵⁷⁷ Boys were far preferred over women; Propertius vowed, "May my enemies all fall in love with women and my friends with boys."⁵⁷⁸ It was important that the boy not experience pleasure, only "pain and tears...of pleasure he has none at all."⁵⁷⁹ The painful assault on the boy's anus also restaged the painful routine insertion by mothers and nurses of fingers, enemas and suppositories into the rectums of children. In particular, "initiatory" pederasty was always anal, involving a fantasy of "the intrinsic spiritual value of sperm" that—as we have seen in the previous chapter—was needed to ejaculate into the boy's anus in order to "make him a man."⁵⁸⁰ Parents taught boys in antiquity to "put up with it: not as a pleasure, but as a duty."⁵⁸¹ Parents were advised that "all those who have acquitted themselves nobly" should have the right to use any boys they want sexually.⁵⁸² Physicians were regularly expected to provide ointments and other lubricants for anal penetration of boys, and they were asked to repair the rectal tears and other injuries that were the usual results of the rapes.⁵⁸³

Pederasty was widespread in preliterate tribes around the world, from the "customary pederasty" of Australians and the sexual use of *berdaches* in North and Central American tribes—where boys were dressed as girls beginning in infancy for raping—to the "boy-wives" of Africa.⁵⁸⁴ All early civilizations practiced boy rape and even had boys serve as temple prostitutes, including the ancient Hebrews, Sumerians, Persians, Mesopota-

⁵⁷⁷ Martial. 11.22.9.

⁵⁷⁸ Paul Veyne, "Homosexuality in Ancient Rome." In Philippe Ariès and André Béjin, *Western Sexuality: Practice and Precept in Past and Present Times*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985, p. 33.

⁵⁷⁹ David M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love*. New York: Routledge, 1990, p. 135.

⁵⁸⁰ Bernard Sergent, *Homosexuality in Greek Myth*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1984, p. 39.

⁵⁸¹ Evan Cantarella, *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*, p. 213.

⁵⁸² Plutarch, *The Education of Children*, 11.

⁵⁸³ Guido Ruggiero, *Boundaries of Eros*, p. 117; Gregory M. Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, pp. 238-239.

⁵⁸⁴ Stephen O. Murray, "Age-Stratified Homosexuality: Introduction." In Stephen O. Murray, Ed., *Oceanic Homosexualities*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1992, p. 5; Will Roscoe, "How to Become a Berdache: Toward a Unified Analysis of Gender Diversity." In Gilbert Herdt, Ed., *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*. New York: Zone Books, 1994, p. 364; Stephen O. Murray and Will Roscoe, Eds., *Boy-Wives and Female Husbands*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.

mians, Celts, Egyptians, Etruscans, Carthaginians, Chinese, Japanese, Indians, etc.⁵⁸⁵ Pederasty, concludes Spencer, "was almost universal among the Aztecs, involving children as young as six."⁵⁸⁶ Boy rape was expected to be violent; men were expected to take along with them when going out in the streets "scissors, to make a hole in the trousers of the boy [and] a small pillow to put in the boy's mouth if he should scream..."⁵⁸⁷ Tutors and teachers often raped their pupils along with beating them; as Quintilian warned, "I blush to mention the shameful abuse which scoundrels sometimes make of their right to administer corporal punishment." A father in Greece chose the penetrator of his boy, often obtaining gifts or favors in return.⁵⁸⁸ Aristophanes shows one father in *Birds* complaining to another, "Well, this is a fine state of affairs...You meet my son just as he comes out of the gymnasium, all fresh from the bath, and you don't kiss him, you don't say a word to him, you don't hug him, you don't feel his balls! And yet you're supposed to be a friend of ours!"⁵⁸⁹ Pedagogues were hired to guard boys against rape by unapproved men, but the pedagogue might assault the boy himself.⁵⁹⁰ Boys in Greece were blamed if they failed to find a pederast for themselves; every boy was expected to have one.⁵⁹¹ Greek and Roman soldiers brought boys along with them on campaigns to use sexually.⁵⁹² Slave boys were often furnished to guests for sexual use.⁵⁹³ Doctors prescribed sex with boys as therapy.⁵⁹⁴ Boy brothels and rent-a-boy services were widespread, and a pederast chosen by

⁵⁸⁵ Wainwright Churchill, *Homosexual Behavior Among Males: A Cross-Cultural and Cross-Species Investigation*. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1967, pp. 75-83; Barry D. Adam, "Age, Structure, and Sexuality: Reflections on the Anthropological Evidence on Homosexual Relations." *Journal of Homosexuality* 11(1985): 19-33; David F. Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality*, p. 164.

⁵⁸⁶ Colin Spencer, *Homosexuality in History*. New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1995, p. 142.

⁵⁸⁷ Maarten Schild, "The Irresistible Beauty of Boys." In Joseph Geraci, Ed., *Dares To Speak: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Boy-Love*. Norfolk: The Gay Men's Press, 1997, p. 87.

⁵⁸⁸ Mark Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, p. 59.

⁵⁸⁹ Reay Tannahill, *Sex in History*. New York: Stein and Day, 1980, p. 89.

⁵⁹⁰ Keith R. Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family: Studies in Roman Social History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 53.

⁵⁹¹ John R. Ungaretti, "Pederasty, Heroism, and the Family in Classical Greece." *Journal of Homosexuality* 3(1978): 292.

⁵⁹² Ibid., p. 295; Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest*, p. 23.

⁵⁹³ Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest*, p. 195; Allen Edwardes, *The Cradle of Erotica*, p. 222.

⁵⁹⁴ Helen E. Elsom, "Callirhoe: Displaying the Phallic Woman." In Amy Richlin, Ed., *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 215.

the father could even sell his rights to rape a particular boy to another man.⁵⁹⁵ Raping boys, even when violence was obvious, was never seen as a crime against the child—only against the parents—and no concern was shown as to any harm that might be done to the boy.⁵⁹⁶ With the number of boy prostitutes worldwide still in the millions,⁵⁹⁷ it is not surprising that every city in antiquity had its boy-brothels; in Rome, boys could be picked up at the barbershop or at the exit of any of the games.⁵⁹⁸ All men, even when married, were expected to have sex with boys. “Almost all of the great democratic leaders of Archaic Athens were...pederastic.”⁵⁹⁹ Wives found it hard to compete with their husbands’ boys. Juvenal says wives were “always hot with quarrels...bitching away...about his boy-friends,”⁶⁰⁰ and Martial describes a wife yelling, “Bumming a boy again! Don’t I have a rump as well?”⁶⁰¹

A few early Christians began to object to using boys sexually. John Chrysostom complained about fathers taking their boys to banquets where they were made to perform fellatio on men “under the blankets,” recommending that boys be placed in the care of monks at the age of ten to avoid seduction.⁶⁰² But most medieval authors gave the pro-pederast advice of antiquity, with medical books recommending sex with boys as “less harmful [than] sexual union with women [which] leads more quickly to old age...”⁶⁰³ The reason men in medieval times waited until their 30s to get married was because they routinely used young boys for sex until then; in Florence, for instance, only a quarter of the men in the fifteenth century were married by the age of 32.⁶⁰⁴ Since over a third of most households had servants or apprentices, sexual relations between masters and

⁵⁹⁵ Bernard Sergent, *Homosexuality in Greek Myth*, p. 41.

⁵⁹⁶ David Cohen, “Consent and Sexual Relations in Classical Athens.” In Angeliki E. Laiou, Ed., *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Societies*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993, p. 8.

⁵⁹⁷ Cathy Joseph, “Scarlet Wounding: Issues of Child Prostitution.” *The Journal of Psychohistory* 23(1995): 8.

⁵⁹⁸ Richie J. McMullen, *Male Rape: Breaking the Silence on the Last Taboo*. London: GMP Publications, 1990, p. 42; Dennis Drew and Jonathan Drake, *Boys for Sale: A Sociological Study of Boy Prostitution*. New York: Brown Book Co., 1969, pp. 22-27.

⁵⁹⁹ William Armstrong Percy III, *Pederasty and Pedagogy in Archaic Greece*, p. 183.

⁶⁰⁰ Julia O’Faolain, Ed., *Not in God’s Image*. New York: Harper & Row, 1973, p. 59.

⁶⁰¹ Martial, *Epigrams* XI.45.

⁶⁰² Alline Rousselle, *Porneia*, p. 135.

⁶⁰³ Danielle Jacquat and Claude Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985, p. 124.

⁶⁰⁴ Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 14.

male servants were even more common and acceptable than between masters and female servants.⁶⁰⁵ Tutors and teachers in schools were expected to use their students sexually, and those who protested that it was a "vice so inveterate [and] so strong a custom" that it was "hardly likely to be discouraged" were thought odd.⁶⁰⁶

But placing boys as oblates into monasteries only made them available for rape by monks, who could not keep their hands off them. One abbott wrote about an infant boy brought to the monastery by his father:

...the man turned the child over to me altogether, and I received the baby with pleasure and joy and a clean heart. [But] when the boy got older and had reached the age of about ten...I was tortured and overwhelmed by an obscene desire, and the beast of impure lust and a desire for pleasure burned in my soul...I wanted to have sex with the boy...⁶⁰⁷

Sex with boys was the central obsession of monks beginning with the early anchorites who went to the desert; Macarius saw so many monks having sex with boys in the desert that he strongly advised monks not to take them in.⁶⁰⁸ But the need was too strong, and even rules such as those requiring boys to have escorts when going to the lavatory did not prevent monks from routinely using their oblates sexually.⁶⁰⁹ So many monks raped their novices that there was a common saying: "With wine and boys around, the monks have no need of the Devil to tempt them."⁶¹⁰ Priests also commonly used confessions to solicit sex with boys, but early Christian penitentials assessed penances only for the boys, since they were blamed for their own rape. Peter Damian said in the eleventh century that sex with boys in monasteries "rages like a bloodthirsty beast in the midst of the sheepfold of Christ with bold freedom," and suggested both the man and boy be punished as accomplices for a "sin against nature."⁶¹¹

So acceptable was pederasty in medieval times that parents continued handing over their boys for sexual use to friends and others from whom

⁶⁰⁵ Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*. London: Gay Men's Press, 1982, p. 51.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁷ John Boswell, *Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe*. New York: Villard Books, 1994, p. 247.

⁶⁰⁸ Aline Rousselle, *Porneia*, p. 148.

⁶⁰⁹ Patricia A. Quinn, *Better Than The Sons of Kings: Boys and Monks in the Early Middle Ages*. New York: Peter Lang, 1988, p. 165.

⁶¹⁰ Elizabeth Abbott, *A History of Celibacy*, p. 101.

⁶¹¹ Peter Damian, *Book of Gomorrah*. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1982, pp. 27, 42.

they expected favors.⁶¹² Bernardino of Sienna condemned parents as “pimps” of their own sons, saying the fathers, pederasts themselves, were the ones most responsible, taking money or gifts from their sons’ rapists.⁶¹³ Boys were so likely to be raped in the streets—“a boy can’t even pass nearby without having a sodomite on his tail”—that Bernardino urged mothers, “Send your girls out instead, who aren’t in any danger at all if you let them out among such people...this is less evil.”⁶¹⁴ Mothers, too, colluded in the seduction of their sons. “When a boy started to mature sexually...his mother gave him a bedroom to himself on the ground floor, ‘with a separate entrance and every convenience, so that he can do whatever he pleases and bring home whomever he likes.’”⁶¹⁵

When, beginning in the fifteenth century, some more violent pederasty disputes began being handled by courts, the huge number of cases prosecuted revealed that every place boys were gathered—from schools and monasteries to taverns and pastry shops—were “schools of sodomy” where pederasts gathered to violate boys.⁶¹⁶ In Florence, according to the thorough analysis of court records by Michael Rocke, “in the later fifteenth century, the majority of local males at least once during their lifetimes were officially incriminated for engaging in homosexual relations” with boys.⁶¹⁷ Since many pederasts were never incriminated in court, since courts were reluctant to try any but the most violent cases of boy rape, and since pederasts past and present usually rape dozens of boys each, these early court statistics reveal as nothing else the universality of pederasty in history. If the majority of men were hauled into court for cases in connection with their pederasty, the number of boys actually being raped must have been nearly everyone.

As more parents evolved into the intrusive and socializing modes of modern times, they were more and more reluctant to hand over their boys for use by pederasts. Tutors began being monitored to see that they were not pederasts, and reformers began to warn that servants too often “take

⁶¹² Jerrold Atlas, “Pederasty, Blood Shedding and Blood Smearing: Men in Search of Mommy’s Feared Powers.” *The Journal of Psychohistory* 28(2000): 116-149.

⁶¹³ Michael J. Rocke, “Sodomites in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany: The Views of Bernardino of Siena.” In Kent Gerard and Gert Hekman, Eds., *The Pursuit of Sodomy: Male Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe*. New York: Harrington Park Press, 1989, pp. 9, 13.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 12.

⁶¹⁵ Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships*, p. 156.

⁶¹⁶ Guido Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros*, p. 138.

⁶¹⁷ Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships*, p. 7.

liberties with a child which they would not risk with a young man."⁶¹⁸ Some suggested that public female brothels should be encouraged as "the best chance of keeping men away from boys."⁶¹⁹ The rape of boys in British public schools, "with the full knowledge and collusion, even the approval, of their elders,"⁶²⁰ nevertheless continued into the twentieth century, where every older boy and even teachers had a younger boy as their "bitch" to use sexually.⁶²¹ Only slowly in recent decades has it become acceptable to defend children against sexual attack, and only in the most psychogenically advanced nations has the rate of sexual abuse of children dropped to only half of the children born.

Obviously, despite the achievement of empathic childrearing among some parents today, most of humankind still has a long way to evolve to get beyond severe abuse and give their children the love and respect they deserve. The ubiquity of severe child abuse and neglect in historical sources makes even the most horrific descriptions found in contemporary clinical and child advocacy reports seem limited in comparison. It is no wonder that historians have chosen to hide, deny and whitewash the record here uncovered, in order to avoid confronting the parental holocaust of children that has been the central cause of violence and misery throughout history.

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⁶¹⁸ Richard Davenport-Hines, *Sex, Death and Punishment: Attitudes to Sex and Sexuality in Britain Since the Renaissance*. London: Collins, 1990, p. 61; Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962, p. 117.

⁶¹⁹ Richard C. Trexler, *Dependence in Context in Renaissance Florence*. Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1994, p. 375.

⁶²⁰ Louise DeSalvo, *Virginia Woolf: The Impact of Childhood Sexual Abuse on Her Life and Work*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1989, p. 31.

⁶²¹ Alisdare Hickson, *The Poisoned Bowl: Sex Repression and the Public School System*. London: Constable, 1995; Phyllis Grosskurth, Ed., *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds*. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1984, p. 94.

Surrendering the Self: The Reduction of Identity to Identification with the Aggressor

The Cases of Hermann Göring and Rudolf Hess

Henry Dicks's study of approximately 1000 German prisoners of war in World War II gives striking support to my own thinking on the subject of nonidentity (Gruen, 1999). His results were published in 1950, the same year as *The Authoritarian Personality* by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford but independently of that work. Dicks's investigation made clear that identifying with punitive authority figures leads to a situation in which one's own self is "surrendered," making it impossible to develop an inner strength because the need for emotional warmth and love had to be rejected. He demonstrated that such people feel empty, but fill their emptiness by performing their duty and obediently complying with what is expected of them. Simultaneously, they project their repressed aggression toward themselves onto others who are weaker. I should like to examine Dicks's results in detail as displayed in Tables I and II.

By means of in-depth interviews, Dicks gathered data on personality variables and political attitudes. His statistical tests demonstrate that identifying with authoritarian parental figures leads to an inability to work out an identity of one's own.

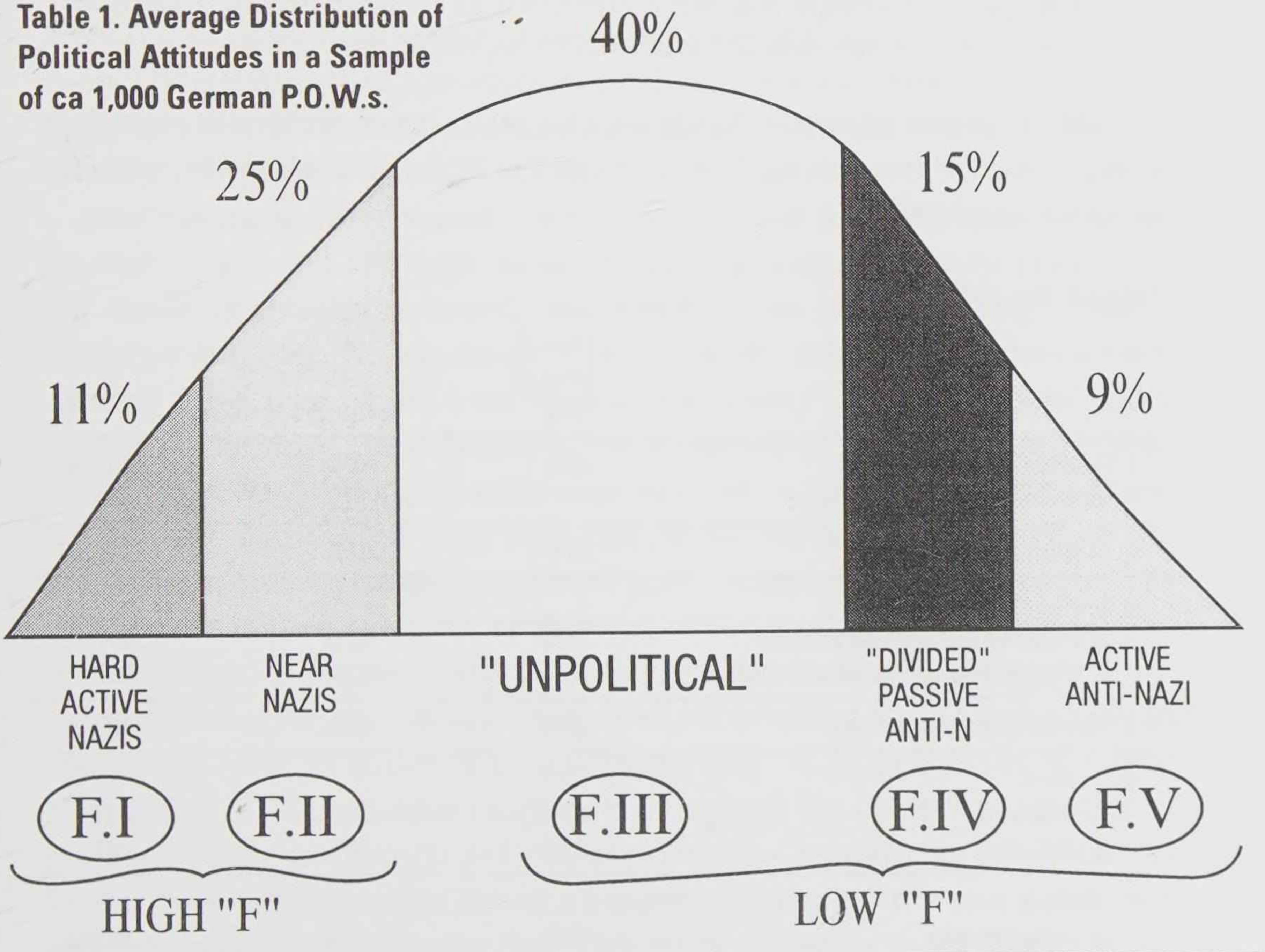
In terms of political attitude, the prisoners of war interviewed could be divided into the following categories: 11 per cent were convinced hardcore Nazis; 25 per cent were (ethically speaking) loyal Nazis who nevertheless had reservations about the efficiency of that political system; 40 per cent could be classified as unpolitical although they passively accepted the social and political actions of the regime; 15 per cent were am-

bivalent toward the Nazis, feeling conflicted because they considered themselves patriotic but didn't know where they stood; 9 per cent were active anti-Nazis who were opposed to the regime in their thinking and sometimes in their actions. Dicks's interview technique permitted their answers to be classified along political and personal lines, resulting in a scale, arbitrarily designated as "F," of five categories ranging from F.I (high) to F.V (low). For statistical purposes, the first two groups were combined and classified as Nazis with a high F value (36 per cent of those questioned). The last two groups—15 per cent passive and 9 per cent active anti-Nazis—showed a low F value (24 per cent of those questioned).

Of the personality variables established by Dicks, I shall refer only to those that are relevant to my topic of nonidentity:

- 1) Identification with the father, not only as a result of infantile weakness, dependency, and anxiety but also as a conscious decision on the part of the adult (that is, infantile relationships were replaced by adult ones). In the statistical analysis this category is designated as father-cathexis.

Table 1. Average Distribution of Political Attitudes in a Sample of ca 1,000 German P.O.W.s.



- 2) Identification with the mother as the primary parent (mother-cathexis).
- 3) Transference of the mother-cathexis in adulthood:
 - a) to other female partners;
 - b) to the Führer (leader) or the state. The unconscious expectation on the part of the prisoners is that their need for mothering can be satisfied by a Führer or a government institution—in other words, by an “idealized” abstract figure.
- 4) A tenderness tabu originating from a ban on displays of tenderness within the family. Male impotence, femininity, and submissiveness are signs of weakness; male potency and inflexibility represent strength.
- 5) Sadism:
 - a) Identification with a castrating authority. Prisoners in this category experienced overtly sadistic pleasure without any guilt feelings; they thought they should have treated their victims more harshly.
 - b) Aggression as a normal, conscious, self-protective reaction not connected with sadism.
- 6) Anxiety. Neurotic, psychosomatic ailments as well as phobic or compulsive symptoms were classified as indications of a pathological (a) or normal (b) reaction to anxiety.

Table II shows selected Chi square (X^2) relations of personality variables and political views among 138 German P.O.W.s of Dicks's study, with the following percentages:

Table 2. (N=138)

	High F (Nazis) 36%	Low F (anti-Nazis) F.IV & F.V=24%	
1. Identification with father: (both infantile & mature)	53%	47%	not sig.
2. Mother identification	17%	83%	.00137
3. Mother cathexis			
a. transferred to other women	34%	66%	.001
b. transferred to Führer or state	78%	22%	.001
4. Tenderness tabu absent	37%	63%	.00964
5. Sadism			
a. antisocial	62%	38%	.001
b. social	32%	68%	.001
6. Anxiety			
a. symptomatic	53%	47%	.04042
b. normal	35%	65%	.04042

The group identifying strongly with the father was divided fairly evenly between Nazis and anti-Nazis, which at first leads us to assume that identifying with the father does not influence one's political attitude. This finding is misleading, however, because in the statistical evaluation infantile identification and the more differentiated adult identification were inexplicably subsumed in one category as father identification. Dicks's accompanying discussion of the results (pp. 125, 138) makes clear what the statistical treatment ignores: the father identification of the Nazis was very different from that of the anti-Nazis. The latter reflected a mature type of identification in which (as already stated) infantile, anxiety-based identification was replaced by an adult equality.

In the case of the high "F" scoring Nazis, the father-identification was based on fear and submissiveness, with the consequence that members of this group idealized the father and felt inferior to him but at the same time were filled with fantasies of omnipotence. They had surrendered their own self (ego), and because their superego was externalized—that is, they complied with the rules and duties imposed on them by those in authority—they had no guilt feelings. According to Dicks, this ego deficiency resulted in feelings of weakness and emptiness in these men. They were full of aggression toward those they judged to be weak, such as children and all others whom they considered beneath them. At the same time they felt victimized by others and thus saw themselves as justified in seeking revenge on them.

Among those interviewed who demonstrated identification with the mother, 17 per cent belonged to the Nazi group as opposed to 83 per cent to the anti-Nazi group. The consequences of this identification become clearer when we consider the transference of the libido-cathexis from the mother. Among the Nazis, 34 per cent showed the ability to transfer their libido-cathexis to an adult female partner. The remaining 66 per cent with this ability belonged to the group of anti-Nazis. In contrast, 78 percent of those questioned who transferred their infantile libidinous mother cathexis to the Führer or an authoritarian institution were located in the Nazi group. This indicates that their negative assessment of the mother made them unable to separate from her and outgrow their infantile dependency on her.

Sixty-three per cent of those who had experienced a tenderness tabu in the family were in the Nazi group, as opposed to 37 percent in the anti-Nazi group. (Dicks's statistics express the contrast the other way around: 63 per cent of the anti-Nazis did not experience a tenderness tabu whereas 37 per cent did.) The absence of a tenderness tabu points to a childhood more shaped by love than by fear. This is the prerequisite for development of a genuine identity as well as a democratic attitude in politics.

Sadism showed a similar connection with political attitude: 62 per cent of the Nazis and 38 per cent of the anti-Nazis were classified as sadistic. On the other hand, 38% of those rated as pro-Nazi exhibited a socially normal degree of aggressiveness, while 68% of anti-Nazis showed a normal kind of aggressiveness.

Dicks's statistical data concerning anxiety reveal the psychic malaise subliminally present in people without an identity of their own, and indicate that they experience much greater inner turmoil than those whose genuine identity makes it possible for them to deal with anxiety in a responsible way. Those whose identity is based on identification with authority, however, seem able to manage their anxiety only by means of projection, developing psychosomatic, obsessive-compulsive, or phobic symptoms. In other words, they refuse to acknowledge the suffering caused by their self-hatred, projecting it outward instead. Here we see the creation of "the enemy" in persons cut off from the self (Gruen, 2000). Dicks's statistics reveal that 65 per cent of the anti-Nazis dealt normally with their anxiety in contrast to only 35 per cent of the Nazis.

Dicks's data clearly demonstrate the link between political attitude and those factors in a child's development that result in a lack of identity. The frequency distribution of political attitudes as shown in Table I closely approaches Gauss's normal distribution, indeed is nearly identical to it. In *Der Verlust des Mitgeföhls* (The loss of empathy, p. 175), I call attention to several empirical studies with similar results that lead us to conclude how widespread in our society is a lack of love on the part of parents for their children. This lack of love provides the basis for alienation from the self and is therefore responsible for the prevalence of people without an identity of their own.

In "Some Thoughts on the Meaning of the Word Democracy," an article published in *Human Nature* in 1950, Winnicott advanced the thesis that the citizens of a democratic society must have emotional maturity if it is to function well. He raises the question of how high a proportion of anti-social individuals a society can tolerate without losing its democratic character. Winnicott designates as anti-social those who identify with authority for reasons having to do with their inner insecurity. These people, he writes, are unhealthy and immature because their identification with the aggressor prevents self-discovery. "It is a sense of frame without sense of picture, a sense of form without retention of spontaneity. This is a pro-society tendency that is anti-individual. People who develop in this way can be called 'hidden anti-socials.'"

These "hidden anti-socials" lack wholeness in their humanity. In order to gain control of their inner conflicts, they must locate them outside themselves. What Winnicott means here is that such people always think in terms of being in control and believe they have everything under control. But because they deny their inner conflicts, they are unable to gain genuine mastery of their lives.

Winnicott's definition of a healthy person is someone who can experience sadness and acknowledge inner conflict, as well as recognize the actuality of his or her surround. For Winnicott, the fact that so many parents are not good parents is the basis for the development of an anti-democratic personality. Accompanying this development is also a fear of women, which has its origin in the extreme dependence of the small child in our culture on its mother. Winnicott sees this fear as the real reason for the need many people have to dominate others in order to escape the fear of being dominated by a woman. This unconscious fear explains the characteristic habit of many dictators of insisting not only on absolute obedience and dependence, but also on being loved by everyone.

We are dealing here with a child's reaction to the first, terrorizing "love" of a mother who was not able to meet her child's needs. It is crucial to understand that what is really involved is the *perversion* of love. Winnicott recognizes the pervasive plight of the child in our culture, for he estimates the proportion of those who receive the kind of love that allows them to develop emotional maturity to be no more than 30 per cent. Therefore, he believes that the question of the stability of a democratic society must be addressed in the context of the kind of childrearing prevalent in that society.

Winnicott calls our attention to another aspect of people's search for a strong leader who will dominate them with superhuman power: behind their search lies their fear of women, a fear that is denied by attributing to them magical, witchlike qualities, which in turn are warded off by regarding them as inferior objects of contempt. This leads to an expanded understanding of the phenomenon of identification with the aggressor. If the unloving mother is indeed the source of terror, which makes her into an all-powerful "queen of darkness," then having a strict and brutal father not only leads to identification with the aggressor: the terror *he* causes also diverts attention from the more profound terror aroused by the mother, who is the first and most important attachment figure. This also explains why so many people fell under Hitler's spell. He saved both men and women from their unconsciously feared all-powerful mother. For men, the idealization of a male dictator automatically excludes having to acknowledge a woman as

the source of their anxiety. For women, the Führer reduces the terror caused by the mother. In Maria Gambaroff's research on hostility to men in the feminist emancipation movement, she found that the hostility represents a displacement of fear from the threatening mother.

Approximately 16 per cent of the research subjects Erich Fromm describes in *Social Character in a Mexican Village* proved to be authoritarian, exploitative, and destructive. These were people who needed an enemy in order to preserve their personality structure. These people are akin to the Nazi-group in Dicks's study. Studies of post-traumatic illness in Vietnam veterans show similar results in the spectrum of the statistical distribution: those soldiers who did not develop symptoms had identity structures like the active anti-Nazis of Dicks's study. Their identity structures were also based on empathic capacity and not on identification with authoritarian male symbols (see also Gruen, 1997; Herman, 1982). These American soldiers did not need to prove their masculinity, and they felt responsible for what they did, sometimes refusing to obey orders; they accepted their own fears as well as those of others. As children they had experienced genuine love and empathy. Approximately 10 per cent of the Vietnam veterans belonged in this category, which corresponds to the group of active anti-Nazis. What is striking in all these studies is the large number of those who were emotionally "indifferent." In Dicks's study, over 70 per cent of his subjects were to be found in this category. Similarly two-thirds of Vietnam veterans who had either participated in atrocities or watched without resisting were the ones who later developed stress symptoms.

All of this suggests the conclusion that there are forces in our society that turn an individual's self into "a stranger," thereby blocking identity development. This ultimately leads to the need to punish in others one's own victimization. It seems to me that such people correspond to the 50 per cent of the population to which Winnicott, on the basis of his clinical experience as a pediatrician and later a psychoanalyst, attributes undemocratic leanings. These are the people who are not whole human beings, whose personality structure is directed outward and who must be in control of others instead of themselves (Winnicott, p. 183). And this intuitive 50 per cent corresponds to the more than 36 per cent who were Nazis in the group Dicks interviewed.

Such people are especially susceptible to paranoid fears—particularly in times of uncertainty when they feel threatened in their being by the changes taking place in society. Hidden behind their paranoid fears lurks the stranger within, whom they must cast off. Here lies the danger for democratic societies. It is important to recognize the role played by the lack

of identity in social disintegration and the rise of dictatorship. The antidote to disintegration is to foster caring and kindness in childrearing practices. It must be the concern of our society to create conditions for children in which they can experience love, empathy, and acceptance. Love provides the fertile soil for our development, both as individuals and as a society. If it is missing, stunted development results. As early as 1946, Erik Erikson warned that those who study history are prone to ignore the fact that each and every one of us was born of a woman and was once a child; that we all, as individuals and as members of a group, get our start in the nursery; and that a society consists of individuals who are in the process of developing from children into parents.

I should now like to substantiate by means of two biographies how strongly a child's upbringing affects identity development, and how the lack of identity gives rise to lethal destructiveness.

HERMANN GÖRING

(Biographical details are from F. R. Miale and M. Selzer, *The Nuremberg Mind*; G. M. Gilbert, *The Psychology of Dictatorship*; D. M. Kelley, *Twenty-Two Cells in Nürnberg: A Psychiatrist Examines the Nazi Criminals*; R. Manvell and H. Fraenkel, *Goering and The Incomparable Crime*; Fest, *The Face of the Third Reich*.)

Hermann Göring's father was a man of considerable importance. In 1885 he became Resident Minister for Southwest Africa, a German colony at the time. A few years later he went to Haiti to serve as the German Consul. When his wife became pregnant with her fourth child, she went back to Germany to give birth there. Hermann was born on January 12, 1893. Only a few weeks after his birth, his mother returned to Haiti to join her husband, leaving the baby in the care of Countess von Fuerth, a family friend. Hermann did not see his mother again until he was three years old. His first memory was of their encounter upon her return: as she was bending down over him, he hit her in the face with both fists.

From studies such as *Brief Separations* by Heinicke and Westheimer, we know that early separation from the mother is highly detrimental to children and that they react—with good reason—very aggressively when she reappears. Separation awakens feelings of terror and low self-esteem. Young children experience this trauma as a grievous injury to their emerging ego. They locate the cause of their abandonment within themselves. They blame themselves, thinking something must be wrong with them or else their mother would not leave them. Nienstedt and Westermann provide

moving descriptions of this kind of traumatic experience in their book *Plegekinder: Psychologische Beiträge zur Sozialisation von Kindern in Ersatzfamilien* (Foster children: A psychological study of the socialization of children in foster families).

In Africa, Göring's father had become friendly with Ritter Dr. von Epenstein, a wealthy assimilated Jew who had converted to the Christian faith. When Hermann was eight years old, his father retired with a relatively small pension. Von Epenstein purchased Veldenstein castle near Munich, which he offered to let the Görings live in. Frau Göring, who was considerably younger than her husband, was having an affair with von Epenstein; she accepted the offer, and the family moved into the castle. Hermann's father was given a modest bedroom on the ground floor. He was not permitted to enter the rooms upstairs, which were reserved for his wife and her lover. Occasionally, the Görings also visited von Epenstein in his castle in Austria. The wife stayed in the castle with von Epenstein whereas the father was put up in a cottage nearby. It is not surprising that this situation left its mark on little Hermann. The picture Gilbert (the Nuremberg Trial psychologist) presents in *The Psychology of Dictatorship* (pp. 85 ff.) is that of a restless boy, fascinated by military uniforms and warlike exploits, who was ruthless, defiant, and cruel.

Historians seldom recognize the significance of childhood experiences such as these. In *The Face of the Third Reich*, Joachim Fest points out that Göring came from a good family and was thus spared any feelings of inferiority. If "a good family" is taken to imply an atmosphere of emotional warmth, then we are diverted from seeking the causes of Göring's pathological behavior in his childhood. We will not understand that he is compensating for psychic wounds and terrifying experiences by means of grandiose pretensions, which have nothing to do with healthy self-esteem but everything to do with extreme self-doubt.

It is a fact supported by clinical and human experience that children can cope with the intense pain caused by a mother's rejection only by means of withdrawal, self-rejection, or denial. But if they cut themselves off from their pain, they must then seek to locate it outside themselves. This is exactly the situation of Hitler and all the others—including the murderers in Broadmoor, the English psychiatric prison (Gruen, 1997; Cox, 1982)—I have described elsewhere who lack identity. Unable to work through their pain, it plays a central role in their lives because they are driven by the need to displace it onto others. Unfortunately, this means they repeatedly inflict pain on others, in this way taking revenge for having once been victims themselves. Because feeling pain was forbidden in

their upbringing as a sign of weakness and inferiority, its presence therefore had to be denied.

Hermann was split in his identification. On the one hand he identified with the severity and Prussian sternness of his authoritarian father, who had been a cavalry officer under Bismarck and was the descendent of an advisor to Frederick the Great; on the other hand he loved the luxury and medieval splendor of the castles in which his mother's lover permitted him to live, and admired the power and wealth von Epenstein embodied. His father had become a nobody in terms of power (Manvell and Fraenkel, p. 16), and the boy had to deny the pain he felt over his father's humiliating situation as well as his mother's betrayal of him and his father.

Especially pronounced in the results of Göring's Rorschach test, taken by all of the accused in the Nuremberg Trials, was his inability to show any feelings. He lacked all sensitivity in human interactions; he could neither give nor accept warmth and kindness. He looked upon authority as ridiculous, as unreliable and sadistic. After the initial presentation of the cards during the Rorschach test, when he was questioned about his reactions, his answers indicated deep hurt behind his condescending and scornful manner. The authority figures he had initially seen as ridiculous were now transformed into respected physicians. Von Epenstein was a physician. Thus, the test results suggested severe psychic injuries that Göring had experienced but could never acknowledge. They also pointed to the confusing situation of his boyhood that made him feel torn by inner conflict (Miale and Selzer, pp. 96-98).

The Rorschach test revealed not only aggressiveness but also deep depression, which he succeeded in overcoming by resorting to violence. His scorn for danger and his habit of frequently exposing himself to dangerous situations can be interpreted as an inherent suicidal tendency. It is common for people who have been wounded in their most intimate early relationships—that is, with mother and father—to try to escape their pain by seeking out danger and committing acts of violence, in this way suppressing their fear. I had a patient who almost drowned as a child, but he felt no fear at that moment. This attitude characterized Göring's reckless behavior throughout his life and amounted to a lack of respect for life itself.

His fearless behavior was paralleled by the slavish submissiveness with which he tried to placate authority figures like Hitler. In this regard he resembled his father rather than von Epenstein. He once said, "It is not I who live, but the Führer who lives in me" (quoted by Fest, p. 75). And: "Anyone who knows how it is with us knows that we each possess just so much power as the Führer wishes to give. And only with the Führer and

standing behind him is one really powerful, only then does one hold the strong powers of the state in one's hands; but [acting] against his will, or even [merely] without his wish, one would instantly become totally powerless. A word from the Führer and anyone whom he wishes to be rid of falls. His prestige, his authority are boundless" (quoted by Fest, pp. 75-76). These words convey a panic fear of the person in power. Göring said to Hjalmar Schacht, "Every time I face [Hitler], my heart falls into my trousers" (quoted by Fest, p. 75).

This man, whose boastfulness knew no limits, immediately submitted to Hitler's posturing when he heard him speak for the first time in 1922. This is typical for people who base their identity on identification with authoritarian figures. On the one hand, they despise everything human; on the other hand, they surrender to the pose and its aura of power and decisiveness—in Göring's case represented by both his father and his mother's lover. Without this surrender of the self in order to fill the underlying emptiness of an inner self lacking its own identity, such people are unable to exist. Their only alternative is to continually expose themselves to danger of a violent and/or suicidal nature. It is characteristic of people like Göring, who equate power and strength, to accept the posturing of an idealized oppressor as genuine strength, and make it their own in order to feel strong themselves in a delusional way. Thus, Hitler became the center of Göring's life. The result was a voluntary servitude, the continuation of the fantasized reversal of his earlier oppression and at the same time a denial of his injury and pain.

Yet Göring's drug addiction was a sign that he was not able to master his psychic pain. He started taking drugs after he was wounded on the day of Hitler's putsch in November 1923, and by the summer of 1924 he had become a morphine addict. By then he was in Sweden, where he was committed to Lanbro, a mental institution, and put in a ward for violent patients. In 1925, Göring's Swedish physician noted in his report that this was a man of weak character who was prone to boasting in order to conceal his deeply rooted lack of moral courage. "He was regarded by the Swedish doctor as an hysteric, unstable in his personality, sentimental yet callous, a violent man prompted by fear. Like many men capable of great acts of physical courage which verge quite often on desperation, he lacked the finer kind of courage . . ." (Manvell and Fraenkel [1962], p. 62; cf. also Butler and Young). Gilbert writes that it was clear Göring had since childhood exhibited an intense need for physical stimulation and an inability to tolerate punishment and frustration (pp. 94-95).

For the rest of his life he sought refuge in drugs and other means of escaping situations that triggered anxiety. The American prison comman-

dant at Mondorf said of his prisoner: "When Goering came to me . . . he was a simpering slob with two suitcases full of paracodeine pills. I thought he was a drug salesman" (quoted by Gilbert, p. 107).

Even before Hitler committed suicide, Göring's need to identify with the aggressor led him to identify with the Americans who had emerged as the new victors. On Hitler's last birthday his entire entourage gathered in the close quarters of the bunker. Göring was standing at the table across from Hitler. As Albert Speer described the situation: "[Göring,] who always made such a point of his attire, had changed his uniform quite remarkably in the past few days. To our surprise the silver-gray cloth had been replaced by the olive-drab of the American uniform. Along with this his two-inch wide gold-braided epaulets had given way to simple cloth shoulder strips to which his badge of rank, the golden Reich Marshal's eagle, was simply pinned. 'Like an American general,' one of the participants in the conference whispered to me" (p. 562). Clearly, Göring himself was completely unaware of this. Even Hitler seemed not to notice the change.

Göring's Swedish psychiatrist tellingly described him as a person without an inner self—the distinguishing characteristic of all those who have rejected their pain and suffering as something foreign. It seems paradoxical that by inflicting pain on others, one need no longer feel one's own pain; but by means of violence, the perpetrators maintain this dissociation. They must inflict pain constantly in order to escape their own. It was impossible for Göring as a child to bear his own pain caused by his loveless surroundings and his parents' betrayal. In addition, his identification with his oppressors led to a complete reversal so that he idealized the aggressors instead of hating them. Under developmental conditions like these, the hatred of one's self is fully projected onto other victims. Thus the violence and destructiveness of such people.

RUDOLF HESS, HITLER'S "STELLVERTRETER"

(My information on Hess is drawn from G. M. Gilbert, *Nuremberg Diary* and *The Psychology of Dictatorship*; J. R. Rees, *The Case of Rudolf Hess*; F. R. Miale and M. Selzer, *The Nuremberg Mind*; and J. C. Fest, *The Face of the Third Reich*.)

Acting on his own, Rudolf Hess flew to England in 1942 to try in person to persuade the British to let Germany pursue its *Lebensraum* policy in Europe. In return, Germany would guarantee England her empire. Hess was arrested and examined by a team of psychiatrists. Their analysis of his personality development emphasized that he was always seeking father substitutes, men with whom he identified because he wanted to be influenced

by them. While a Gymnasium student in Godesberg it was his history teacher who had filled this role; as a student at the University of Munich it was Karl Haushofer, a professor of geopolitics; and ultimately it was Hitler.

Hess was born in 1896 in Alexandria, Egypt. His father, a wholesale merchant, was very strict, instilling fear in his children. Rudolf, his brother, and his two sisters did not dare to play uninhibitedly unless their father was away. While Hess was in prison in England, he spoke of having stood up to his father only once in his entire childhood. Otherwise he was always a well-behaved boy who obediently followed his father's wishes. He would have liked to study science and mathematics, but his father wanted him to become a businessman.

When the First World War broke out in 1914, he enthusiastically volunteered for military service, happy not to have to pursue a business career. He was wounded twice while serving in the Bavarian Infantry Regiment. Later he was promoted to lieutenant, and in 1918 was transferred to the Air Force. After the war ended, Hess joined an anti-Semitic nationalist group in Munich and took part in political street fights, in one of which he was again wounded.

Hess's first encounter with Hitler in 1920 led to an "almost magical" attachment, as Hess's wife put it. She described his reaction when he returned from a meeting at which Hitler had spoken as ecstatic: "[he] kept on shouting, 'the man, the man;'" and on another occasion she wrote, "He was like a new man, lively, radiant, no longer gloomy, not despondent" (quoted by Fest, p. 190). He had finally realized the part of himself he had excluded because his father would not tolerate it. By identifying with an idealized figure he could reclaim that part as his own and live it out.

What kind of image did Hess have of such a figure? Soon after his first meeting with Hitler he wrote: "Profound knowledge of all matters of state and of history . . . faith in the purity of his own cause and in ultimate victory, and an indomitable will to give him the power to carry away audiences with his speeches and cause the masses to cry out to him in jubilation. . . . The people are yearning for a real leader, free from all party fraud, for a pure leader with inner truthfulness . . . On every occasion the leader demonstrates his courage. This produces blind trust in the organized power; through this he achieves dictatorship. When necessity demands he does not shrink from shedding blood. . . . He has nothing in view but to attain his goal, even if he has to trample on his closest friends in order to reach it. . . . Thus we have the picture of the dictator: . . . mercilessly hard and then again soft in his love of his people . . . with a steel fist in a velvet glove, capable . . . of conquering himself" (quoted by Fest, pp. 190-91).

These lines reflect the terrible truth of an ego without a self of its own, of a human being unable to develop an identity, who consequently searches for someone to whom he can surrender himself unconditionally. By submitting to the idealized father he longs for, the son can disown his real father. What nevertheless remains is the fact that he has been imprinted with a fiction, an ideal the parents fashioned of themselves that has nothing to do with their reality. This voluntary servitude resulting from surrender of the self represents a flight from responsibility for oneself. A person like this is captive to and dominated by the dictates of obedience that have been placed upon him. In a speech given in June 1934, Hess made clear his total surrender to another: "With pride we see that one man remains beyond all criticism, that is the Führer. This is because everyone feels and knows: he is always right, and he will always be right. The National Socialism of all of us is anchored in uncritical loyalty, in the surrender to the Führer that does not ask for the why in individual cases, in the silent execution of his orders. We believe that the Führer is obeying a higher call to fashion German history. There can be no criticism of this belief" (quoted in Fest, p. 189).

This is a man without an inner sense of self, a man always in search of someone powerful with whom to identify in order to fill his own inner emptiness. Such a man does not know what love or empathy is. On the contrary, when he comes upon these feelings, he dismisses them as signs of weakness. We often point out in defense of people like this how good they are to their wife, their children, their secretary; but we don't realize that their behavior is not based on empathy but on playing a role in which they behave "correctly." They can be disarming because they give the appearance of being humane while actually having no regard for others. They do not recognize the destructive life-denying element in themselves that draws them to an idealized image of a superhuman being. They hate the very idea of love, for it was denied them; they want to destroy everything that reminds them of their need for emotional warmth, and the suffering they endured because that need was never satisfied. They look for a figure who "with indomitable will . . . does not shrink from shedding blood," not even their own.

Hitler, the consummate actor in portraying strength and force of will, fulfilled the dreams of every self-destructive torturer, thereby freeing them to find deliverance in the nonbeing they were seeking. Herein lies the tragedy of Hess and the German people as well as the victims of Nazism. In the name of love, life was destroyed.

When adults without an inner self identify with the role-playing of the person they idealize, they are revealing the extent to which they were imprinted by the idealized aggressor in their childhood. This not only ex-

plains Hitler's success in embodying perfectly the male myth that glorifies strength and will power, it also reveals the pathology inherent in this whole process. Once robbed of their real self and committed to this path, these people are unable to get beyond image and role-playing, with the result that the reality of their true feelings is pushed aside.

An example of this is provided by Albert Speer's behavior: on April 22, 1945, during the last stage of the war, he took leave of Hitler in Berlin and went to Hamburg, where he made a recording of a speech in which he called for resistance to Hitler's order to destroy "all military, transportation, communications, industrial, and supply facilities, as well as all resources within the Reich" to prevent the advancing enemy from using them (Speer, p. 523). He nevertheless felt the need to visit Hitler again, knowing full well that he might be arrested and put to death. In *Inside the Third Reich*, Speer wrote that he was drawn to Hitler as to a magnet. Now, at the end, he wanted to bid the Führer a proper farewell, even though it might mean his death. I believe his attitude illustrates the power that identification with the aggressor has on a person with no self of his own.

The inner emptiness I am talking about, which is caused by denial of one's pain and can be filled only by identification with the aggressor, is a terrible reality that is difficult to acknowledge because one is afraid of re-encountering the terror experienced in childhood. If we as a society do not understand that this inner emptiness actually exists, that there are indeed people without an identity, then we will not recognize the dangerous consequences of this phenomenon. It is crucial for us to realize that this kind of distorted development is widespread. The current prevalent fixation on image and role-playing as "the real thing" is a clear indication not only of how many people there are without an identity of their own, but also of the fact that their nonidentity is encouraged by our culture.

This interplay between nonidentity and the accompanying necessity to overvalue and idealize image as reality rescues one from feelings of inadequacy (which are the result of nonidentity) and is what made Hitler possible. Freud recognized this pattern in his book *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, which appeared in 1921. One must keep in mind here that the ego qualities Freud describes are part and parcel of the male myth of strength and will power, and are the same traits of nonidentity that lead to fixation on and imprinting of parental image and role-playing. Referring to the selection of a leader, Freud writes: "He need often possess only the typical qualities of the individuals concerned in a particularly clearly marked and pure form, and need only give an impression of greater force and of more freedom of libido; and in that case the need for a strong chief will often meet him half-way and invest him with a predominance to

which he would otherwise perhaps have no claim." These words still ring true today, and unfortunately this state of affairs is encouraged by our culture with the result that appearance takes the place of real being.

Children become alienated from their inner self when they are forced to identify with adults who do not understand them. Furthermore, if these adults believe what they are doing is for the children's own good, then it is impossible for the latter to become aware of their own plight, and the pain caused by what is being done to them must be denied in order to maintain the crucial bond with the mothering person. That is why as adults we must also deny our pain, for to acknowledge it would mean that we realize we were made victims in childhood. But that is something we must not recognize because it would expose those we idealized, who inflicted the pain. This is the starting point for destructiveness and violent behavior: those who do not feel their own pain must inflict it on others. We punish others who are like us, our brothers and sisters, because of their pain, which is really our own and which, having transferred it to others, we continue to deny—this time, however, by despising our victims for *their* pain.

Destructive behavior gives people without identity the feeling of being alive. A Nazi skinhead in Germany, who not long ago cruelly trampled an innocent man to death, said during a psychiatric examination: "Anger, frustration, pain, sorrow—they don't get through to me. Just push them away, that's the best thing, or else transform them into icy hatred" (Eggers). The hatred felt for the victim within underlies the compulsion that drives people to kill, to put an end to life itself out of revenge for not having been loved.

To summarize: Without becoming conscious of one's pain, a person cannot become a real human being, but can at best resemble an efficient machine that imitates a human being. Already in the eighteenth century the English poet Edward Young commented on the extent of the pathology of nonidentity when he wrote that we are born as originals but die as copies. Those who lack an identity of their own do not have the strength to endure their psychic pain. They avoid it by attacking and attempting to destroy others. That is what Göring was doing to his mother when he struck her in the face with his fists. He was using violence as the way to deny and rid himself of the pain he had experienced when she abandoned him. Göring's whole life was an expression of his contempt for the pseudo-love that had so wounded him. Psychopaths like Göring and Hess cannot tolerate their pain and keep it at a distance by means of violence. They barter their real identity for identification with and idealization of the aggressor.

For those who surrender the self, in the end it is only destructiveness and even killing that fill them with a feeling of aliveness.

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The Phantom Jew: From Spoiled Identity to Genocide

These people must not be allowed to find out who I am. They must not know where I came from and who my family is.

—Adolf Hitler, 1931

An unused key to Hitler's personality is an obscure prohibition he enacted in 1935, the most innocuous of his anti-Semitic measures. Never explained by the government and hardly enforced, the prohibition baffled biographers and historians because it had no context or apparent source. But behind it were the reasons for Hitler's dedication to exterminate Europe's Jews—the goal for which he sacrificed Germany.

The prohibition—that Jews could not employ Christian women under the age of 45 as maids—was part of what became known as the Nuremberg Laws, the keynote of his racial program. The first of the Laws took from Jews their citizenship and the rights of citizens. The second prohibited Jews from marrying or engaging in sex with Christians. To this, the prohibition on Jews having Christian maids was attached.

Taking away Jews' citizenship and barring them from marriage and sex with Christians were parts of Hitler's and the Nazi Party's known position on establishing Germany as a racial state, but the employment prohibition was not. Included because it had the most personal meaning for Hitler, it points back to the beginning of the story of his life—back to a mystery, a century-old secret which, more than any other single event, shaped Hitler's thinking and his measures leading to the gas chambers.

For years before the Nuremberg Laws, Hitler had been seriously troubled by the rumor that his paternal grandfather had been a Jew. Political opponents used it against him and so did a blackmailer. Hitler had the

rumor investigated over and over, and reportedly took measures to destroy evidence supporting it. The ethnicity, religion, or even the identity of the grandfather cannot be established, but there is no doubt the allegation haunted Hitler.

In understanding Hitler's genocide, the impact on his life of Alois, his father, is crucial. Alois Schicklgruber, an illegitimate child, carried the family name of his mother, and probably did not know his father. In middle age he decided to legitimize himself by claiming as his father a man named Georg Hiedler. Georg had married Anna Schicklgruber five years after Alois's birth, and lived with her only several months. When Alois made the claim, Georg was long dead, and such legitimization was legal only during a father's lifetime. That made the claim technically fraudulent. Nonetheless, it was officially accepted, and Alois took "Hitler"—a variant of "Hiedler"—as his name. Later the fraud contributed to skepticism about Alois's claim, and most scholars rejected it. There is no evidence independent of Alois's effort to legitimize himself that supports the claim. By not recognizing Alois as his son during his lifetime, Georg had denied Alois the right to carry his name.

Anna fell terminally ill when Alois was six, and his care was taken over by Georg's brother, Nepomuk Hiedler, and his wife. That prompted speculation by scholars that Nepomuk was Alois's true father, but there is no direct evidence to support such a relationship. Nepomuk never acknowledged Alois as his son.

The only other evidence about Alois's paternity came from Adolf Hitler's nephew, Patrick Hitler, and from Hans Frank.¹ According to them, Anna, a single woman of 43, became pregnant with Alois by a member of a Jewish family for whom she was working as a maid. (Anna, Adolf's other known ancestors, and the Hiedlers were Catholics.) In 1930 Adolf called in Frank, a lawyer for the Nazi Party, and showed him a blackmail letter from Patrick, threatening to expose him as partly Jewish. Adolf needed the facts about Alois's paternity to decide how he would deal with the threat. He was leader of the Nazi Party, which was on the verge of achieving a dominant position in Germany, and his exposure as a part-Jew was expected to hurt him and the Party.

Frank conducted a lengthy investigation and reported to Adolf that the allegation was confirmed by distant relatives, by the fact that the Jewish family had paid child support until Alois was 13, and by letters from the Jewish family which specified a member as Alois's father.

Whatever evidence Frank found is long gone, and probably nothing more will ever be known about Adolf's mysterious grandfather. It is worth

emphasizing, however, that the grandfather's identity is unimportant in explaining Adolf's delusions about Jews. It is what Adolf believed that is crucial—that a Jew took advantage of and ruined his grandmother. For his belief shaped destructive measures of the Third Reich. And what the Jew had done to Anna had been repeated in Adolf's immediate family. Alois, a half-Jew, had employed Adolf's mother, a Catholic girl of 16, as his servant and seduced her. Adolf further believed that the tragedy had been repeated throughout Germany, because Jewish men were driven by their nature to seduce and ruin Christian women.

Frank's report confirmed ideas already in Adolf's mind. From rumors, from his experience with his father, and from his sense of himself as sexually diseased and perverted, years earlier Adolf had come to his formulation of the nature of Jewish men and the harm they did. His preoccupation with sexual depravity in Jewish men runs through his autobiography and manifesto, *Mein Kampf*, and a most revealing passage is:

The black-haired Jewboy lies in wait for hours, satanic joy in his face, for the unsuspecting girl, whom he pollutes with his blood and thereby steals her from her people.²

Some of the words recounted what happened when, at 16, Adolf fell obsessively in love with a young woman named Stefanie. He himself had been a black-haired boy. (His hair was brown, but so dark that he was described as black-haired.) And he believed that in a mixed mating "Jewish blood" was dominant, which made his father and himself Jews. Hour after hour, day after day, he had lain in wait for Stefanie, ruminating over schemes to win her. Stefanie was living with her family, and one of Adolf's schemes was to kidnap her—literally to steal her from her family. Extremely inhibited romantically and sexually, Adolf had taken no action, and Stefanie had been unaware of his interest in her.³

Most of what Adolf came to impute mistakenly to Jews and Christians was a projection of his own traits and impulses. An enduring delusion was that he had syphilis, which he had inherited from Alois. (Neither one had syphilis.) And because the disease came from Alois's blood, and was in Adolf's marrow, he could never be cured. He came to believe that all Jews carried syphilis and had infected most Christian Germans with it. Syphilis was both a literal disease and a metaphor for all that he thought was wrong with Germany—physically, morally, socially, and politically. An obsession with syphilis also runs through *Mein Kampf*. And the basis of all this was his understanding of what the phantom Jew had done to his grandmother, with disastrous effects on his father and himself.

Probably because it fitted with what he already believed, Adolf accepted Frank's report and acted accordingly. He met with Patrick and made a small financial arrangement for him. According to Patrick, it was then that Adolf said, "These people must not be allowed to find out who I am."⁴

Years after employing Adolf's mother, Klara, Alois married her, and Adolf was born. Alois's main effect on Adolf's personality development came through his brutality. He beat Klara, whom Adolf adored. He beat his first son—Adolf's half-brother who lived with them—frequently and severely, until Alois, Jr. left home at the age of 12. And then he turned to beating seven-year-old Adolf. According to Adolf's sister Paula, the beatings were severe and administered every day. When 10, Adolf ran away from home, but Alois caught him and administered a most severe beating, putting him in a coma. For days the family did not know if he would live.⁵

Parental beating fosters a sense of being evil. Nearly killing a child plants the idea that the child does not deserve to live. These ideas took hold. When adult, Hitler referred to himself as "rotten to the marrow."⁶ He was suicidal often and, when in power, he pronounced millions of Germans to be *lebensunwürdige Leben*—living things unworthy to live.

Many scholars rejected the evidence that Hitler was beaten. An abused child calls for sympathy, but horror over Hitler's acts as ruler of the Third Reich precluded sympathy for him. Scholars suggested that he invented the story in presenting himself to the nation as a victim and martyr. Hitler did present himself so, but the story of the beatings did not come from him; it came from his sister after his death.

To people in the United States, the extremity of the beatings probably contributed to skepticism. In Germany, however, such cruelty by fathers was to be expected around 1900, when Hitler was a child. According to Lloyd deMause's survey of German childrearing, not only was severe beating frequent, but so also was killing of children.⁷ Probably Hitler's message of hate and destruction struck a responsive chord because many had experienced what he had. And insofar as Jewish men were perceived as symbols of harsh authority, Hitler's message and the Third Reich's campaign against them enabled Germans vicariously to express what they had suppressed during childhood.

Like many abused children, Hitler voiced praise of his abusive parent. A better indication of his feelings was rage at things associated with his father—the middle class, the civil service, the Austrian government, and the individuals he singled out as most evil. He identified as Germany's worst villain and traitor the official Matthias Erzberger, whom he called "the bastard son of a servant girl and a Jewish employer."⁸ (The German word *bastard* means illegitimate and halfbreed, and both meanings fitted. Erzberger

was fathered by a Jew who employed his Catholic mother as a maid.) On hearing that Czechoslovakia's president Tomas Masaryk came from such a relationship, he explained Masaryk's opposition to German interests by his parentage. And without foundation he explained the villainy he saw in Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill—the most evil enemies of Germany—by their being part-Jews. To him and some of his most rabidly anti-Semitic followers, the worst creatures in the world were not full Jews; they were “Jewish halfbreeds,” whose “polluted blood” made them threats to Germany's existence.

Like most abused children, Hitler grew up with what the sociologist Erving Goffman called “spoiled identity”—a sense of defectiveness that pervaded his being. By middle age he was determined not to have children, reportedly to prevent passing his defectiveness to them. And long before that, in adolescence, Hitler began to experiment with changing his identity, writing “Adolf” as “Wolf.” At later times he used “Wolf” as his first or last name. And after moving from his native Austria to Germany, he gave out the false story that his parents came from Germany. Still further, despite evidence that his mother was of Czech descent, he came to hate Czechs and to deny having Czech ancestry.

From his sense of himself as incurably diseased and defective, Hitler concluded that mixed mating was the most destructive of evils. It is the main evil on which he dwelt in *Mein Kampf*, along with hints of a program to prevent it:⁹

The sin against the blood and the race is the hereditary sin of this world and the end of any race that yields to it. (Emphasis in original.)

The lost purity of the blood alone destroys inner happiness forever, sinks mankind down eternally, and the effects can never be removed from the body and the spirit.

Whoever is not bodily and spiritually healthy and worthy, may not pass on his affliction in the body of his children. (Emphasis in original.)

A racial state will first have to raise marriage from its level of continuing disgrace in order to consecrate it as the institution which is called on to beget the image of God and not monsters halfway between men and apes. (Emphasis in original.)

“Monsters halfway between men and apes” meant offspring of Christians and Jews. Hitler also held Jews responsible for creating monsters indirectly:

Jews were and are the ones who bring Blacks to the Rhine, always with the same ulterior motive and clear purpose, by the inevitable

bastardization that takes place, thereby to destroy the White Race which they hate . . .

And he concluded *Mein Kampf* with:

A state which, in this age of racial poisoning, dedicates itself to caring for its best racial elements, must one day become the ruler of the earth. This, the followers of our movement must never forget, even when the vastness of the required sacrifice misleads them to compare it fearfully to the potential outcome.

Hitler did not specify the vast sacrifice at which he hinted here. It began to emerge in eugenic measures when he came to power. Ideas about natural selection of the fittest were popular in Germany, along with their extension to social policy (Social Darwinism). Many considered certain people unfit to have children, and certain children unfit to live. While few Germans were prepared to act on these ideas, Hitler was, and to an extreme. His administration sought to sterilize a large fraction of the German population involuntarily and to persuade or coerce another large fraction not to have children. In all, the idea was to keep up to 70 percent of the population childless. And Hitler advocated killing most newborn children:

If Germany each year would have one million children and eliminate 700,000–800,000 of the weakest, the end result would probably be an increase in strength.¹⁰

His associates knew that by weak or diseased children he meant those with racially undesirable features. And government documents showed that eugenic policy largely meant racial policy.

On becoming chancellor, he established a committee of medical and other “race” experts to design means for carrying out his sacred mission. Beginning with a law to prevent reproduction by people with hereditary diseases, the committee soon turned to people with undesired racial traits. In 1934 it considered as a policy proposal:

Our goal must be to establish a certificate of hereditary biology for every [person] . . . Those who do not suffer from hereditary disease within the meaning of the law are not necessarily healthy and fit to breed . . . As things stand now, it is only a minority of our fellow citizens who are so endowed that their unrestricted procreation is good for the race . . .¹¹

And starting that year, the law for sterilization of people with hereditary diseases was used on healthy people with undesired racial traits.¹²

From the committee's work, and more so from Hitler's initiatives, came measures to control reproduction indirectly. More than twenty laws prohibited marriage and intercourse among combinations of Jews, part-Jews, and Christians; and marriages already made among them were annulled. In addition, Christian women were protected against being seduced by prohibiting Jews from attending schools with them, providing professional services to them, or dancing with them. In the end, Jewish men were executed for looking at Christian women if the looking could be construed by a court as having an erotic intent.

As opposition to sterilization mounted and war approached, government physicians made plans to protect the German race by a secret program to sterilize Germans surreptitiously. Some experimented with a chemical from South America that could be administered without people's awareness, rendering them sterile. Other physicians tried X-rays for the same purpose. The chemical was unobtainable in sufficient quantities to use on 3,000,000 people—the number targeted. And a dose of X-rays sufficient to cause sterility also caused obvious damage to the body, making people aware that something had been done to them. Subjects rendered sterile by the experiments—hundreds, perhaps thousands, mostly women—were then killed to protect the secrecy of the project.¹³

When undesired matings occurred despite government measures, infants born of them were secretly killed. Then the killing of racially undesired people was extended to adults. Called "euthanasia," the program had nothing to do with mercy to the victims.

Opposition—mainly from the Catholic Church—to public and semi-secret eugenic measures caused Hitler to drop some and curtail others. In all, about 400,000 people were sterilized; over 70,000 infants and 70,000 adults were killed by "euthanasia."

The eugenic measures served to prevent the kind of mating that produced Hitler's evil father and his wretched self. Psychologically, the measures constituted undoing of what he saw as the tragedies of Anna's, Klara's, and his own lives—tragedies which he projected in *Mein Kampf* onto most Germans.

Many Nazis made statements that distanced themselves from Jews. They insisted that no people were as different from "true" Germans as Jews were—even that Jews were not members of the same species. Nonetheless, some also made striking statements about an affinity with Jews. One by Hitler best shows an ambivalent sense of kinship.

Has it not struck you how the Jew is the exact opposite of the German in every single respect, and yet is as closely akin to him as a blood brother? . . . two groups so closely allied and yet so utterly dissimilar.¹⁴

And some of Hitler's most anti-Semitic followers believed or feared that they, too, were poisoned by "Jewish blood." Julius Streicher, alleged to be of Jewish descent, said, "You have to have a good dose of Jewish blood in your veins to hate that race properly."¹⁵ He established the newspaper *Der Stürmer* (*The Attacker*) to fight Jews. And he wrote—as a scientifically established fact—that a Jew's semen was toxic to a Christian woman. Not only did it cause her to give birth to a monster, but she was poisoned forever. Even if she subsequently mated with a pure "Aryan," she could give birth only to a halfbreed. *Der Stürmer* carried many stories of Jewish-Christian matings with photos of the "horribly deformed" children they allegedly produced.¹⁶

Reinhard Heydrich, responsible until his death for carrying out the Holocaust, was haunted by allegations that he was a Jew. Schoolmates had tortured him by calling him Isi (for Isidor). Widely believed was the story that his grandfather was a Jew named Süss. (Süss, a Christian, was Heydrich's stepgrandfather.) As an adult, Heydrich sued people who called him a Jew. He was tortured also by self-hatred. On catching sight of himself in a mirror, he drew his gun and shot his image. Reportedly the belief that Heydrich carried Jewish blood was a factor in his being chosen to administer the Holocaust.¹⁷

Allegations that Alfred Rosenberg was a Jew came mainly from his family name. To counter them, he gave out a story that his ancestors were Icelandic (Nordic). Since he was known as an Estonian and a Russian, the story changed his identity. Rosenberg was the Nazi's chief theoretician on race and an official propagandist for the elimination of the Jews. After Germany invaded the Soviet Union, he became administrator of the occupied territory, which made him responsible for the identification of Soviet Jews and their deportation to death camps. He was supplied with complex criteria for identifying Jews, but reportedly he ordered that all Soviet people named Rosenberg—simply for having that name—be classified as Jews and sent to their deaths.¹⁸ He tried to eliminate from his territory everyone who carried his shameful name.

Other important Nazis haunted by stories of Jewish ancestry were Joseph Goebbels, Heinrich Himmler, Hans Frank, Adolf Eichmann, Odilo Globocnik, and Robert Ley (whose "real name" was said to be Levy). Himmler was the main administrator of the Holocaust. Frank, Eichmann, and Globocnik also administered it. Researchers found evidence of Jewish ancestry only for Hitler and Rosenberg. Hitler's phantom Jew may never have existed, but he haunted many Germans.

Streicher and Eichmann did extraordinary things that linked them to Jews. Both immersed themselves in Judaica. Streicher asked his postwar cap-

tors for permission to emigrate to Palestine so he could join Jews fighting to establish the State of Israel. And Eichmann (born in Germany) claimed to have been born in Palestine and—while heading a government department handling the disposition of Jews—to have become a convert to Zionism.

Most Nazi leaders were short and dark-haired. They failed to meet the physical standards set for inclusion in the race of supermen which they idealized. Instead they resembled the hated stereotype of the Jews against whom they campaigned. Jews personified the identity of which they were ashamed; Jews reminded them of it. By their standards, they themselves were inferior—unfit to live.

Gordon Craig, a historian of Germany, suggested that by killing Jews, Nazis were trying to obliterate the people who reminded them of what they hated in themselves.¹⁹ Goebbels said he could not stand to be in the presence of a Jew. When a man he took to be Jewish entered a room where he was, Goebbels left. The cited utterances and actions of Hitler, Goebbels, Streicher, Heydrich, and Rosenberg suggest that for them, eliminating Jews meant blotting out the people who reminded them of their shame. It is my impression that other details from their personal lives support Craig's thesis.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the *völkisch* movement had worked hard to heighten Germans' consciousness of their race—proudly for "true" Germans, painfully for others. During the Third Reich, the government's power was exerted to the same end. Germany had had a high rate of marriage between Christians and Jews, and many Christian families had Jewish ancestors or relatives. Many old records of Jews' conversions to Christianity had disappeared or been altered over the centuries to protect converts against anti-Semitic measures. The Third Reich intensified the apprehension in many Christian families of having Jewish skeletons in their closets. The government scrutinized genealogies, escalated penalties for "taints" of Jewishness, and asked citizens to denounce secret Jews to the police. Denunciations—both accurate and false—grew at a rate which alarmed the Ministry of Justice. People who denounced others as Jews were often rewarded with the victims' jobs or homes, or with the elimination of business competitors. Denunciation even became an easy way to get rid of an unwanted spouse. In the extreme consciousness of race which resulted from government measures, and in the ever-present terror of the police state, most Germans feared they carried a Jewish "taint" or, at least, that others might think so. Some may have accepted elimination of Jews because the presence of Jews and the storm of measures against them raised their fear that they might be next.

Hitler believed Germany would not be safe until every person with a drop of "Jewish blood" was eliminated. With much opposition to steril-

ization and “euthanasia,” he decided finally to kill all Germany’s Jews and then all Europe’s. But even that, he thought, might not be enough to eliminate the blood that poisoned Germany. He had concluded *Mein Kampf* with a hint of an enormous sacrifice needed to purify Germany. What he meant was suggested by a statement he made a few years before writing it:

. . . it’s a problem of whether our nation can ever recover its health, whether the Jewish spirit can ever really be eradicated. Don’t be misled into thinking you can fight a disease without killing the carrier . . .²⁰

The carrier was Germany’s Christian population. Before he started World War II, Hitler hinted that under his rule Germany might cease to exist.

Hitler’s followers called him a “savior” and a “physician to the nation,” not realizing he was basically a destroyer. He talked at length and sincerely about creating a super state that would bring his New Order to the world and rule it for a millennium. But like other severely abused children, his rearing had made him a killer.

Shortly before the end, saying he meant to deprive advancing Soviet armies of resources, Hitler gave orders to destroy Germany’s industry, transportation, and utilities—orders expected to cause disease epidemics and mass starvation. (Without telling him, his subordinates ignored the orders.) When it was pointed out to him that the resources targeted for destruction were needed for survival in the postwar period, he said:

There is no need to show any consideration for foundations which the German nation needs for its most primitive survival. On the contrary, it is better to destroy those things ourselves . . . what remains after the struggle are only the inferior . . .²¹

The survivors were unworthy to live. Hitler then finalized plans for his suicide, saying he welcomed death.

George Victor is the author of Hitler: the Pathology of Evil, on which this article is based.

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Book Reviews

Dangerous Women, Deadly Words: Phallic Fantasy and Modernity in Three Japanese Writers, Nina Cornyetz. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999. 302pp.

Reviewed by Kenneth Alan Adams
Jacksonville State University

In several articles, Lester Hill, Jr., and I have argued that Japanese children are intensely ambivalent toward their mothers by virtue of their childrearing experiences.¹ We have suggested that this duality—attraction and fascination, combined with aggression towards and fear of the female—is the result of intrusive mode childrearing, and we have maintained that this is the stuff of which Japanese popular culture is made. Nor is Japanese literature any less pervasively peopled with seductive and dangerous women, as sundry works of literature make abundantly clear.² Three authors have recently been singled out for their contributions to the genre.

Izumi Kyoka tells dreamlike stories of fantastic happenings in remote areas that revolve around the terrible female. In his best known story, "The Holy Man of Mount Koya," a monk loses his way on a mountain trail and is terrorized by monstrous snakes and blood sucking leaches. These horrific encounters function merely as prelude to meeting the real monster, a seductive and deadly Edo Circe, encircled by bats, toads, and snakes—all once men who fell under her spell and were turned into animals. The embodiment of woman's "lustful nature," this beguiling she-fiend "takes any man she wants," and when she grows weary of him, unmans him, spits him out—sometimes half—eaten, and turns him into a beast.³

Fumiko Enchi weaves much the same tapestry of woman's power in *Masks*, a story about spirit possession, woman's destructive passion, and "a crime that only women commit." The imagery of the nature of woman is foreboding. She is imagined as "an ancient goddess lying stretched out in the underworld, prey of death. Her flesh was putrid and swarming with maggots, her decaying form covered with all manner of festering sores that smoldered and gave off black sparks." When the goddess's paramour is overwhelmed with revulsion at the sight of her and flees, she pursues him, "all the love she had borne him transformed utterly into a blinding hatred." The moral? "A woman's love is quick to turn into a passion for revenge—an obsession that becomes an endless river of blood, flowing on from generation to generation." For the male, this female treachery is not the worst of it, however. He is simply overmatched by a "vastly superior opponent." And beneath the mask of this superior opponent is the countenance of mother, who harbors a "bottomless well" of vengeance.⁴

Also drawing upon the metaphor of the dangerous woman, Nakagami Kenji depicts man as helpless before the power of the female. In "A Tale of a Demon," the femme fatale is a demon that lives by a bridge and devours anyone who crosses. A ruffian hero goes questing for the monster, but meets a beautiful woman instead. Fearing that she is the demon in disguise, he nevertheless is entranced with her charms. To no avail, however, for the story concludes as she slashes open his belly "with claws as hard as steel" and tears off his arms with "two sets of fangs which had sprouted above and below her mouth." The hero is powerless. "With his arms ripped from his body and his stomach slit, the ruffian could neither move nor cry out. He lay there helpless, gasping and groaning as the demon wrenched off his legs and gobbled them down and licked and slurped and munched his entrails."⁵

Two years ago I was working on a paper on castration anxiety and fear of the female in Japanese group-fantasy and came across an announcement on Amazon.com for the then-unpublished book, *Dangerous Women, Deadly Words*. It seemed to be exactly what I wanted for my work, but it was not yet available. The book is now in print.

For readers drawn to the feminist literary work of Helene Cixous and Catherine Clement's *The Newly Born Woman*, the work of Derrida, Foucault, and Levi Strauss, this volume should find a prominent place on your shelves. Psychohistorians who respond to the theories of Jacques Lacan and Julia Kristeva, and who find concepts such as "the Real," "the phallus as lack," "the abject," "homosociality," and "*jouissance*" meaningful, will want to secure a copy. Those who cherish literary criticism more than literature

should not fail to acquire a copy, especially if they are not put off by an author's acknowledgement in the Introduction that, with regard to the terminologies utilized in the book, "some might call them jargon." Indeed, I found the text awash in jargon and the author out to sea.

Focusing on the works of Izumi Kyoka, Enchi Fumiko, and Nakagami Kenji, *Dangerous Women, Deadly Words* utilizes a materialist-feminist and French psychoanalytic perspective to dissect the meaning of the literary metaphor of the dangerous woman. Appearing in different guises, this literary trope includes mountain witches, female shamans, and snake-women. Unlike other writers who argue that the dangerous woman constitutes the essence of the maternal, the female and Japan, Cornyetz contends that the metaphor of the fearsome female is a literary construct inextricably bound up with modernization, creation of phallic dominance, subjugation of women, gender roles, and compulsory heterosexuality. If I interpret correctly, the contention being put forward is that the image of mother is split into an idealized and a derogated component. The idealized image became the maternal prison within which modern Japanese women were supposed to live out their lives. The derogated component, the abject, became the basis for the metaphor of the dangerous woman, whose allure functions as the foundation of sexuality, a definition of sexual relations that disallows homosexuality and forever defines woman as the dangerous other requiring subjugation. As a result, women's lives were dichotomized, sexuality was defined as masculine, and women were differentiated as incomplete creatures without a penis. The construction of the literary image of the dangerous woman went hand in hand with the modernization of Japan. The figure of the frightful female is normally associated in Japanese literature with the fundamental nature of woman and the essence of Japan itself. Cornyetz suggests, however, that the nostalgic image is typically a mechanism for affirming a modern definition of reality predicated on the male as subject and female as other. Furthermore, she maintains that the metaphor is not static, but changes. In the hands of a female author such as Enchi Fumiko, for example, the symbol metamorphoses into a vehicle for empowering women and undermining the imagined basis for gender inequality.

I found *Dangerous Women, Deadly Words* pretentious, presumptuous, and virtually unreadable the first several times through. Although Cornyetz is dealing with issues of exceptional significance, the effort necessary to extract the meaning encoded in her nomenclature is disproportional to the treasure itself. This is a book about literature and society and the points where the two intersect. The problem is that the terminology utilized by the author impedes understanding of the connections, rather than clarify-

ing them. The book would have been significantly more accessible, coherent, and comprehensible had the author been more concerned about communicating her ideas to the reader and less determined to impress a literary coterie with the erudition of her argument. Psychohistorians who want to explore the group-fantasy of the dangerous woman in Japanese literature and enjoy Lacan et al, or who want to give this viewpoint a hearing, should by all means make this tome a must. *Caveat emptor*. Those who find their intellectual nourishment elsewhere might be better served by going to the original sources and perusing the writings of the authors—Izumi Kyoka, Enchi Fumiko, and Nakagami Kenji—profiled in this book. The stories and images in their works are often haunting, bizarre, and memorable—and comprise relevant and significant data for psychohistorians interested in investigating Japanese group-fantasies.

- 1 The most recent of these articles is Kenneth Alan Adams and Lester Hill, Jr., "Japan: The Phallic Planet," *Journal of Psychohistory*, 28(2000), 24-52, and Adams and Hill, "Castration Anxiety in Japanese Group-Fantasies," *Journal of Psychohistory*, 26(1999), 779-808.
- 2 For a useful introduction, see Ian Buruma, *Behind the Mask: On Sexual Demons, Sacred Mothers, Transvestites, Gangsters, and other Japanese Cultural Heroes*. (NY: Pantheon Books, 1984). The theme of tenderness toward mother in film is discussed on pp. 28-37. Literary examples of the dangerous woman are found on pp. 47-63.
- 3 Izumi Kyoka, *Japanese Gothic Tales*, trans. by Charles Shiro Inouye. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), 21-72. See also other stories in this compilation.
- 4 Fumiko Enchi, *Masks*, trans. Juliet Winters Carpenter. (NY: Vintage Books, 1983).
- 5 Nakagami Kenji, *Snakelust*, trans. Andrew Rankin. (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1999).

Field of Schemes: How the Great Stadium Swindle Turns Public Money into Private Profit, Joanna Cagan & Neil deMause. Monroe, Me.: Common Courage Press, 1998. xi, 227pp. \$22.95 (Hardcover), \$16.95 softcover.

Reviewed by H. John Rogers

It was the Roman poet Juvenal who so memorably reminded us of what the masses and much of the upper class as well want from their rulers: *Panem et circenses*.

If the political leadership gives the people "bread and circuses," then they—with full stomachs and something to distract them from the general boredom of their mundane lives—will meekly bear their yokes and generally ignore whatever their masters might be doing. This has been a viable theory of social life for centuries, both before and long after Imperial Rome.

Joanna Cagan and Neil deMause in their book *Field of Schemes* show how Juvenal's wry statement (he was, basically, a satirist) provides at least

a partial explanation for the financial success of none other than George W. Bush. He was essentially a failure in the oil business, but was able to parlay a \$600,000 investment (borrowed) into \$14.9 million (with the prospect of another \$2 million over the next year). Governor Bush was, in essence, the front man for a consortium that bought the Rangers in 1989 (early in his father's Presidential term). He maintained a financial interest in the team until 1998. Prior to being sworn in as Governor, he was a general partner in the team's ownership and was also paid \$200,000/year. Thus for his nine year investment, the Governor made a 2500% profit.

In 1993, local taxpayers paid more than \$135 million to build a nice new stadium for the Rangers, plus an additional \$17 million in cash to the Rangers organization to pay off one of their debts. Additionally, the city of Arlington exercised its power of eminent domain to enable the Rangers' owners to acquire large parcels of land around the stadium for development.

More recently, politician/Presidential candidate Governor Bush has clearly sided with the "property rights movement." The 2000 national Republican platform has an entire section entitled "Protecting Property Rights." It seems clear that George W. Bush's change of heart had to have been influenced by his experiences in helping the Rangers ownership build their empire. The Texas Rangers, under Bush, did not break new ground in creative financing for sports franchises, but, at the time, they were in the vanguard of the movement. In the years since, Seattle and Cleveland would provide more than \$500 million in subsidies for sports. Four other communities provided over \$300 million. Some thirty years ago, I attended the Pittsburgh Pirates' opening day in the then state-of-the-art Three Rivers Stadium. If I had wanted to, I could have gone to their last game in that stadium. And on and on it goes.

Thus the "planned obsolescence" described by John Kenneth Galbraith in *The Affluent Society* has come to include the massive stadia where our professional sports teams compete and their owners make millions. What is amazing is how the owners are able to manipulate the political processes on all levels so that the plebeians are forced to pay increasingly inflated prices to have their "bread and circuses." Even the Roman Caesars were not able to accomplish this.

I would suggest that an interesting subject for psychohistorical examination would be how and why a cab driver, factory worker, or hair stylist could be convinced that skyboxes and exaggerated ticket prices were somehow beneficial to them. What are the shared fantasies at work here? This book makes a useful beginning not only on the above described issues but also on our newly elected President.

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