Preface

PREFACE

"It is the theory that decides
what we can observe."
-Albert Einstein

Psychohistory is the science of historical motivation — no more, no less. It is my hope that this book will provide the theoretical foundations for the new science of psychohistory.

It is not often recognized that psychohistory is the only new social science to be founded in the twentieth century – – sociology, psychology and anthropology all having broken away from philosophy in the nineteenth century.

In beginning any new science, the first task is to formulate bold, clear, testable theories. These new theories must be internally consistent and must be able to generate predictions which can be tested against new empirical material and partially disproved. The testing and partial disproof of theory is the aim of all science, and the only basis for formulating new and hopefully better theory and predictions.

The formulation, testing, disproof and reformulation of psychohistorical theory is therefore my sole purpose in this book.

Each chapter is a new scientific experiment, in which I try to identify with the actors in the historical drama and explore my own unconscious as a way of reaching historical motivations. Only if I can accomplish this inner act of discovery can I move back to new historical material to test the patterns of motivation and group dynamics I think I have found. As Dilthey recognized long ago, this is the only way one can do psychohistory. Ultimately, a psyche can only explore itself to discover the motives of another. The motives of another species, insofar as they are wholly different in kind from ours, are literally unknowable. It is only by discovering the "Hitler in ourselves" that we can understand a Hitler. If one denies one has a "Hitler in ourselves," one cannot do psychohistory. I, like Hitler, have been a beaten, frightened child and a resentful youth. I recognize him in myself, and with some courage can feel in my own guts the terrors he felt that helped produce the European *Gotterddmmerung*.

The necessity for plunging into the depths of one's own psyche when doing psychohistorical research often leads critics to confuse introspection with hallucination. Political psychologist Lloyd Etheredge admits he can't figure out whether "deMause's work is either that of a bold, visionary genius-or is wacky enthusiasm for his own excited fantasies." Historian Lawrence Stone wonders on reading my work how "to solve the problem of how to regard so bold, so challenging, so dogmatic, so enthusiastic, so perverse, and yet so heavily documented a model." And David Stannard is afraid introspection is only regression, calling my work "well beyond the fringe of even the most generous definition of scholarship" because, he says, I do my research by spending" 'hundreds of hours' crawling under the bedclothes with a two-year-old searching for answers to the riddles of history." Introspection is clearly a dangerous task, and those who attempt it in psychohistory are likely to be accused of being the sole source of the fantasies they investigate.

Because introspection is such an important tool in investigating historical motivation the personal life of a psychohistorian must be intimately connected with his or her choice of topic. "Nothing loved or hated, nothing understood" is a truism in the psychological sciences. It should surprise no one that during the decade of my life in which I researched and wrote these chapters I lived through all its topics, writing about the evolution of childhood during my son's childhood, the origins of war during my divorce, and the fetal origins of history during my new wife's pregnancy. I could also trace the influence of my first and second psychoanalysis on these essays, or the development of our Institute for Psychohistory, or of The Journal of Psychohistory where these essays were first published. All are relevant to discovery. But ultimately what counts is how well the theory explains the evidence. I methodically study my own dreams to help me understand both my role in psychohistorical groups and my historical material-because history, like dreams, makes perfectly good sense when you know its laws of symbolic transformation. Yet my psychohistorical theories do not derive their truth value from my dreams, but from their power to explain the shared motives of individuals in historical groups.

The "psychogenic theory of history" which I set out in this book is simple to understand, though often difficult to believe. It can be summarized as the theory that history involves the acting-out by adults of group-fantasies which are based on motivations initially produced by the evolution of childhood.

I call this theory "psychogenic" rather than "economic" or "political" because it views man more as homo relatens than as homo economicus or homo politicus-that is, as searching for relation, for love, more than for money or power. The theory states that it is not "economic class" nor "social class" but "psychoclass"-shared childrearing modes-that is the real basis for understanding motivation in history. Thus the unofficial

slogan of our *Journal of Psychohistory*, "no childhood, no psychohistory," however difficult of accomplishment, is meant to keep our psychogenic goal uppermost in our minds as we forge our new science.

As a division of scientific psychology, psychohistory is simply the psychology of the largest groups. It is based on psychoanalysis because this is the most meaningful depth psychology of the twentieth century-as opposed to sociological theory, which is based on eighteenth-century associationism, or its nineteenth-century variant, behaviorism. Yet, as psychohistorian Rudolph Binion constantly stresses, psychohistorical laws are suigeneris, not

derivable from clinical practice, but only from historical observation. For while they draw upon sound principles of individual psychology, they go beyond them to dynamics peculiar to large groups, and are no more reducible to clinical psychology than astronomy is to atomic physics. Thus my work envisions a full "history of the psyche," rather than just "using psychology in history." This means that the kind of psychohistory written by those of us associated with The Institute for Psychohistory derives less from William Langer's famous "Next Assignment" for historians to "use psychoanalysis in history" than from Freud's initial hope that "we may expect that one day someone will venture to embark upon a pathology of cultural communities."

The possibility that Freud raises that whole groups can be pathological disturbs historians. British historian E.P. Hennock decries the "crassness and sheer foolishness" of my work on the basis of historical relativism:

> *That men in other ages might behave quite differently from us yet be no less rational and sane, has been a basic concept amongst historians for a long time now. It does not belong to deMause's mental universe . . . the normal practices of past societies are constantly explained in terms of psychoses.*

Although I have actually never applied the word "psychosis" to groups, I know what he means. It is the same historical relativism that Phillipe Aries proposes when he says people in former times who sexually abuse children are normal because "the widespread practice of playing with children's privy parts formed a part of a widespread tradition." This kind of relativism used to be popular with anthropologists in the 1 930s-"every culture can only be judged by its own value system"-until World War II came along and it seemed bizarre to say that "Nazis are just reflecting a culture which values burning babies in ovens." There simply is no possibility of eliminating values from psychohistory-loving children is better than beating them in any culture-even though with empathy the psychohistorian can try to eliminate ethnocentrism. Since it is the main thrust of this book that psychological maturity is a historical achivement, every page of what you are about to read is necessarily infused with my value system, and you should be prepared to question my values along with my facts. So, too, of course, with every other historical theory.

The value system of every social science is embedded into its first prin-ciples. When sociology began, Compte and Durkheim thought they were only delimiting their subject matter by positing their first principle of "society as prior to the individual." But ever since Popper showed that this was a holistic fallacy which was actually a valuation of the group (I would say "of the group-fantasy") as more important than the individual, sociology has been drifting about without a theoretical base. Indeed, the concept "society" was invented to deny individual motivations in groups; Durkheim was blunt about this flight from psychology, declaring that every time that a social phenomenon is directly explained by a psychological phenomenon, we may be sure that the explanation is false." I therefore never use the word "society" (adopting instead the non-reified term "group") because I consider it as one more projective device, like "God" or "Witch," for relieving the individual of responsibility. "Society caused X" is always either a tautology or a projection, and it is my conscious intention in this book to provide a

theoretical system based on methodological individualism as an alternative to the holistic sociologies of Durkheim and Marx.

Does this mean that psychohistory reduces all of its subject matter to "psychological motives?" Yes. Only a psyche can have a motive, a group cannot, a factory cannot, a gun cannot. Is psychohistory, then, "history reduced to merely personal motives?" Yes again. All motives are personal, though the "merely" is a denial of their importance. And the charge of "reductionism," often leveled against psychohistory, is simply misplaced, since it is not a failing but a scientific goal to reduce seemingly complex and disparate processes to simpler and more basic forces and principles. MI other sciences long ago learned that the universe of available "facts" is near infinite; only historians still believe they can learn something just by conti-nuing to pile up more and more narrative "facts."

Historians are trained in the theory of the uniqueness of every historical event. Most narrative historians are as convinced of this principle in human history as medieval men were of it in natural history. At best, contemporary historians will often narrate some political events and then some economic events and thereby assume by mere conjunction that the two narrations make a theory. But narrative history is not a science, nor is it meant to be. Narrative history describes sequences of historical events; psychohistory discovers laws of historical motivations. Narrative history is full of "accidents" and "mistakes"; psychohistory is only concerned with lawfulness, especially of "accidents" and "mistakes." Narrative is period-centered, and all historians are expected to specialize in some country and period; psychohistory is comparative, and can no more specialize in one area of history than an astronomer can specialize in one area of the sky. When students hear me jump back and forth among periods in lectures they often complain that "you don't really seem to be doing history." They are right.

But what a difference this new scientific model makes to one's view of history! What you will read in this book will turn upside down almost every notion of how to view history which you have learned elsewhere. Rather than history being how public events affect private lives, you will see history more as how private fantasies are acted out on the public stage. Rather than being mainly about adult men's activities, you will see how history is first determined in families by women and children, as well as men, and only later on reflected in adult public activities. Rather than how a few leaders maintain power over masses of individuals, you will examine how groups delegate tasks to leaders, so that "power" becomes mainly a problem of group masochism instead of one of force. Rather than wars being terrible "mistakes," you will discover them to be wishes. Rather than our progress beyond magic and superstition being due to the accumulation of knowledge you will see it as an improvement in maturity, due to the evolution of childhood. Rather than traditional man as secure and modern man as alienated, you will see why traditional man is far more likely to be schizoid and modern man to be happy and integrated. Rather than the traditional family as a strong but now-decaying institution, you will witness the growth of the family, with its love of children and spouse, as a modern achievement, growing stronger all the time. Rather than civilization being the ever-greater renunciation of instinctual pleasure, you will come to view it as the ever-greater satisfaction of needs. And rather than history as a victory for Moralky, for the superego, you will discover why it is actually a victory of Desire and Reason, of the id and ego, over the superego.

If this appears to make me an optimist, I would not want to mislead you. Evolutionists are not always optimists. Since I try not to idealize history, I lack the first qualification for being an optimist. And since the Whig interpretation of history is based on the notion of inevitable progress as the result of the accumulation of knowledge, my theory cannot be Whiggish. What I do believe is that whatever maturity we have gained through the slow evolution of childhood is now being threatened by our technological capacity for self-destruction, a capacity which now amounts to fifteen thousand tons of TNT for every man, woman and child on earth. If we do not understand how we have brought this all about and why we still need periodic sacrificial purges, we will surely soon act out our infantile group-fantasies of total world destruction.

If this book can be a contribution to this understanding, I will consider it a success.

Chapter 1: The Evolution of Childhood

CHAPTER 1

FOUNDATIONS OF PSYCHOHISTORY

by LLOYD DEMAUSE

THE EVOLUTION OF CHILDHOOD

Do ye hear the children weeping,
Oh my brothers . . .
The Cry of the Children
Elizabeth Barrett Browning

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

That this pattern has not previously been noticed by historians is because serious history has long been considered a record of public not private events. Historians have concentrated so much on the noisy sand-box of history, with its fantastic castles and magnificent battles, that they have generally ignored what is going on in the

homes around the playground. And where historians usually look to the sandbox battles of yesterday for the causes of those of today, we instead ask how each generation of parents and children creates those issues which are later acted out in the arena of public life.

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

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

Historians usually blame the paucity of the sources for the lack of serious study of childhood in the past. Peter Laslett wonders why the "crowds and crowds of little children are strangely missing from the written record. . . . There is something mysterious about the silence of all these multitudes of babes in arms, toddlers and adolescents in the statements men made at the time about their own experience. . . . We cannot say whether fathers helped in the tending of infants. . . . No-thing can as yet be said on what is called by the psychologists toilet training. . . . It is in fact an effort of mind to remember all the time that children were always present in such numbers in the traditional world, nearly half the whole community living in a condition of semi-obliteration."(1) As the family sociologist James Bossard puts it: "Unfortunately, the history of childhood has never been written, and there is some doubt whether it ever can be written [because] of the dearth of historical data bearing on childhood."(2)

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

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

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

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

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

The evidence for the evolution of childhood will be examined in this essay, and the remainder of the psychogenic theory will be spelled out in the rest of this book.

PREVIOUS WORKS ON CHILDREN IN HISTORY

Although I think this essay is the first to examine seriously the history of childhood in the West, historians have undeniably been writing about children in past ages for some time.(5) Even so, I think that the study of the his-

tory of childhood is just beginning, since most of these works so badly distort the facts of childhood in the periods they cover. Official biographers are the worst offenders; childhood is generally idealized, and very few biographers give any useful information about the subject's earliest years. The historical sociologists manage to turn out theories explaining changes in childhood without ever bothering to examine a single family, past or present.(6) The literary historians, mistaking books for life, construct a fictional picture of childhood, as though one could know what really happened in the nineteenth-century American home by reading Tom Sawyer. (7)

But it is the social historian, whose job it is to dig out the reality of social conditions in the past, who defends himself most vigorously against the facts he turns up.(8) When one social historian finds wide-spread infanticide, he declares it "admirable and humane."(9) When another describes mothers who regularly beat their infants with sticks while still in the cradle, she comments, without a shred of evidence, that "if her discipline was stern, it was even and just and leavened with kindness."(10) When a third finds mothers who dunk their infants into ice water each morning to "strengthen" them, and the children die from the practice, she says that "they were not intentionally cruel," but simply "had read Rousseau and Locke."(11) No practice in the past seems anything but benign to the social historian. When Laslett finds parents regularly sending their children, at age seven, to other homes as servants, while taking in other children to serve them, he says it was actually kindness, for it "shows that parents may have been unwilling to submit children of their own to the discipline of work at home. ,"(12) After admitting that severe whipping of young children with various instruments "at school and at home seems to have been as common in the seventeenth century as it was later," William Sloan feels compelled to add that "children, then as later, sometimes deserved whipping. "(13) When Philippe Aries comes up with so much evidence of open sexual molesting of children that he admits that "playing with children's privy parts formed part of a widespread tradition,"(14) he goes on to describe a "traditional" scene where a stranger throws himself on a little boy while riding in a train, "his hand brutally rummaging inside the child's fly," while the father smiles, and concludes: "All that was involved was a game whose scabrous nature we should beware of exaggerating."(15) Masses of evidence are hidden, distorted, softened, or ignored. The

child's early years are played down, formal educational content is endlessly examined, and emotional content is avoided by stressing child legislation and avoiding the home. And if the nature of the author's book is such that the ubiquity of unpleasant facts cannot be ignored, the theory is invented that "good parents leave no traces in the records." When, for instance, Alan Valentine examines 600 years of letters from fathers to sons, and of 126 fathers is unable to find one who isn't insensitive, moralistic, and thoroughly self-centered, he concludes:

> *"Doubtless an infinite number of fathers have written to their sons letters that would warm and lift our hearts, if we only could find them. The happiest fathers leave no history, and it is the men who are not at their best with their children who are likely to write the heart-rending letters that survive."(16) Likewise, Anna Burr, covering 250 autobiographies, notes there are no happy memories of childhood, but carefully avoids drawing any conclusions.(17)*

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

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

Far more reliable than Aries is a quartet of books, only one of them written by a professional historian: George Payne's The Child in Human Progress, G. Rattray Taylor's The Angel Makers, David Hunt's Parents and Children in History, and J. Louise Despert's The Emotionally Disturbed Child-Then and Now. Payne, writing in 1916, was the first to examine the wide extent of infanticide and brutality toward children in

the past, particularly in antiquity. Taylor's book, rich in documentation, is a sophisticated psychoanalytic reading of childhood and personality in late eighteenth-century England. Hunt, like Aries, centers mostly on the unique seventeenth-century document, Heroard's diary of the childhood of Louis XIII, but does so with great psychological sensitivity and awareness of the psychohistorical implications of his findings, And Despert's psychiatric comparison of child mistreatment in the past and present surveys the range of emotional attitudes toward children since antiquity, expressing her growing horror as she uncovers a story of unremitting "heartlessness and cruelty."(23)

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

PSYCHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES OF CHILDHOOD HISTORY: PROJECTIVE AND REVERSAL REACTIONS

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

The projective reaction is, of course, familiar to psychoanalysts under terms which range from "projection" to "projective identification a more concrete, intrusive form of voiding feelings into others. The psychoanalyst, for instance, is thoroughly familiar with being used as a "toilet – lap"(24) for the massive projections of the patient. it is this condition of being used as a vehicle for projections which is usual for children in the past.

Likewise, the reversal reaction is familiar to students of battering parents.(25) Children exist only to satisfy parental needs, and it is always

the failure of the child-as-parent to give love which triggers the actual battering. As one battering mother put it: "I have never felt loved all my life. When the baby was born, I thought he would love me. When he cried, it meant he didn't love me. So I hit him."

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

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

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

"Nicholas . . . I said that to test you. Did you really think that a grandpapa, who had been so kind to you yesterday and the day before, could treat you like a dog today? I thought you were intelligent …"" I am not a beast like a dog." "No, but you are not as clever as I thought, or you would have understood that I was only teasing. It was just a jgke . . . Come to me." I threw myself into his arms. "That is not all," he continued, "I want to see you friends with your mother; you have grieved, deeply grieved her Nicolas, your father loves you; do you love him?" "Yes, grandpapa!" "Suppose he were in danger and to save him it was necessary to put your hand in the fire, would you do it? Would

you put it . . there, if it was necessary?" "Yes grandpapa." "And for me?" "For you? . . . yes, yes." "And for your mother?" "For mamma? Both of them, both of them!" "We shall see if you are telling the truth, for your mother is in great need of your little help! If you love her, you must prove it." I made no answer; but, putting together all that had been said, I went to the fireplace and, while they were making signs to each other, put my right hand into the fire. The pain drew a deep sigh from me."(27)

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

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

With him in this condition, and myself, the wife of my bosom, and the lady of my family, all of us in distress, and with hearts sinking within us, I commenced using the rod . . During this most unpleasant, self denying and disagreeable work, I made frequent stops, commanding and trying to persuade, silencing excuses, answering objections . . . I felt all the force of divine authority and express command that I ever felt in any case

in all my life . . . But under the all controlling influence of such a degree of angry passion and obstinacy, as my son had manifested, no wonder he thought he "should beat me out," feeble and tremulous as I was; and knowing as he did that it made me almost sick to whip him. At that time he could neither pity me nor himslf. (30)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

garou (werewolf), the barbu (bearded man), or the rarnoneur (chimney sweep), or told they will be put in the basement to let the rats gnaw on them.(51)

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

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

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

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

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

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

There is some evidence that this use of masked figures to frighten children goes back to antiquity.(55) The sub-ject of children being frightened by masks is a favorite of artists from the Roman frescos to the prints of

Jacques Stella (1657), but since these early traumatic events

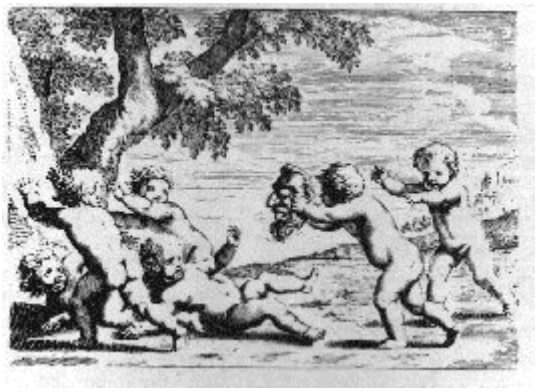


Illustration 1 – Children Playing With Terror – Mask.
(Jacques Stella, 1657.}

were subject to the deepest repression, I have not yet been able to establish their precise ancient forms. It was said by Dio Chrysostom that "terrifying images deter children when they want food or play or anything else unseasonable" and theories were discussed on their most effective use: "I believe each youngster fears some bogey peculiar to himself and is wont to be terrified by this-of course, lads who are naturally timid cry out no matter what you produce to scare them. . ." (56)

Now when infants are terrorized with masked figures when they merely cry, want food, or want to play, the amount of projection, and the adult's need to control it, has reached massive proportions only found in overtly psychotic adults today. The exact frequency of use

of such concrete figures in the past cannot as yet be determined, although they were often spoken of as common. Many forms, however, can be shown to be customary. For instance, in Germany until recently there would appear in shops before Christmas time stacks of stick brooms, tied in the middle, and making a stiff brush at both ends. These were used to beat children; during the first week in December, adults would dress up in terrifying costumes and pretend to be a messenger of Christ, called the Pelz-nickel, who would punish children and tell them if they would get Christmas presents or not.(57)

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

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

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

"to let them witness a public execution is sometimes not at all a bad thing. "(61)

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

. . . Papa says it is foolish and superstitious to be afraid of seeing dead bodies, so I followed him down a dark narrow steep stair-case that wound round and round a long way, till they opened a door into a great cavern. It was lit by a lamp hanging down in the middle, and the friar carried a torch in his hand. At first I could not see, and when I could I hardly dared look, for on every side there were horrid black ghastly figures, some grinning, some pointing at us, or seeming in pain, in all sorts of postures, and so horrid I could hardly help screaming, and I thought they all moved. When Papa saw how uncomfortable I was, he was not angry but very kind, and said I must conquer it and go and touch one of them, which was very shocking. Their skin was all dark brown and quite dried up on the bones, and quite hard and felt like marble.(64)

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

Projective care is, however, sufficient to raise children to adulthood. Indeed, it is what is often called "good care" by anthropologists studying primitive childhood, and it is not until a psychoanalytically-trained anthropologist re-studies the same tribe that one can see that projection and not true empathy is being measured. For example, studies of the Apache(65) always give them the highest ratings on the "oral satisfaction"

scale so important for the development of feelings of security. The Apache, like many primitive tribes, feeds on demand for two years, and this is what the rating was based upon. But only when psychoanalytic anthropologist L. Bryce Boyer visited them was the true projective basis of this care revealed:

> *The care afforded infants by Apache mothers nowadays is startlingly inconsistent. They are usually very tender and considerate in the physical relationships with their babies. There is much bodily contact. Nursing times are generally determined by the baby's cry, and every distress is greeted first by the nipple of a breast or a bottle. At the same time, mothers have a very limited sense of responsibility so far as child care is concerned, and the impression gained is that the mother's tenderness for her baby is based upon her bestowing upon the infant care she herself desires as an adult. A great many mothers abandon or give away children-babies they had been nursing lovingly only a week before. Apaches very accurately name this practice "throwing the baby away." Not only do they feel scant conscious guilt for this behavior, but at times they are overtly delighted to have been able to rid themselves of the burden. In some instances, mothers who have given children away, "forget" they ever had them. The usual Apache mother believes physical care is all an infant requires. She has little or no compunction about leaving her baby with just anyone at all while she impulsively leaves to gossip, shop, gamble or drink and "fool around." Ideally, the mother entrusts her baby to a sister or older female relative. In aboriginal times, such an arrangement was almost always possible.(66)*

Even such a simple act as empathizing with children who were beaten was difficult for adults in the past. Those few educators who, prior to modern times, advised that children should not be beaten generally argued that it would have bad consequences rather than that it would hurt the child. Yet without this element of empathy, the advice had no effect whatsoever, and children continued to be beaten as before. Mothers who sent their infants to wet-nurses for three years were genuinely distressed that their children then didn't want to return to them, yet they had no capacity to locate the reason. A hundred generations of mothers tied up their infants in swaddling bands and impassively watched them scream in protest because they lacked the psychic mechanism

necessary to empathize with them. Only when the slow historical process of parent-child evolution finally established this faculty through successive generations of parent-child interaction did it become obvious that swaddling was totally unnecessary. Here is Richard Steele in The Tatler in 1706 describing how he thought an infant felt after being born:

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

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

One imagines that there would be all kinds of places to look to find this missing empathic faculty in the past. The first place to look, of course, is the Bible; certainly here one should find empathy toward children's needs, for isn't Jesus always pictured holding little children? Yet when one actually reads each of the over two thousand references to children listed in the Complete Concordance to the Bible, these gentle images are missing. You find lots on child sacrifice, on stoning children, on beating them, on their strict obedience, on their love for their parents, and on their role as carriers of the family name, but not a single one that reveals any empathy with their needs. Even the well-known saying, "Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me" turns out to be the customary Near Eastern practice of exorcising by laying on of hands, which many holy men did to remove the evil in-herent in children: "Then there were brought unto him little children, that he should put his hands on them, and pray… he laid his hands on them, and departed thence." (Mat. 19.13.)

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

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

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

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

Running parallel to the projective reaction is the reversal reaction, with the parent and child reversing roles, often producing quite bizarre results. Reversal begins long before the child is born-it is the source of the very powerful desire for children one sees in the past, which is always expressed in terms of what children can give the parent, and never what the parent can give them. Medea's complaint before committing infanticide is that by killing her children she won't have anyone to look after her:

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

Once born, the child becomes the mother's and father's own parent, in either positive or negative aspect, totally out of keeping with the child's actual age. The child, regardless of sex, is often dressed in the style of clothes similar to that worn by the parent's mother, that is, not only in a long dress, but in one out of date by at least a generation. (71)

The mother is literally reborn in the child; children are not just dressed as “miniature adults” but quite clearly as miniature women, often complete with decollate’.

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

Another instance of the “infant as mother” was the common belief that infants had milk in their breasts which had to be expelled. The fourteenth-century Italian balia (wet-nurse) was instructed to “be sure and press his breasts often – to get out any milk there because it bothers him.”(76) There actually is a slight rationalization for this belief, since a newborn will on rare occasions show a drop of milky fluid on its breasts as a result of a carry-over of female hormone from the mother. Yet there was a difference between this and “the unnatural but common practice of forcibly squeezing the delicate breasts of a newborn infant, by rough hand of the nurse, which is the most general cause of inflammation in these parts,” as the American pediatrician Alexander Hamilton still had to write in l793.(77)

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

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

I have even found several references to parents “licking children.” This, for instance, may be what George du Maurier was speaking of when he said of his newborn: “The Nurse brings her to me every morn-

ing in bed, that I may lick it with ‘the basting tongue’ — I enjoy the operation so much that I shall perservere till it reaches the age of discretion.”(79)

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

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

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

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

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

Children have always taken care of adults in very concrete ways. Ever since Roman times, boys and girls waited on their parents at table, and in the Middle Ages all children except royalty acted as servants,

Illustration 2 Elizabethan Family at Dinner.
Note smallest child stands to eat, older child serves family.

either at home or for others, often running home from school at noon to wait on their parents.(83) I will not discuss here the whole topic of children's work, but it should be remembered that children did much of the work of the world long before child labor became such an issue in the nineteenth century, generally from the age of four or five.

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

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

This role was frequently assumed by children in the past. One child was "never known to cry or be restless . . . frequently, when a babe in her mother's arms, at these seasons, would reach up her little hand and wipe the tears from her mother's cheek . . . Doctors used to try to entice mothers into nursing their infants themselves instead of sending

them out to wet-nurse by promising that "in recompence whereof, he endeavors to show her a thousand delights . . . he kisses her, strokes her

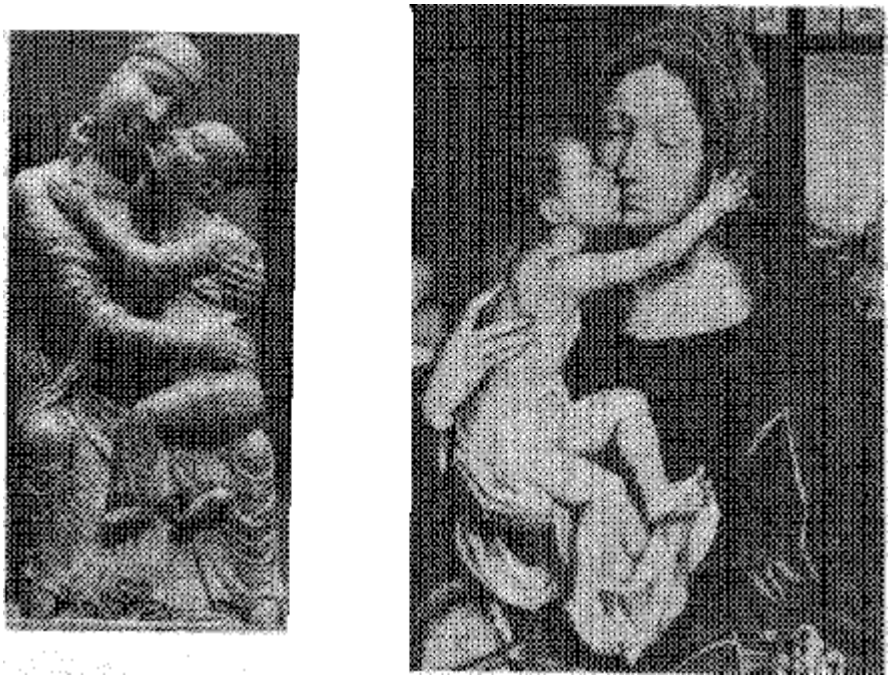


Illustration 3 – The Child As Mother's Lover.
The usually stiff medieval mother-child portraits alternate with a few like these which show the wish that the child be a lover who would passionately embrace the mother.

hair, nose and ears, he flatters her . "(86) Along the same theme, I have catalogued over five hundred paintings of mothers and children from every country, and found that the paintings showed the child looking at, smiling at and caressing the mother at a date prior to the ones showing the mother looking at, smiling at and caressing the child, rare actions for a mother in any painting.

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

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

The need of the parent for mothering placed an enormous burden on the growing child. It was sometimes even the cause of its death. One of the more frequent reasons given for infant death was "overlaying," or suffocation in bed, and although this was often just an excuse for infanticide, pediatricians admitted that when

it was genuine it was due to the mother's refusal to put the child in a separate bed when she went to sleep; "not wanting to let go of the child, [she] holds him even tighter as she sleeps. Her breast closes off the nose of the child."(88) It was this reversal image of the child-as-security-blanket that was the reality behind the common medieval warning that parents must be careful not to coddle their children "like the ivy that certainly kills the tree encircled by it, or the ape that hugs her whelps to death with mere fondness."(89)

PSYCHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLE: THE DOUBLE IMAGE

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

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

> *The day after his birth . . . his cries in general sound not at all like an infant's cries and they never did, and when he sucks at the*

> *breast it was with such mouthfuls, and he opens his jaws so wide, that he takes at one time as much as others do in three. Consequently, his nurse was almost always dry . . . He was never satisfied.(91)*

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

close to death. Heroard's anxiety increased, and as a defense against the anxiety his reversal reaction became more pronounced:

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

When the dauphin was almost ten months old, leading-strings were tied to his robe. Leading-strings were supposed to be used to teach the infant to walk, but they were more often used to manipulate and con-trol the child like a puppet. This, combined with Heroard's projective reactions, makes it difficult to understand what was actually happening, and what is being manipulated by those around little Louis. For instance, when he was eleven months old he was said to enjoy fencing with Heroard, and liked it so much that "he pursues me laughing through the whole chamber." But a month later Heroard reported that he "begins to move along with sturdiness, held under the arms."(94) It is obvious he was being carried or swung along on leading-strings earlier when he was said to "pursue" Heroard. Indeed, since he could not speak sentences until much later, Heroard was actually hallucinating when he reports that someone came to see the fourteen-month-old dauphin, who "turns around and looks at all those who are lined up at the balustrade, goes to choose him and holds out his hand to him, which the prince then kisses. M. d'Haucourt enters and says he has come to kiss the robe of the dauphin; he turns around and says to him it isn't necessary to do that."(95)

During this same time he was pictured as being extremely active sexually. The projective basis of ascribing adult sexual behavior to the child is apparent in Heroard's descriptions: "the dauphin [at twelve months] calls the page back and with a 'Ho!' lifts up his shirt to show him his cock. . . he makes everyone kiss his cock. . . in the company of the little girl, he pulls up his shirt, shows her his cock with such ardor

that he is completely beside himself."(96) And it is only when one remembers that the following is really a fifteen-month-old baby who is probably being manipulated by leading strings, that this scene can be untangled from Heroard's massive projections:

> *The dauphin goes after Mile. Mercier, who screams because M. de Montglat hit her on her buttocks with his hand; the dauphin screamed too. She fled to the bedside; M. de Montglat followed her, and wanted to smack her rear, she cries out very loudly; the dauphin hears it, takes to screaming loudly too; enjoys this and shakes his feet and his whole body with joy . . . they make his women come; he makes them dance, plays with the little Mar-guerite, kisses her, embraces her; throws her down, casts himself on her with quivering body and grinding teeth . .. nine o'clock . . . He strives to hit her on the buttocks with a birch rod. Mile. Belier asks him: "Monsieur, what did M. de Montglat do to Mercier?"*

He began suddenly to clap his hands together with a sweet smile, and warm himself in such a way that he was transported with joy, having been a good half-to-quarter hour laughing and clapping his hands, and throwing himself headlong on her, like a person who had understood the joke.(97)

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

Another example of the double image was in circumcision. As is well known, Jews, Egyptians, Arabs, and others circumcised the foreskin of boys. The reasons given for this are manifold, but all of them can be covered by the double image of projection and reversal. To begin with, such mutilations of children by adults always involve projection and punishment to control projected passions. As Philo put it in the first century, circumcision was for "the excision of passions, which bind the mind. For since among all passions that of intercourse between man and woman is greatest, the lawgivers have commended that that instru-ment, which serves this intercourse, be mutilated, pointing out, that these powerful passions must be bridled, and thinking not only this, but all passions would be controlled through this one."(99) Moses Maimonides agrees:

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

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

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

INFANTICIDE AND DEATH WISHES TOWARD CHILDREN

In a pair of books rich in clinical documentation, the psychoanalyst Joseph Rheingold examined the death wishes of mothers(108) toward their

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

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

Infanticide during antiquity has usually been played down despite literally hundreds of clear references by ancient writers that it was an accepted, everyday occurrence. Children were thrown into rivers, flung into dung-heaps and cess trenches, "potted" in jars to starve to death, and exposed on every hill and roadside, "a prey for birds, food for wild beasts to rend" (Euripides, Ion, 504). To begin with, any child that was not perfect in shape and size, or cried too little or too much, or was otherwise than is described in the gynecological writings on "How to Recognize the Newborn That is Worth Rearing,"(111) was generally killed. Beyond this, the first-born was usually allowed to live,(112) especially if it was a boy. Girls were, of course, valued little, and the instructions of Hilarion to his wife Alis (1 B.C.) are typical of the open way these things were discussed: "If, as may well happen, you give birth to a child, if it is a boy let it live; if it is a girl, expose it."(113) The result was a

large imbalance of males over females which was typical of the West until well into the Middle Ages, when the killing of legitimate children was probably much reduced. (The killing of illegitimate children does not affect the sex ratio, since both sexes are generally killed.) Available statistics for antiquity show large surpluses of boys over girls; for in-

stance, out of 79 families who gained Milesian citizenship about 228-220 B.C., there were 118 sons and 28 daughters; 32 families had one child, 31 had two. As Jack Lindsay puts it:

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

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

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

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

> *Mad dogs we knock on the head; the fierce and savage ox we slay; sickly sheep we put to the knife to keep them from infecting the flock; unnatural progeny we destroy; we drown even children who at*

birth are weakly and abnormal. Yet it is not anger, but reason that separates the harmful from the sound.(118)

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

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

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

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

Even in Rome, sacrifice of children led an underground existence. Dio said Julianus "killed many boys as a magic rite;" Suetonius said because of a portent the Senate "decreed that no male born that year should be reared;" and Pliny the Elder spoke of men who "seek to secure the leg-marrow and the brain of infants."(126) More frequent was the

practice of killing your enemy's children, often in great numbers,(127) so that noble children not only witnessed infanticide in the streets but were themselves under continual threat of death depending on the political fortunes of their fathers.

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

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

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

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

spread infanticide in the Middle Ages is usually denied by medievalists, since it is not evident in church records and other quantitative sources. But if sex ratios of 156 to 100 (c. 801 AD.) and 172 to 100 (1391 A.D.) are any indication of the extent of the killing of legitimate girls,(135) and if illegitimate were usually killed re-

gardless of sex, the real rate of infanticide could have been substantial in the Middle Ages. Certainly, when Innocent III began the hospital of the Santo Spirito in Rome at the end of the twelfth century he was fully aware of the number of women throwing their babies into the Tiber. As late as 1527, one priest admitted that "the latrines resound with the cries of children who have been plunged into them."(136) Detailed studies are just beginning, but it is possible that infanticide may have been only sporadically punished prior to the sixteenth century. (137) Certainly when Vincent of Beauvais wrote in the thirteenth century that a father was always worrying about his daughter "suffocating her offspring," when doctors complained of all the children "found in the frost or in the streets, cast away by a wicked mother," and when we find that in Anglo-Saxon

Illustration 4 – Children Being Cooked.
Parental infanricidal acts were usually projected onto Jews or witches, as here in Guazzo's Compendium Malificarum.

England the legal presumption was that infants who died had been murdered if not proved otherwise, we should take these clues as a signal for the most vigorous sort of research into medieval infanticide. (138) And just because formal records show few illegitimate births, we certainly shouldn't be satisfied with assuming that "in traditional society people remained continent until marriage," since many girls managed to hide

their pregnancies from their own mothers who slept beside them,(139) and they certainly can be suspected of hiding them from the church.

What is certain is that when our material becomes far fuller, by the(140) eighteenth century, there is no question that there was high incidence of infanticide in every country in Europe. As more foundling homes were opened in each country, babies poured in from all over, and the homes quickly ran out of room. Even though Thomas Coram opened his Foundling Hospital in 1741 because he couldn't bear to see the dying babies lying in the gutters and rotting on the dung-heaps of London, by the I 890s dead babies were still a common sight in London streets.(141) Late in the nineteenth century Louis Adamic described being brought up in an Eastern European village of "killing nurses," where mothers sent their infants to be done away with "by exposing them to cold air after a hot bath; feeding them something that caused convulsions in their stomachs and intestines;

mixing gypsum in their milk, which literally plastered up their insides; suddenly stuffing them with food after not giving them anything to eat for two days . . .” Adamic was to have been killed as well, but for some reason his nurse spared him. His account of how he watched her do away with the other babies she received provides a picture of the emotional reality behind all those centuries of infanticide we have been reviewing.

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

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

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

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

her infants approaching, she experienced a deep happiness, which she attempted to conceal only from those who were likely to blame her."(151) The sources are full of similar examples.

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

> *Look on the blind wandering about the streets leaning on their sticks, and those with crushed feet, and still again look on those with broken limbs. This one is without arms, that one has had his shoulders pulled down out of shape in order that his grotesqueries*

> *may excite laughter . . . Let us go to the origin of all those ills – a laboratory for the manufacture of human wrecks – a cavern filled with the limbs torn from living children . . . What wrong has been done to the Republic? On the contrary, have not these children been done a service inasmuch as their parents had cast them out? (155)*

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

deavors, by loud, harsh threats, and the impetuous rattle of the cradle, to drown the infant's cries, and to force him into slumber."(161)

Infants were also sometimes nearly frozen through a variety of customs, ranging from baptism by lengthy dipping in ice-water and rolling in the snow, to the practice of the plunge-bath, which involved regular plunging of the infant over and over again in ice cold water over its head "with its mouth open and gasping for breath."(162) Elizabeth Grant remembers in the early nineteenth century that a "large, long tub stood in the kitchen court, the ice on the top of which often had to be broken before our horrid plunge into it . . . How I screamed, begged, prayed, entreated to be saved . . Nearly senseless I have been taken to the housekeeper's room . . ."(163) Going back to the ancient custom of the Germans, Scythians, Celts, and Spartans [though not Athenians, who used other hardening methods],(164) dipping in cold rivers used to be com-mon, and cold water dipping has since Roman times been considered

therapeutic for children. (165) Even the putting of children to bed wrapped in cold wet towels was sometimes used both to harden and as therapy. 166 It is not surprising that the great eighteenth-century pediatrician William Buchan said "almost one half of the human species perish in infancy by improper management or neglect. "(167)

ABANDONMENT, NURSING AND SWADDLING

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

The most extreme and oldest form of abandonment is the outright sale of children. Child sale was legal in Babylonian times, and may have been quite common among many nations in antiquity. 168 Although Solon tried to restrict the right of child sale by parents in Athens, it is unclear how effective the law was. 169 Herodas showed a beating scene where a boy was told "you're a bad boy, Kottalos, so bad that none could find a good word for you even were he selling you."(170) The church tried for centuries to stamp out child sale. Theodore, Arch-bishop of Canterbury in the seventh century, ruled a man might not sell his son into slavery after the age of 7. If Giraldus Cambrensis is to be believed, in the twelfth century the English had been selling their children to the Irish for slaves, and the Norman invasion was a punishment from God for this slave traffic. (171) In many areas, child sale continued sporadically into modern times, not being outlawed in Russia for instance, until the nineteenth century (172)

Another abandonment practice was the use of children as political hostages and security for debts, which also went back to Babylonian times. (173) Sidney Painter describes its medieval version, in which it was "quite customary to give young children as hostages to guarantee an

agreement, and equally so to make them suffer for their parents' bad faith. When Eustace de Breteuil, the husband of a natural daughter of Henry I, put out the eyes of the son of one of his vassals, the king allowed the enraged father to mutilate in the same way Eustace's daughter whom Henry held as hostage."(174) Similarly, John Marshall gave up his son William to King Stephen, saying he "cared little if William were hanged, for he had the anvils and hammers with which to forge still better sons," and Francis I, when taken prisoner by Charles V, exchanged

his young sons for his own freedom, then promptly broke the bargain so that they were thrown in jail. (175) Indeed, it was often hard to distinguish the practice of sending one's children to serve as pages or servants in another noble household from the use of children as hostages.

Similar abandonment motives were behind the custom of fosterage, which was common among all classes of Welsh, Anglo-Saxons, and Scandinavians, wherein an infant was sent to another family to be reared to age 17, and then returned to the parents. This continued in Ireland until the seventeenth century, and the English often sent their children to be fostered by the Irish in medieval times.(176) Actually, this was just an extreme version of the medieval practice of sending noble children

Illustration 5 – Bad Parents Giving Their Children To The Devil. Durer's fifteenth-century Ritter von Turn and sixteenth-century woodcut from Agnes Sampson trial illustrate widespread theme of parents who give the Devil the children they promised to him.

at the age of seven or earlier into the homes of others or to monasteries as servants, pages, ladies-in-waiting, oblates, or clerks, practices still common in early modern times.(177) As with the equivalent lower class practice of apprenticeship,(178) the whole subject of the child as laborer in the homes of others is so vast and so poorly studied that it unfortunately cannot be much examined here, despite its obvious importance in the lives of children in the past.

Besides institutionalized abandonment practices, the informal abandoning of young children to other people by their parents occurred

37

quite often right up to the nineteenth century. The parents gave every kind of rationalization for giving their children away: "to learn to speak" (Disraeli), "to cure timidness" (Clara Barton), for "health" (Edmund Burke, Mrs. Sherwood's daughter), or as payment for medical services rendered (patients of Jerome Cardan and William Douglas). Sometimes they admitted it was simply because they were not wanted (Richard Baxter, Johannes Butzbach, Richard Savage, Swift, Yeats, Augustus Hare, and so on). Mrs. Hare's mother expresses the general casualness of these abandonments: "Yes, certainly, the baby shall be sent as soon as it is weaned; and, if anyone else would like one, would you kindly recollect that we have others."(179) Boys were of course pre-ferred; one eighteenth-century woman wrote her brother asking for his next child: "If it is a boy, I claim it; if a girl, I will be content to stay for the next."(180)

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

As for the rich, who actually abandoned their children for a period of years, even those experts who thought the practice bad usually did not use empathic terms in their treatises, but rather thought wet-nursing bad be-cause "the dignity of a newborn human being [is] corrupted by the foreign and degenerate nourishment of another's milk."(183) That is, the blood of the lower-class wet-nurse entered the body of the upper-class baby, milk being thought to be blood frothed white.(184) Occasionally the moralists, all men of course, betrayed their own repressed resentment against their mothers for having sent them out to wet-nurse.

38

Aulus Gellius complained: "When a child is given to another and removed from its mother's sight, the strength of maternal ardour is gradu-ally and little by little extinguished . . . and it is almost as completely forgotten as if it had been lost by death." (185) But usually repression won and the parent was praised. More important, repetition was assured. Though it was well known that infants died at a far higher rate while at wet-nurse

than at home, parents continued to mourn their children's death, and then helplessly handed over their next infant as though the wet-nurse were a latter-day avenging goddess who required yet another

Illustration 6 Nursing Children: Fantasy and Reality.
The two typical Renaissance nursing scenes on the left show the fantasy of mothers nursing their own children – and the one on the right shows the reality – the baby sucks from the wet-nurse while the mother's breasts are reserved for the viewer (the father). Note in the two pictures on the left the artist seems uncertain where to place the mother's breasts, since he never actually nursed from them.

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

Except in those cases where the wet-nurse was brought in to live, children who were given to the wet-nurse were generally left there from 2 to 5 years. The conditions were similar in every country. Jacques Guillimeau described how the child at nurse might be "stifled, over-laid, be let fall, and so come to an untimely death; or else may be devoured, spoiled, or disfigured by some wild beast, wolf or dog, and then the nurse fearing to be punished for her negligence, may take another child into the place of it."(188) Robert Pemell reported the rector in his parish told him it was, when he first came to it, "filled with suckling in-

fants from London and yet, in the space of one year, he buried them all except two."(189) Yet the practice continued inexorably until the eighteenth century in England and America, the nineteenth century in France, and into the twentieth century in Germany. (190) England was, in fact, so far in advance of the continent in nursing matters that quite wealthy mothers were often nursing their children as early as the seven-teenth century. (191) Nor was it simply a matter of the amorality of the rich; Robert Pemell complained in 1653 of the practice of "both high and low ladies of farming out their babies to irresponsible women in the country," and as late as 1780 the police chief of Paris estimated that of the 21,000 children born each year in his city, 17,000

were sent into the country to be wet-nursed, 2,000 or 3,000 were placed in nursery homes, 700 were wet-nursed at home and only 700 were nursed by their mothers. (192)

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

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

TABLE 1

AGE IN MONTHS AT FULL WEANING

Sourse (193)	*Months at Weaning*	*Approx. Date*	*Nationality*
Wet-nurse Contract	*24*	*367 B.C.*	*Greek*
Soranus	*12-24*	*100 A.D.*	*Roman*
Marobius	*35*	*400*	*Roman*
Barerino	*24*	*1314*	*Italian*
Metlinger	*10-24*	*1497*	*German*
Jane Grey	*18*	*1540*	*English*
John Greene	*9*	*1540*	*English*
E. Roesslin	*12*	*1540*	*German*
Sabine Johnson	*34*	*1540*	*English*
John Dee	*8-14*	*1550*	*English*

Source	*Months at Weaning*	*Approx. Date*	*Nationality*
H. Mercurialis	*15-30*	*1552*	*Italian*
John Jones	*7-36*	*1579*	*English*

Louis XIII	*25*	*1603*	*French*
John Evelyn	*14*	*1620*	*English*
Ralph Joesslin	*12-19*	*1643-79*	*English*
John Fechey	*10-12*	*1697*	*English*
James Nelson	*34*	*1753*	*English*
Nicholas Culpepper	*12-48*	*1762*	*English*
William Cadogan	*4*	*1770*	*English*
H. W. Tytler	*6*	*1797*	*English*
S. T. Coleridge	*15*	*1807*	*English*
Eliza Warren	*12*	*1810*	*English*
Caleb Tickner	*10-42*	*1839*	*English*
Mary Mallard	*15*	*1859*	*American*
German Statistical Study	*1-6*	*1878-82*	*German*

Feeding vessels of all kinds have been known since 2,000 B.C.; cows' and goats' milk were used when available, and often the infant would be put right to the teat of the animal to suck.(196) Pap, generally made of bread or meal mixed with water or milk, supplemented or replaced nursing from the earliest weeks, and sometimes was crammed down the child's throat until it vomited.(197) Any other food was first chewed by the wet-nurse, then given to the infant. (198) Opium and liquor were regularly given to infants throughout the ages to stop them from crying. The Ebers Papyrus says of the effectiveness for children of a mixture of poppy-seeds and fly-dung: "It acts at once!" Dr. Hume complained in 1799 of thousands of infants killed every year by nurses "forever pouring Godfrey's Cordial down their little throats, which is a strong opiate and in the end as fatal as arsenic. This they pretend they do to quiet the child-thus indeed many are forever quieted . . ." And daily doses of liquor were often "poured down the throat of a little being who is incapable of declining the portion, but who exhibit an abhhorence by struggling efforts and wry faces . . . "(199)

There are many indications in the sources that children as a general practice were given insufficient food. Children of the poor, of course, have often been hungry, but even children of the rich, especially girls, were supposed to be given very meager allowances of food, and little or no meat. Plutarch's description of the "starvation diet" of Spartan youth is well known, but from the number of references to scanty food, nursing babies only two or three times a day, fasts for children, and deprivation of food as discipline, one suspects that, like parents of con-

temporary child abusers, parents in the past found it hard to see to it that their children were adequately fed. (200) Autobiographies from Augustine to Baxter have confessed to the sin of gluttony for stealing fruit as a child; no one has ever thought to ask if they did so because they were hungry.(201)

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

Swaddling was often so complicated it took up to two hours to dress an infant.(204) Its convenience to adults was enormous-they rarely had to

Illustration 7 – Swaddling The Child. English (1633).

pay any attention to infants once they were tied up. As a recent medical study of swaddling has shown, swaddled infants are extremely passive, their hearts slow down, they cry less, they sleep far more, and in general they are so withdrawn and inert that the doctors who did the study

wondered if swaddling shouldn't be tried again.(205) The historical sources confirm this picture; doctors since antiquity agreed that "wakefulness does not happen to children naturally nor from habit, i.e., customarily, for they always sleep," and children were described as being laid for hours behind the hot oven, hung on pegs on the wall, placed in tubs, and in general, "left, like a parcel, in every convenient corner."(206) Almost all nations swaddled. Even in ancient Egypt, where it is claimed children were not swaddled because paintings showed them naked, swaddling may have been practiced, for Hippocrates said the Egyptians swaddle, and occasional figurines showed swaddling clothes.(207) Those few areas where swaddling was not used, such as in ancient Sparta and in the Scottish highlands, were also areas of the most severe hardening practices, as though the

only possible choice were between tight swaddling or being carried about naked and made to run in the snow without clothes.(208) Swaddling was so taken for granted that the evidence for length of swaddling is quite spotty prior to early moderntimes. Soranus says the Romans unswaddled at from 40 to 60 days; hopefully, this is more accurate than Plato's "two years."(209) Tight swaddling, often including strapping to carrying-boards, continued throughout the Middle Ages, but I have not yet been able to find out for how many months. (210) The few source references in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, plus a study of the art of the period, suggest a pattern of total swaddling

Illustration 8 – Swaddled Children. Illustrates slow progress in removing swaddling bands. (Greek 5th C. B.C., Italian 15th C., English 16th c.)

in those centuries for between one to four months; then the arms were left free and the body and legs remained swaddled for between six to nine months.(211) The English led the way in ending swaddling, as they did in ending outside wet-nursing. Swaddling in England and America was on its way out by the end of the eighteenth century, and in France and Germany by the nineteenth century.(212)

Illustration 9 – Swaddled Medieval Child.
The swaddled child looks to be over a year old
(Reuner Musterbuch, 1210 A.D.)

Once the infant was released from its swaddling bands, physical restraints of all kinds continued, varying by country and period. Children were sometimes tied to chairs to prevent their crawling. Right into the nineteenth century leading strings were tied to the child's clothes to control it and swing it about. Corsets and stays made of bone, wood, or iron were often used for both sexes. Children were sometimes strapped into backboards and their feet put in stocks while they studied, and iron collars and other devices were used to "Improve posture," like the one Francis Kemble described: "a hideous engine of torture of the backboard species, made of steel covered with red morocco, which consisted of a flat piece placed on my back, and

strapped down to my waist with a belt and secured at the top by two epaulets strapped over my shoulders. From the middle of this there rose a steel rod or spine,

with a steel collar which encircled my throat and fastened behind."(213) These devices seemed to be more commonly used in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries than in medieval times, but this could be due to the

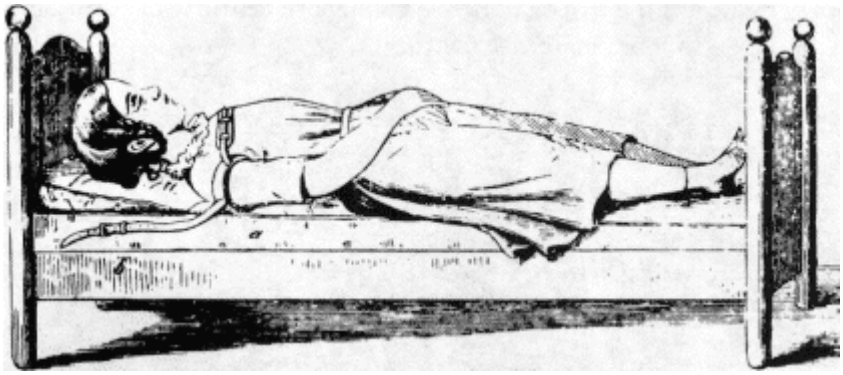


Illustration 10 – Child's Sleeping-Belt. Used to assure body remains straight while sleeping, one of dozens of restraint devices invented by 19th-century German pedagogue D.G.M. Schreber.

paucity of earlier sources. Two practices, however, were probably common to every country since antiquity. The first is the general scantiness of dress for "hardening" purposes; the second is the use of stool like devices which were supposed to assist walking, but in fact were used to prevent crawling, which was considered animal-like. Felix Wurtz (1563) describes the use of one version:

Illustration 11 – Standing-Cage and Cradle With Straps.
(Jacques Stella, 1657.)

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

TOILET TRAINING, DISCIPLINE, AND SEX

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

Children, of course, have always been identified with their excrements; newborn infants were called ecreme, and the Latin merda, excrement, was the source of the French merdeux, little child.(216) But it was the enema and the purge, not the potty, which were the central devices for relating to the inside of the child's body prior to the eighteen century. Children were given suppositories, enemas, and oral purges in sickness and in health. One seventeenth-century authority said infants should be purged before each nursing so the milk wouldn't get mixed up with the feces.(217) Heroard's diary of Louis XIII is filled with minute

Illustration 12 – Enema Scene.
Typical 18th-century German portrait of baby being given regular enema.

descriptions of what goes into and comes out of Louis's body, and he was given literally thousands of purges, suppositories, and enemas during his childhood. The urine and feces of infants were often examined in order to determine the inner state of the child. David Hunt's description of this process clearly reveals the projective origin for what I have termed the "toilet-child":

> *The bowels of children were thought to harbor matter which spoke to the adult world insolently, threateningly, with malice and insubordination. The fact that the child's excrement looked and smelled unpleasant meant that the child himself was somewhere deep down inside badly disposed. No matter how placid and cooperative he might appear, the excrement which was regularly washed out of him was regarded as the insulting message of an inner demon, indicating the "bad humors" which lurked within.(218)*

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

The evidence which I have collected on methods of disciplining children leads me to believe that a very large percentage of the children born prior to the eighteenth century were what would today be termed "battered

children." Of over two hundred statements of advice on child-rearing prior to the eighteenth century which I have examined, most approved of beating children severely, and all allowed beating in varying circumstances except three, Plutarch, Palmieri, and Sadoleto, and these were addressed to fathers and teachers, and did not mention mothers.(222) Of the seventy children prior to the eighteenth century whose lives I have found, all were beaten except one: Montaigne's daughter. Unfortunately, Montaigne's essays on children are so full of inconsistencies that one is uncertain whether to believe even this one

statement. lie is most famous for his claim that his father was so kind to him that he hired a musician to play an instrument every morning to awaken him so that his delicate brain wouldn't be startled. If true, this unusual home life could only have lasted two or three years, however, for he was actually sent at birth to a wet-nurse in another village, and kept there for several years, and was sent to school in another town from age 6 to 13 because his father found him "sluggish, slow and unretentive." When he made the statement that his daughter was "over six years old now, and has never been guided or punished for her childish faults . . . by anything but words . . .," she was, in fact, 11 years old. He elsewhere admitted of his children, "I have not willingly suffered them to be brought up near me."(223) So perhaps we ought to reserve judgment on this, our one unbeaten child. [Peiper's extensive survey of the literature on beating reaches similar conclusions to mine.](224)

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

Century after century of battered children grew up and in turn battered their own children. Public protest was rare. Even humanists and teachers who had a reputation for great gentleness, like Petrarch, Ascham, Comenius, and Pestalozzi, approved of beating children.(226) Milton's wife complained she hated to hear the cries of his nephews when he was beating them, and Beethoven whipped his pupils with a knitting needle and sometimes bit them.(227) Even royalty was not ex-empt from battering, as the childhood of Louis XIII confirms. A whip was at his father's side at table, and as early as 1 7 months of age, the dauphin knew enough not to cry when threatened with the whip. At 25 months regular whippings began, often on his bare skin. He had frequent nightmares about his whippings, which were administered in the morning when he awakened. When he was king he still awoke at night in terror, in expectation of his morning whipping. The day of his coronation, when he was eight, he was whipped, and said, "I would rather do without so much obeisance and honor if they wouldn't have me whipped."(228)

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

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

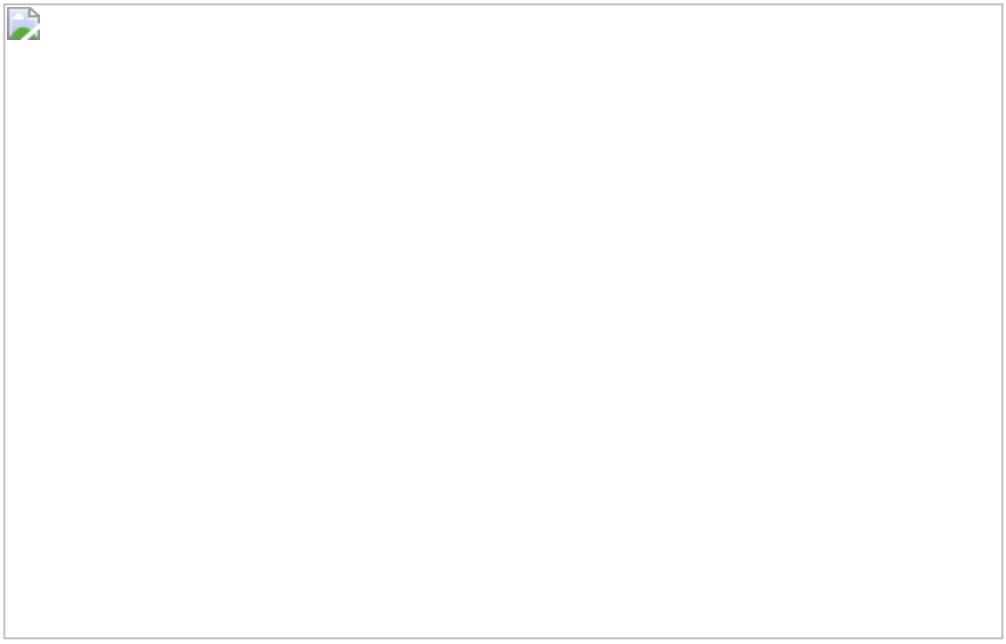


Illustration 13 – "Horsing" A Student. These Roman (Herculaneum) and Medieval (1140 A.D.) school scenes illustrate one popular position for beating schoolchildren, called "horsing" in 19th-century English schools.

knife. This reminds one of the, Bishop of Ely's habit of pricking his young servants with a goad which he always held in one hand. When Jane Grey complained of her parents giving her "nips and bobs," and

Thomas Tusser complained of "touzed ears, like baited bears,/ what bobbed lips, what jerks, what nips" it may have been the goad which was used. Should further research show that the goad was also used on children in antiquity, it would put a different light on Oedipus's killing of Laius on that lonely road, for he was literally "goaded" into it – Laius having struck him "full on the head with his two-pointed goad."(230)

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

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

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

As beatings began to decrease, substitutes had to be found. For instance, shutting children up in the dark became quite popular in the

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

The history of sex in childhood presents even more difficulty than usual in getting at the facts, for added to the reticence and repression of our sources is the unavailability of most of the books, manuscripts, and artifacts which form the basis for our research. Victorian attitudes towards sex still reign supreme among most librarians, and the bulk of works which relate to sex in history remain under lock and key in library storerooms and museum basements all over Europe, unavailable even to the historian. Even so, there is evidence

enough in the sources so far available to us to indicate that the sexual abuse of children was far more common in the past than today, and that the severe punishment of children for their sexual desires in the last two hundred years was the product of a late psychogenic stage, in which the adult used the child to restrain, rather than act out, his own sexual fantasies. In sexual abuse, as in physical abuse, the child was only an incidental victim, a measure of the part it played in the defense system of the adult.

The child in antiquity lived his earliest years in an atmosphere of sexual abuse. Growing up in Greece and Rome often included being used sexually by older men. The exact form and frequency of the abuse

Illustration 14 – Greek Man Playing With Boy's Penis.

varied by area and date. In Crete and Boeotia, pederastic marriages and honeymoons were common. Abuse was less frequent among aristocratic boys in Rome, but sexual use of children was everywhere evident in some form.(239) Boy brothels flourished in every city, and one could even contract for the use of a rent-a-boy service in Athens. Even where homosexuality with free boys was discouraged by law, men kept slave boys to abuse, so that even free-born children saw their fathers sleeping with boys. Children were sometimes sold into concubinage; Musonius Rufus wondered whether such a boy would be justified in resisting being abused: "I knew a father so depraved that, having a son conspicuous for youthful beauty, he sold him into a life of shame. If, now, that lad who was sold and sent into such a life by his father had refused and would not go, should we say that he was disobedient ..."(24O) Aristotle's main objection to Plato's idea that children should be held in common was that when men had sex with boys they wouldn't know if they were their own sons, which Aristotle says would be "most unseemly."(241) Plutarch said the reason why freeborn Roman boys wore a gold ball around their necks when they were very young was so men could tell which boys it was not proper to use sexually when they found a group in the nude.(242)

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

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

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

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

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

The evidence from literature and art confirms this picture of the sexual abuse of smaller children. Petronius loves depicting adults feeling the "immature little tool" of boys, and his description of the rape of a seven-year-old girl, with women clapping in a long line around the bed, suggests that women were not exempt from playing a role in the process.(246) Aristotle said homosexuality often becomes habitual in "those who are abused from childhood." It has been assumed that the small nude children seen on vases waiting on adults in erotic scenes are servants, but in view of the usual role of noble children as waiters, we

Illustration 15 – Children Waiting on Adults During Orgy.
Greek drawing of symposium feast.

should consider the possibility that they may be children of the house. For, as Quintillian said about noble Roman children: "We rejoice if they say something over-free, and words which we should not tolerate from the lips even of an Alexandrian page are greeted with laughter and a kiss . . . they hear us use such words, they see our mistresses and

minions; every dinner party is loud with foul songs, and things are presented to their eyes of which we should blush to speak. "(247)

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

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

> *I am loathe to introduce the subject, loathe too to turn away from it . . . whether we should permit the suitors of our boys to associate with them and pass their time with them, or whether the opposite policy of excluding them and shooing them away from intimacy with our boys is correct. Whenever I look at blunt-spoken fathers of the austere and astringent type who regard intimacy with lovers as an intolerable outrage upon their sons, I am circumspect about showing myself a sponsor and advocate of the practice. [Yet Plato] declares that men who have proven their worth should be permitted to ca-*

ress any fair lad they please. Lovers who lust only for physical beauty, then, it is right to drive away; but free access should be granted to lovers of the soul.(249)

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

The favorite sexual use of children, however, was not fellatio, but anal intercourse. Martial said one should, while buggering a boy, "refrain from stirring the groin with poking hand . . . Nature has separated the male: one part has been produced for girls, one for men. Use your own part." This, he said, was because the masturbating of boys would "hasten manhood," an observation Aristotle made some time before him. Whenever a pre-pubertal boy was shown being used sexually on erotic vases, the penis was never shown erect.(251) For men of antiquity

were not really homosexuals as we know them today, but a much lower psychic mode, which I think should be termed "ambisexual" (they themselves used the term "ambidextrous"). While the homosexual runs to men as a retreat from women, as a defense against the oedipal conflict, the ambisexual has never really reached the oedipal level, and uses boys and women almost without distinction.(252) In fact, as psychoanalyst Joan McDougall observes, the main purpose of this kind of perversion is to demonstrate that "there is no difference between the sexes." She says that it is an attempt to control childhood sexual traumata by reversal, with the adult now putting another child in the helpless position, and also an attempt to handle castration anxiety by proving that "castration does not hurt and in fact is the very condition of erotic arousal."(253) This well describes the man of antiquity. Intercourse with castrated children was often spoken of as being especially arousing, castrated boys were favorite "voluptates" in imperial Rome, and infants were castrated "in the cradle" to be used in brothels by men who liked buggering young castrated boys. When Domitian passed a law prohibit-ing castration of infants for brothels,Martial praised him: "Boys loved thee before . . . but now infants, too, love thee, Caesar."(254) Paulus Aegineta described the standard method used in castrating small boys:

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

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

Signs of castration surrounded the child in antiquity. In every field and garden he saw a Priapus, with a large erect penis and a sickle, which was supposed to symbolize castration. His pedagogue and his teacher might be castrated, castrated prisoners were everywhere, and his parents' servants would often be castrated. St. Jerome wrote that some people had wondered whether letting young girls bathe with eunuchs was a wise practice. And although Constantine passed a law against castrators, the practice grew so rapidly under his successors that soon even noble parents mutilated their sons to further their political advancement. Boys were also castrated as a "cure" for various diseases and Ambroise Pard complained how many unscrupulous "Gelders," greedy to get children's testicles for magical purposes, persuaded parents to let them castrate their children.(256)

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

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

> *He should sleep clothed with a night shirt reaching below the knee, taking care as much as possible that he may not remain uncovered. Let not the mother nor the father, much less any other person,*

touch him. Not to be tedious in writing so fully of this, I simply mention the history of the ancients who made full use of this doctrine to bring up children well, not slaves of the flesh.(261)

That some change in the sexual use of children was going on in the Renaissance can be seen not only in the rising number of moralists who

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

The campaign against the sexual use of children continued through the seventeenth century, but in the eighteenth century it took an entirely new twist: punishing the little boy or girl for touching its own genitals. That this, like early toilet-training, was a late psychogenic stage is suggested by the fact that prohibitions against childhood masturbation are found in none of the primitive societies surveyed by Whiting and Child.(263) The attitude of most people toward childhood masturbation prior to the eighteenth century can be seen in Fallopius's counsel for parents to "be zealous in infancy to enlarge the penis of the boy."(264)

Illustration 16 – Christ's Grandmother Playing With His Penis. As Hans Baldung Grien's 1511 picture of Anna selbdritt shows, grandmothers were expected to masturbate their grandchildren.

Although masturbation in adults was a minor sin, medieval penitentials rarely extended the prohibition to childhood; adult homosexuality, not masturbation, was the main obsession of premodern sexual regulation.

57

As late as the fifteenth century Gerson complains how adults tell him they never heard that masturbation was sinful, and he instructs confessors to ask adults directly: "Friend, do you touch or do you rub your rod as children have the habit of doing?"(265)

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

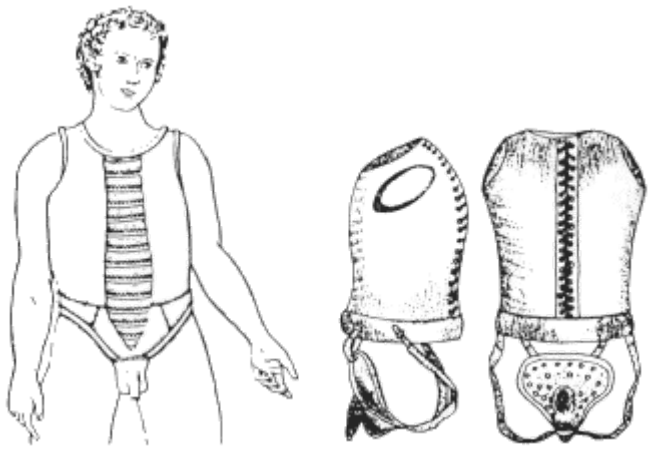


Illustration 17 – Metal Anti-Masturbation Devices.
French (G. Jalade-Lafond, 1818) and German (W Scheinlein, 1831.)

only circumcision works. Another doctor, whose book was the bible of many an American nineteenth-century home, recommended that little boys be closely watched for signs of masturbation, and brought in to

58

invariably cured them. Spitz's graphs on different advice given for masturbation, based on 559 volumes surveyed, show a peak in surgical intervention in 1850-1879,

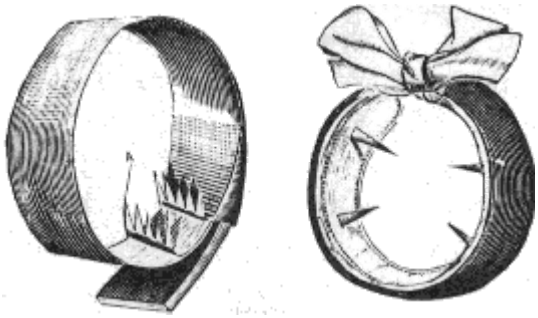


Illustration 18 – Penis-Rings. Put on boys at night in bed to prevent erections while sleeping.

and in restraint devices in 1880-1904. By 1925, these methods had almost completely died out, after two centuries of brutal and totally un-necessary assault on children's genitals.(266)

Meanwhile, sexual use of children after the eighteenth century was far more widespread among servants and other adults and adolescents than among parents, although when one reads of the number of parents who continued to let their children sleep with servants after previous servants had been found abusing them sexually, it is obvious that the conditions for child abuse still remained within the control of the parents. Cardinal Bernis, remembering being sexually molested as a child, warned parents that "nothing is so dangerous for morals and perhaps for health as to leave children too long under the care of chambermaids, or even of young ladies brought up in the chateaux. I will add that the best among them are not always the least dangerous. They dare with a child that which they would be ashamed to risk with a young man."(267) A German doctor said nursemaids and servants carried out "all sorts of sexual acts" on children "for fun." Even Freud said he was seduced by his nurse when he was two, and Ferenczj and other analysts since his time have thought unwise Freud's decision in 1897 to consider most reports by patients of early sexual seductions as only fantasy. As psycho-analyst Robert Fleiss puts it, "No one is ever made sick by his fantasies," and a large number of patients in analysis even today report using children sexually although only Fleiss builds this fact into his psycho-analytic theory. When one learns that as late as I 900 there were still people who believed venereal disease could be cured "by means of sexual intercourse with children," one begins to recognize the dimensions of the problem more fully.(268)

It goes without saying that the effects on the child in the past of such severe physical and sexual abuse as I have described were immense. I would here like to indicate only two effects on the growing child, one psychological and one physical. The first is the enormous number of nightmares and hallucinations by children which I have found in the sources. Although written records by adults which indicate anything at all about a child's emotional life are rare at best, whenever discovered they usually reveal recurring nightmares and even outright hallucinations. Since antiquity, pediatric literature regularly had sections on how to cure children's "terrible dreams," and children were sometimes beaten for having nightmares. Children lay awake nights terrorized by imaginary ghosts, demons, "a witch on the pillow," "a large black dog under the bed," or "a crooked finger crawling across the room".(269) In addition, the history of witchcraft in the West is filled with reports of

children's convulsive fits, loss of hearing or speech, loss of memory, hallucination of devils, confession of intercourse with devils, and accusations of

Illustration 19 – Girl Being Exorcised. The frequent hysterical fits of children could often be cured by exorcising the Devil out of them, as in this 1520 painting by Grunewald.

witchcraft against adults, including their parents. And finally, even further back in the Middle Ages, we encounter children's dancing mania, children's crusades and child-pilgrimages, subjects which are simply too vast to discuss here.270

A final point I wish only to touch upon is the possibility that children in the past were actually retarded physically as a result of their poor care. Although swaddling by itself usually does not affect the physical develop-

ment of primitive children, the combination of tight swaddling, neglect, and general abuse of children in the past seemed often to have produced what we would now regard as retarded children. One index of this retardation is that while most children today begin to walk by 10-12 months, children in the past generally walked later. The ages of first walking in Table 2 are all those I have found in the sources so far.

TABLE 2

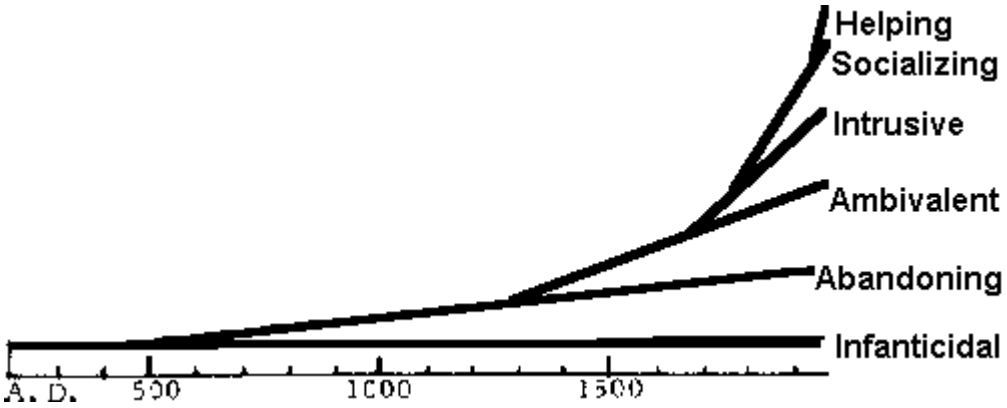
AGE OF FIRST WALKING

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

PERIODIZATION OF MODES OF PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS

Since some people still kill, beat, and sexually abuse children, any at-tempt to periodize modes of child rearing must first admit that psychogenic evolution proceeds at different rates in different family lines, and

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



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

2. Abandoning Mode (Fourth to Thirteenth Century A.D.): Once parents began to accept the child as having a soul, the only way they could escape the dangers of their own projections was by abandonment, whether to the wet nurse, to the monastery or nunnery, to foster families, to the homes of other nobles as servants or hostages, or by severe emotional abandonment at home. The symbol of this mode might be Griselda, who so willingly abandoned her children to prove her love for

her husband. Or perhaps it would be any of those pictures so popular up to the thirteenth century of a rigid Mary stiffly holding the infant Jesus. Projection continued to be massive, since the child was still full of evil and needed always to be beaten, but as the reduction in child sodomizmg shows, reversal diminished considerably

3. Ambivalent Mode (Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries): Because the child, when it was allowed to enter into the parents' emotional life, was still a container for dangerous projections, it was their task to mold it into shape. From Dominici to Locke there was no image more popular than that of the physical molding of

children, who were seen as soft wax, plaster, or clay to be beaten into shape. Enormous ambivalence marks this mode. The beginning of the period is approximately the fourteenth century, which shows an increase in the number of child instruction manuals, the expansion of the cults of Mary and the infant Jesus, and the proliferation in art of the "close-mother image."

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

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

6. Helping Mode (Begins Mid-twentieth Century): The helping mode involves the proposition that the child knows better than the parent what it needs at each stage of its life, and fully involves both parents in the child's life as they work to empathize with and fulfill its expanding and particular needs. There is no attempt at all to discipline or form "habits." Children are neither struck nor scolded, and are apologized to if yelled at under stress. The helping mode involves an enormous amount of time, energy, and discussion on the part of both parents, especially in the first six years, for helping a young child reach its daily goals means continually responding to it, playing with it, tolerating its regressions, being its servant rather than the other way around, interpreting its emotional conflicts, and providing the objects specific to its evolving interests. Few parents have yet consistently attempted this kind of child care. From the books which describe children brought up according to the helping mode,(272) it is evident that it results in a child who is gentle, sincere, never depressed, never imitative or group-oriented, strong-willed, and unintimidated by authority.

PSYCHOGENIC THEORY; A NEW PARADIGM FOR HISTORY

Psychogenic theory can, I think, provide a genuinely new paradigm for the study of history.(273) It reverses the usual "mind as tabula rasa," and instead considers the "world as tabula rasa," with each generation born into a world of meaningless objects which are invested with mean-ing only if the child receives a certain kind of care.(274) As soon as the mode of care changes for enough children, all the books and artifacts in the world are brushed aside as irrelevant to the purposes of the new generation, and society begins to move in unpredictable directions. How historical change is connected with changing child-care modes we have yet to spell out.

If the measure of a theory's vitality is its ability to generate interesting problems, childhood history and psychogenic theory should have an exciting future. There is still a lot to learn about what growing up in the past was really like. One of our first tasks will be to investigate why childhood evolution proceeds at different rates in different countries and different class and family lines. Yet we already know enough to be able for the first time to answer some major questions on value and behavior change in Western history. First to benefit from the theory will be the history of witchcraft, magic, religious movements, and other irrational mass phenomena. Beyond this) psychogenic theory should eventually contribute to our understanding of why social organization, political form, and technology change in specific times and directions and not in others. Perhaps the addition of the childhood parameter to his-

tory may even end the historian's century-long Durkheimian flight from psychology, and encourage us to resume the task of constructing a scientific history of human nature which was envisioned so long ago by John Stuart Mill as a "theory of the causes which determine the type of character belonging to a people or to an age. "(275)

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Chapter 2: The Independence of Psychohistory

CHAPTER 2

FOUNDATIONS OF PSYCHOHISTORY

by LLOYD DEMAUSE

THE INDEPENDENCE OF PSYCHOHISTORY

84

It has been two years since the founding of the History of Childhood Quarterly: The Journal of Psychohistory. During that short time, it has attracted the attention of both the scholarly and mass media, being excerpted and attacked in the New York Review of Books, Harpers, Commentary, Psychology Today, Human Behavior and the London Times Literary Supplement.(1) Most of the attacks have used the arguments of historian Jacques Barzun in his recent book Clio and the Doctors: Psycho-History, Quanto-History arid History,(2) in which he angrily opposes the notion that psychohistory is a division of history at all, since history, he says, is a narrative discipline telling what happened while psychohistory aspires to be a science focusing on why it happened. The book, and its earlier version as an article in the American Historical Review,(3) have been widely attacked by psychohistorians as containing too narrow a conception of the role of written history. Yet I wonder if Barzun might not in this instance be right and the psychohistorians wrong – if psychohistory is not quite a different enterprise from history, with its own methodology, its own independent tasks, and its own standards of excellence.

Ever since 1942 when the philosopher Carl Hempel published his essay "The Function of General Laws in History,"(4) it has been recognized by most philosophers of history that history cannot be a science in any strict sense of the term and that history can never regard it as

85

part of its task to establish laws in the Hempelian sense. Written history may, in the course of its narrative, use some of the laws established by the various sciences, but its own task remains that of relating the essential sequence of historical action and, qua history. to tell what happened, not why.(5)

Psychohistory, it seems to me, is on the contrary specifically concerned with establishing laws and discovering causes in precisely the Hempelian manner. The relationship between history and psychohistory is parallel to the relationship between astrology and astronomy, or if that seems too pejorative, between geology and physics. Astrology and geology are disciplines seeking sequential orders in the sky and the earth, while astronomy and physics are not narrative at all, but are sciences attempting to establish laws in their own respective areas. Psychohistory, as the science of historical motivation, may concentrate on the same historical events that written history covers, but its purpose is never to tell what happened one day after another. When the first astronomers came along and found astrologers describing the positions of the stars day by day and trying to explain all the relationships between them, they created a revolution by saying, 'Forget about the sequence of the skies. What interests us qua scientists is this one dot of light and whether it goes in a circle or an ellipse – and why. In order to find this out, we will have to drop the narrative task of astrology."

What is more, science never did pick up this task of narration – because it couldn't Astronomy, even if it finally discovers all the laws of the universe, will still not narrate the sequences of skies, any more than psychohistory will ever narrate the events of this or that period. Psychohistory, as a science, will always be problem – centered, while history will always remain period – centered. They are simply two different tasks.

it does not, of course, follow that psychohistory simply uses the facts historians have narrated up to now in order to construct laws of historical motivation. Like astronomy and physics, psychohistory finds it necessary to conduct its own search for material peculiar to its own interests in both past and present society. Whole great chunks of written history are of little value to the psychohistorian, while other vast areas which have been much neglected by historians – childhood history, content analysis of historical imagery, and so on – suddenly expand from the periphery to the center of the psychohistorian's conceptual world, simply because his or her own new questions require material nowhere to be found in history books.

Now I am well aware that in claiming the field of historical motivation exclusively for the psychohistorian I immediately run up against the oft – repeated claim by historians that they work with motivations all the time, so there is nothing new in that. I had heard this claim so often in the two decades since I first studied the philosophy of history

that I was finally moved to measure exactly how often historians actually do examine motivations in their works. I therefore kept a tally-sheet as I read 100 history books of varying kinds and recorded exactly how many sentences were devoted to any kind of motivational analysis whatsoever not just psychoanalytic, but any level of attention at all. In no case did this motivational content reach as much as 1% of the book – so the field seemed to be ours by default. What wasn't pure narrative of one event after another turned out to be mainly

the recitation of as many economic facts as possible in the hopes that their mere conjunction with the historical narrative would be mistaken for explanation.

Now anyone who has read any portion of the over 1,300 books and articles contained in the "Bibliography of Psychohistory"(6) will soon realize that psychohistory has reversed this 1 – to – 99 ratio, so that the bulk of psychohistorical writing is devoted to an intense concentration on motivational analysis while the physical events of history are necessarily given quite sketchy background treatment. There is, for instance, only one page at the beginning of Runciman's three – volume History of the Crusades(7) describing how the participants decided to begin four hundred years of wars, and then several thousand pages devoted to the routes, battles and other events which make up the "history" of the Crusades, A psychohistorian would assume the history, and spend his decades of research and thousands of pages in the most fascinating question for psychohistory – why so many set off on such a strange task as relic – saving. That the historian, when reviewing such a psychohistory, would accuse it of "ignoring" the full history of the Crusades should bother the psychohistorian as little as the accusation by the astrologer that Galileo "ignored" all the other stars in describing the path of one mere planet. It wasn't his task, and narrative history isn't ours.

This matter of psychohistory "ignoring" other fields when it specializes is a matter of some importance, since it is so often repeated by historians when criticizing psychohistorical works. In my own work, for instance, I have been accused of being ignorant of economics (although I am the founder and Chairman of the Board of a company which publishes seven professional economic newsletters), of being ignorant of sociology (although I am trained in sociology and was C. Wright Mills' research assistant at Columbia), of being unable to use statistics (although I earned my living as a professional statistician for five years) and of ignoring political factors (although all my graduate training was in political science). What seems not to have occurred to the critics of psychohistory is that we might choose to focus on the historical evolution of the psyche because only thereby can we reach the unsolved problems of precisely these same fields of politics, economics and sociology, fields which are shot through with unproven psychological as-

sumptions and which have failed to become reliable sciences precisely because of the unsolved psychohistorical problems within them. Professionals in each of these fields recognize this quite well, and even admit it to each other in their journals – it is only historians, ignorant of the shaky psychological underpinnings of the fields from which they uncritically borrow, who imagine there can be "economic, political and social factors" which are somehow apart from "psychological" factors in history. As one instance, it is probably true that my own work on the evolution of childhood was at least partly a response to problems encountered in the theory of economic development, as set forth in such books as Everett F. Hagen's On the Theory of Social Change: How Economic Growth Begins, where the crucial link needed to produce a take-off in economic development is shown to be just the kind of personality which I was later able to trace in the history of childhood as the result of the "intrusive mode" of parenting. Just as surely is the study of class intimately tied up with evolving psychohistorical patterns of dominance and submission, and the study of power dependent upon an understanding of group-fantasy needs and defenses. The notion that psychohistory somehow "ignores" economics, sociology or political science is possibly the most ignorant charge that could be leveled against it.

When the Times Literary Supplement attacks the Journal for "seeing behind every action a hidden motive,"(8) all one can answer is "Of course! Action is simply behavior, and since only psyches can have motives, motivation, hidden or not, must be examined in and of its own right to give meaning to all action." historians habitually skip this examination, as when A. J. P. Taylor describes why Hitler did not intend to go to war in 1939:

> *Many however believe that Hitler was a modern Attila, loving destruction for its own sake and therefore bent on war without thought of policy. There is no arguing with such dogmas. Hitler was an extraordinary man; and they may well be true. But his policy is capable of rational explanation; and it is on these that history is built . . . In considering German armament we escape from the mystic regions of Hitler's psychology and find an answer in the realm of fact. The answer is clear. The state of German armament in 1939 gives decisive proof that Hitler was not contemplating general war, and probably not intending war at all.(9)*

The sleight-of-hand involved in this way of writing history is never to examine the actor's actual motives at all, but simply to conclude from looking at material reality, here armaments, what his motives were. That this eliminates the possibility that Hitler might have intended war re-

gardless of the state of his armaments is simply overlooked. Historians are presumed to be unable to 'do psychology," which is "mystical" anyway, so they are forced to accept the most "rational" explanations . . . "and it is on these that history is built."

These and many other reasons integral to the logic of psychohistory lead me to believe that it will sooner or later be necessary for psychohistory to split off from history and form its own department within the academy in much the same way that sociology broke off from economics and psychology from philosophy in the late 19th century. As a matter of fact, there is a real sense in which psychohistory never was the exclusive or even the major possession of history departments: the majority of the books and articles in the 'Bibliography of Psychohistory" were written by scholars who were not professional historians at all, and this is also the case for the articles written for the Journal the contributing editors of which include psychiatrists, political scientists, educators, psychologists, psychotherapists, humanists and anthropologists as well as historians. Only a minority of the subscribers to the Journal are in fact historians. Courses in psychohistory are being offered today in many different departments, and even when offered in the history department they are likely as not conducted jointly by a historian and a psychoanalyst. Therefore my suggestion that separate psychohistory departments should be established is less a schismatic device than it is a move to unite the fractured parts of psychohistorical inquiry, so that all those who are really in the same field can communicate with each other, rather than their being minorities in separate departments and thinking of themselves as "political psychologists," "psychoanalytic sociologists," "applied psychoanalysts," and soon. The choice of problems – not the material studied – defines the discipline, and all these scholars are working on the same kinds of problems.

In uniting these many fields, psychohistory would, it seems to me, for the first time make some sense out of the crazy – quilt pattern of separate disciplines presently studying "the psychology of society." It would assume, of course, that "psychohistory" is not a narrower term than "psycho-social," and that in fact the term "psycho-social" is simply redundant, since the "social" is not "out there" but only "in here," in the head. The usual accusation that psychohistory "reduces everything to psychology" is philosophically meaningless – of course psychohistory is reductionist in this sense, since all it studies is historical motivations. Only when the "social" is admitted to being part of the "psychological" can the paradigm for psychohistorical study be recognized as follows:

Besides defining the three divisions of psychohistory, this paradigm does two things that distinguish it from the other social sciences, particularly sociology. First, it reverses the relationship between physical and psychological reality, so that instead of material progress setting the pace of history and somehow dragging behind the psyches of its actors, human psychology is made primary setting Marx on his head and Hegel back on his feet – and material reality is viewed as primarily the outcome of man's decisions, past or present, conscious or unconscious. Secondly, the major basis for historical change is the interrelations of persons, not forgetting the relations between generations, and man is viewed for the first time not as *homo faber* but as *homo relatens*.

There are other differences in psychohistory that are only now becoming apparent. First of all, as a science, psychohistory proceeds not by patient accumulation of piles of facts, but by first defining problems interesting to its own internal development, then formulating bold hypotheses from available evidence to solve these problems, and finally attempting to test and disprove (not prove – – proofs are for high school chemistry students) the hypotheses from new evidence now painstak-ingly acquired. In fact, psychohistory has a double burden of proof, for it has to conform not only to all the usual standards of historical research, but it must also be psychologically sound – unlike the usual shoddy psychology now found in every historical journal which makes one want to shout at every page. "But people just don't work that way!" This double burden of proof will require its own special kind of training, of course, with thorough grounding in the full range of tools of historical re-

search and developmental psychology, since both are essential to the job of cracking open the clam – shell of historical motivation.

It is of course quite true, as historians have pointed out, that psychohistory has no special method of proof that is unavailable to the historian or to any other discipline for that matter. Like all sciences, psychohistory stands or falls on the clarity and testability of its concepts, the breadth and parsimony of its theories, the extent of its empirical evidence, and so on. What psychohistory does have which is different is a certain methodology of discovery, a methodology which attempts to solve problems of historical motivation with a unique blend of historical documentation, clinical experience and the use of the researcher's own emotions as the crucial research tool for discovery. Let me give a personal example to illustrate this.

For the past decade, I have been intensely interested in the small but growing literature on the causes of war which has begun to be produced by social scientists of many disciplines. I had long ago discovered that historians, wrapped up in the specifics of one particular war or period, were little interested in generalizing on their narrative. In fact, it seemed as though historians used the words "desire for power" as terminations of thought, as though the sight of millions of people organizing themselves for years in order to gobble up millions of their hostile neighbors at enormous sacrifice to themselves was the most transparent of human actions, requiring no explanation of motivation whatsoever. Those few historians who went beyond their narrative jumped immediately into economic "explanations," something not too difficult to do, since no war failed to have an economic dispute hanging around somewhere nearby. But they simply never got around to asking why war was the means by which this or that economic dispute was resolved. Neither did they seem to notice that the war was in fact never economically beneficial, and that when the leaders were deciding to go to war they simply never bothered to sit down and draw up a list of economic objectives, assign them a dollar value, subtract the costs of the war, and come up with a "war profit statement" (the very rationality of such an act makes it laughable). Yet the historians continued to pour out whole libraries describing economic conditions prior to wars, never bothering to examine the actual words and actions of the leaders who made the decision to go to war to see if all those economic factors actually had any causal effect on their motivations.

I was as little able to make any sense out of other kinds of historians' explanations for war, which were not only psychologically naive but often as not logically contradictory. Given "diplomatic" causes, opposite conditions were supposed to cause identical results, World War I having been caused by the "inflexibility" of the alliance system, so that when one little fight broke out all of Europe was dragged in, while World War II was caused by the "over-flexibility" of the alliance sys-

tem, allowing Hitler to pick off one country after another without fear of bringing in others. Similarly "social" causes were cited with contradictory results: the cause of France's going to war with Austria in 1772 was the revolutionary turmoil within her borders, while her war with England in 1803 was caused by the end of revolutionary turmoil, thus allowing her energies to be turned outward.

My own studies of the causes of war centered on the actual motivations of those who made the decisions, and of those around them who created the climate of expectation which allowed them to carry the decision into actuality. During the past year, I collected a large stack of photocopies and notes on the actual words of leaders and others during the times the decisions to go to war were being made a task which is not as simple as it may sound, since historians generally remove from their narrative much of the most important material a psychohistorian needs to determine motivation, such as personal imagery, metaphors, slips, side comments, jokes, scribbles on the edges of documents, and so on, and these were not too easily recovered from their original sources in a limited time span. Still, at the end of the year I had accumulated a wide range of material, and had even learned from it a few new things about war.

The first thing I learned was that these leaders seemed to me to be less father-figures in the Oedipal sense than garbage-disposal directors, being expected by those around them to handle huge amounts of projected emotions which the individuals were unable to keep bound by means of the usual intra-psychic defenses. Large groups seem to present a different level of problem to the psyche than interpersonal relations, so that intrapsychic defenses become less effective and the psyche is thrown back on modes of relating that prevailed in preverbal infancy, when problems were handled by projecting them into the mother's body and re-introjecting them back into one's own ego. The individual relates to a large group with similar massive projection devices, and delegates leaders and other role-players to assist him in this task. This process is continuous throughout the history of all large groups, and requires specific group-fantasies to carry it out and to defend against the primitive anxieties that result. One group-fantasy leaders are expected to carry out is to find places to dump these huge quantities of projected emotions, what I took to calling external and internal "toilet-objects." That the emotions thus dumped were of infantile origin goes without saying, but to my surprise I found that they seemed to come from all levels of the psychic organization, so that in 1914 German leaders could call the Serbs not only "regicidal" (Oedipal), which one could understand, but also "poisonous" (oral), "filthy" (anal) and "licentious" (phallic).(10) Once the leaders had designated which countries were to be the toilet-objects for these projected emotions, the emotional dumping

could continue as a regular part of the political system, and it was then the task of diplomacy to see to it that these now-dangerous objects were fully controlled, in the same manner that little children, favorite toilet-objects for adults, are controlled by being now "chastised," now "brought to their knees," now "taught a lesson," and so on. As long as these external toilet-objects did not threaten to get out of control, war could be kept at a distance, and "diplomacy" seemed to work.

But something always seemed to happen to disturb the delicate process of emotion-dumping, and a group-process began which inexorably led the way to war, even when all those concerned seemed to want to avoid it. This "helpless drift" toward war was the predominant emotional tone for every war I was studying, so that it seemed as though some extremely powerful group-fantasy was being acted out which even the most powerful of leaders was quite helpless to change once it got rolling. To use a German example once again, Kaiser Wilhelm II, who had been encouraging Austria-Hungary to go to war with Serbia, was so startled when Serbia agreed to virtually all of Austria's excessive de-mands that, having announced that "every reason for war drops

away," he gave orders for Vienna to be told to be conciliatory. But the pull of the group-fantasy was too great. His subordinates acted as though they simply did not hear what he said, and the war began anyway. As Bethmann-Hollweg remarked at the time: "All governments . . . and the great majority of their peoples are peacefully inclined, but the direction has been lost, and the stone has started rolling."(11) War seemed to be a group-psychotic episode, with patterns of thinking, levels of imagery, and degrees of splitting and projection that are usually only found in the limited psychotic episodes of individuals, but which are temporary and which sooner or later appear quite incomprehensible to those same people. The manic optimism and inevitable under-estimation of the length and severity of the war, the increase in paranoia as to the motivations of the enemy [an "index of paranoia" has even been constructed and graphed (12)], the total absence of awareness that in going to war real people would actually die, these and other seeming irrationalities are all indications that a powerful group-fantasy is being acted out. But just what this relentless group-fantasy was completely stumped me. Some controlling process held together all these images and insights that I had picked up from the material in front of me. But I had no idea what it was, and why it seemed so compelling to all the participants.

As in previous cases when I had been bewildered by the material before me, I was convinced that personal defensive reasons were behind my inability to find an answer, and I tried many ways to break my de-fenses down. I attempted to identify with those leaders on whom I had the most complete material, reading every biography from Napoleon to Hitler that I could get hold of, trying to listen to their "free associa-

tions" to the events around them. I immersed myself in the mass of material for weeks at a time and analyzed my dreams each morning for my own "associations" and defenses. Nothing seemed to work. I was com-pletely stuck for several months.

In January of this year, I was reading Business Week and noticed the interview with Henry Kissinger in which he explained that he had learned that "it is easier to get into a war than to get out of it" and that the only case in which the U.S. would go to war again was "where there is some actual strangulation" occurring. This imagery struck me as familiar. It particularly reminded me of something Kaiser Wilhelm and those around him kept saying in 1914, that "the Monarchy has been seized by the throat and forced to choose between letting itself be strangled and making a last ditch effort to defend itself against attack and that a "net has been suddenly thrown over our head, and – . . . we squirm isolated in the net."(13) I remembered that when I initially read them I was struck by how inappropriate these feelings were, since Germany was in no way strangling and since England, who was accused of throwing the net over her head, was at that time quite friendly toward Germany. Since I was familiar with the many "encirclement" theories with which nations justified their going to war, I was once again tempted to pass off the imagery as rationalization when I stopped myself and said "No! Both Henry and Wilhelm seem quite sincere here. They are reporting to me that it felt as if they were being strangled and that consequently they had to go to war, and for once I ought to trust their feelings and see where they take me." I once again pulled out my pile of notes, and soon found that this had indeed been the controlling fantasy I had overlooked for so long – – images of being "strangled" and "choked" leaped up from every page I had before me. What was more, the strangulation of war seemed to be caused by a fantasy of being in the birth canal, "unable to draw a breath of relief," "unable to see the light at the end of the tunnel," but nevertheless "against

one's will" beginning "the inexorable slide towards war," starting with the inevitable "rupture of diplomatic relations," moving with "naked force" into "the descent into the abyss" and finally "breaking out" into the "war that is the price of one's freedom."

Needless to say, I was still extremely reluctant to accept the reality of such an unlikely, even bizarre group-fantasy as "war as birth." Yet even a provisional emotional acceptance of the basic birth thesis made all the difference in the world to how I proceeded with my research. For one thing, only now could I begin to use my knowledge of the psychoanalytic literature on common birth images in dreams, in which suffocation and claustrophobia always represent being trapped in the birth canal, facts which completely eluded me during the prior year while trying to make sense of the historical material. I had noticed, of

course, that leaders said they felt "small and helpless" during the slide towards war, but had thoroughly blocked out the importance of the imagery. That there was a life-and-death struggle going on for "some breathing space" was apparent as Bethmann-Hollweg told the Reichstag in announcing war on August 4, 1914; "He who is menaced as we are and is fighting for his highest possession can only consider how he is to hack his way through."(14) But there was also present all the imagery of birth-dreams familiar to psychoanalysts – – choking, drowning, hanging, suffocating, being crushed in rooms or tunnels. In psychoanalysis, these images represent the patient's attempt to repeat and by repeating to master the fearful pressure of labor contractions and the gasping for air after birth. This reliving indicates that birth traumata are still very much alive in most adults, especially those whose regressive need to re-merge with the mother has been kept alive by inadequate is parenting. Not only have psychoanalysts traditionally found these images in dreams,(16) but more recently Arthur Janov has discovered that patients in Primal therapy regularly have "birth Primals" in which they re-experience their own births in great detail, and with enormous psychological and physical changes taking place after these re-livings.(17)

In somehow trying to make sense out of all these strands of thought, I noticed that it didn't seem as though reality physical reality – was forcing leaders to feel like strangled babies. Henry Kissinger and the Kaiser were actually no more in danger of war when they began voicing feelings of choking in a birth canal than they had been a year earlier when they did not voice such feelings. What was actually "strangling" the American economy was more the effects of the 1.5 trillion dollars spent on war goods in the previous two decades than the current oil situation, and the notion that little Serbia was actually able to "strangle" central Europe was wholly fantastic. In fact, when I checked my material I found that nations who were actually surrounded, like Serbia herself, or Poland in 1939, did not voice such images, while countries which do say they feel encircled when going to war, like Germany in 1939, do not then say so when the war goes against them and they in fact become encircled (for instance there is not a single birth image in Hitler's Secret Conversations, running from July 1941 to November 1944). It is group-fantasy a psychic reality, not material reality, which for reasons yet unknown causes nations to pour into their leaders feelings of being strangled in a birth canal, and which causes these leaders to then feel that only the extreme solution of going to war and hacking their way through offers the possibility of relief.

It was now not long before I became aware that wars proceed in the same sequence as birth. They develop out of a condition resembling pregnancy, the air heavy with feelings of great expectancy, what William Yancey, head of the Alabama delegation to the secessionist Democratic

Convention in 1860, before a hushed convention, referred to as “a dormant volcano” which threatened to become “a great heaving volcano.”(18) Soon it seems that “every day is pregnant with some new event.”(19) The nation’s leaders find themselves in what Kaiser Wilhelm termed “the nervous tension in the grip of which Europe has found itself during the last few years,”(20) or what Admiral Shimada in a pre-Pearl Harbor meeting described as a “tight, tense, and trapped feeling” in the air. The nation soon found that it had to “relieve herself of the inexorable pressure to which he has been subjected . . . to extricate herself from the desperate position in which she was entangled . . . to at least gain a breathing spell.”(21) The nation seems to be gripped, as Congressman Brinton said in 1917, in what felt like an “invisible energy-field.” “There is something in the air, gentlemen,” he told his fellow Congressmen, “something stronger than you and I can realize or resist, that seems to be picking us up bodily and literally forcing us to vote for this declaration of war . . . “(22) Shortly thereafter, diplomatic relations are “ruptured,” “the past placed its hand on the shoulder of the present and thrust it into the dark future”(23) and the “descent into the abyss” begins as the nation starts its “final plunge over the brink.”

When war is finally decided upon, the feeling is inevitably one of enormous relief. When Germany declared war on France in 1914, it came, said the Crown Prince, as a welcome end to the ever-increasing tension, an end to the nightmare of encirclement. “It is a joy to be alive,” rejoiced a German paper the same day; Germany was “exulting with happiness.”(24) And in America, half a century earlier, when Fort Sumter fell, both North and South experienced the same relief that “something unendurable had ended,” Crowds went wild with laughter, waving banners, being swept up in the excitement. “The heather is on fire. I never before knew what a popular excitement can be,” wrote a Boston merchant, watching the jubilant crowds, and the London Times’s correspondent described the same thing in the South – “flushed faces, wild eyes, screaming mouths” outshouting the bands playing “Dixie.”(25)

If the announcement of war was equivalent to the actual moment of birth, I wondered to myself how far this concreteness of detail could be carried. For instance, would it be too far-fetched to imagine that one might find in the historical material evidence of the actual explosive first gasp for breath of the newborn, usually accompanied by a slap on the back. I did not have to look far for confirmation of my hunch. Searching my notes once again for the actual feelings expressed by those present at the precise moment that war had been declared, I discovered several clear instances where an actual birth explosion had been hallucinated. For instance, when Lincoln issued his proclamation calling for troops to defend the Union, an action recognized by all as the beginning of the Civil War, he retired to his room alone, “and a

feeling came over him as if he were utterly deserted and helpless . – . he suddenly heard a sound like the boom of a cannon . . . The White House attendants, whom he interrogated, had heard nothing . . . He met a few persons on the way [outside], some of whom he asked whether they had not heard something like the boom of a cannon. Nobody had heard anything, and so he supposed it must have been a freak of his imagination."(26) Similarly, when Chamberlain stood before the British Cabinet in 1939 and announced: "Right, gentlemen, this means war," one of those present remembered: "Hardly had he said it, when there was the most enormous clap of thunder and the whole Cabinet Room was lit up by a blinding flash of lightning. It was the most deafening thunder-clap I've ever heard in my life. It really shook the building.(27) The birth-explosion seemed to take place only after the emo-tional recognition that the birth crisis was terminated – it did not take place, for instance, upon the first actual shooting, at the siege of Fort Sumter. In fact, the birth-explosion could be hallucinated even if the message that war had started was in error. When Hitler in 1938 was handed the message that Czech forces were mobilizing, and it looked as though the long-avoided European war would begin, Paul Schmidt, his interpreter, said it seemed as though a "big drum-bang" had sounded in the dead silence of those few minutes.(28) This birth explosion was so necessary, in fact, that leaders, including both Woodrow Wilson and F.D.R., always carefully delayed bringing their countries into wars until they could feel the exaltation (and exhalation) of the war-cry of birth, As Wilson put it, when one of his Cabinet told him in early 1917 that America would follow him if he led them to war:

> *Why that is not what I am waiting for; that is not enough. if they cannot go in with a whoop, there is no use of their going in at all.(29)*

The more I examined the words of leaders the more I recognized that all of them seemed to realize that war was a group-fantasy of birth against which one struggled almost in vain. During the Cuban missile crisis, for example, it was only after Khrushchev wrote to Kennedy pleading that the two nations not "come to a clash, like blind moles" battling to death in a tunnel(30) that war between them could be averted. Even more explicit is the code-word used by Japanese ambassador Kurusu when he phoned Tokyo to signal that negotiations had broken down with Roosevelt and that it was all right to go ahead with the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Forced to invent a voice code on the spot which Tokyo would recognize as meaning that war should begin, Kurusu announced that the "birth of a child" was imminent and asked how things were in Japan. "Does it seem as if a child might be born?" "Yes," came the reply, "the birth of the child seems imminent." The

only problem was that American intelligence, listening in, spontaneously recognized the meaning of the war-as-birth code.(31)

The imagery of war as birth seemed to reach back to earliest times. Numa erected a bronze temple to Janus, the Roman god of doorways and archways, and whenever Rome went to war the huge double doors were opened, a common dream-image of birth. Thereafter, whenever a war began, nations borrowed the Roman imagery and declared, as did the Chicago Tribune the day Lincoln called for troops: "The gates of Janus are open;

the storm is on us." Certainly no American war has seemed to lack birth-imagery, beginning with the American Revolution, filled with images of birth and separation from the mother-country and what Samuel Adams termed the fight for "the child Independence now struggling for birth"(32) right down to the Vietnam war, which be-gan as "a swampy hole you got sucked into," soon turned into a "bot-tomless pit" and a "tar baby" you couldn't let go of,(33) and ended with a baby airlift.

While some of the symbolism of war is quite open and transparent – – it hardly needs a psychoanalyst to inter-pret the message General Groves cabled to President Truman to report that the first A-bomb was successful ("The baby was born") or to see the imagery of the Hiro-shima bomb being called "Little Boy" and the plane from whose belly it dropped being named after the pilot's mother-still some of the sym-bolism of war only be-comes intelligible when one becomes familiar with psychoanalytic clinical research into dreams of birth, Although I was familiar with much of this literature, from Rank's essay on the birth-trauma to Janov's extensive work on the re-experiencing of birth during primal therapy I discovered a whole new range of images once I had sensitized myself by reading more extensively in the research on birth dreams. For instance, I discovered a little-known book written 25 years ago by the psychoanalyst Nandor Fodor entitled The Search for the Beloved: A Clinical Investigation of the Trauma of Birth and Pre-Natal Conditioning, a book which was ignored at the time it was published only because it was so far in advance of its time. It includes, for example, a complete descrip-tion of the violence of "normal" birth methods that anticipates at every point that of Fredehck Leboyer,(34) plus a proposal for psychotherapy to heal the birth trauma that spells out in advance much of the work of Arthur Janov.

One of the birth symbols that Fodor calls attention to is the image – – or rather more often the nightmare – – of fire. According to both Leboyer and Fodor, the neonate's skin is extremely sensitive, and feels as though it is burning up both during the long hours of labor and immediately after birth, especially when the room is colder than 98F. or when the baby is wrapped in rough clothes.(35) Once this is realized, the historical image of war as a "ravaging fire" is more easily comprehended. More-

over, just as in dreams birth can be symbolized by being caught in a burning house, much of warfare involves simply setting fire to people and things, even when it costs more to do so than the benefit involved, as in the case of the "strategic bombing" of Europe in World War II. War and burning seem so intimately connected that troops are driven to set fire to villages even when the latter belong to those who are supposedly allies, as in Vietnam. The impulse to set people and places afire seemingly transcends any other objective in war.

Similarly, Fodor's book contains many references to another dream image for birth-falling or jumping out of towers. This is, of course, a repetition of the moment of birth itself, which involves falling upside down and acti-vates the baby's instinctual fear of falling and reflexive hand-grasping. Only if one keeps one's "inner ear" tuned for this imagery does it become obvious that leaders at crucial moments use the 'lumping out of towers" theme to convey war-as-birth messages. For instance, just as Japan was deciding to go to war with America, its leaders were presented with a voluminous report containing well-docu-mented evidence that Japan was outnumbered by America in every area of war potential and actuality by at least 10 to 1 and therefore couldn't possibly win.

Since they were in the group-process stage that made the "slide to war" inexorable, Tojo looked at this overwhelming proof that Japan couldn't win the war and announced: "There are times when we must have the courage to do extraordinary things – like jump-ing, with eyes closed, off the veranda of the Kiyomizu Temple!"(36) Similarly, the French Foreign Minister, at the time of the Munich Agreement, referred to war as 'jumping from the Eiffel Tower."(37)

By the time I had finished reexamining my historical material, it had become obvious that all the "innocent babies" killed-and sometimes rescued-during wars were not merely side issues, accidents of war, but rather that babies were the heart of war's central fantasy. Consider how often wars open with rumors of the enemy "disemboweling pregnant women," whether by Turkish bayonet or Khmer Rouge wooden stake.(38) Consider how often wars end with "baby-saving" missions, whether by American baby-lift from Vietnam or Nazi Lebensborn projects in Europe, where babies from occupied countries were stolen, measured with obstetrical type instruments for racial fitness, and either killed as unfit or sent back to Germany for raising as Aryan. Consider how often the killing of babies – as in the Calley trial-becomes the emo-tional turning-point of a war, and how once it was recognized that Americans were actually killing babies (which of course they had been doing all the time) the public removed its support from the war. It soon becomes apparent that, as Fodor found in his birth-dream research(39) and as Melanie Klein discovered clinically,(40) breaking out of the birth canal involves simultaneously breaking into the mother's body, and that

the merging of these two fantasies is the essence of the war-as-birth fantasy in which neighboring countries must be invaded to escape from "encirclement" while at the same time the invader has the need to con-trol and destroy the bad babies in the mother's body, the hated siblings, the damaged contents of the womb. That foreign countries contained infantilized bad-babies who had to be eliminated – or sometimes saved was indicated by far more than my Kleinian proclivities. The historical material was full of such imagery. For instance, Hitler began World War II not only because he felt Germany needed Lcbensraum, "room to live," but also because he had to save the good (German) babies in neighboring states and kill the bad (Jewish, Polish, etc.) ones. The blood-ties binding the mother to those babies who were to be saved was clear in the imagery of the opening words of Mein Kampf:

> *German-Austria must return to the great German motherland, and not because of economic considerations of any sort . . . Common blood belongs to a common Reich. As long as the German nation is unable even to band together its own children in one common State, it has no . . . right to think of colonization .....(41)*

But aside from those few good babies who deserve to be saved, most babies are hated occupiers of the mother's body, and must be eliminated. In fact, even the use of poison gas for genocidal purposes began (in early 1939) with the gassing of mentally ill and deformed children, and only two years later was extended to include Jews and others,(42) all equally bad-babies, all made bad by the very same emotional dumping described earlier in the section on external and internal toilet-objects. For in the end the baby must die after all, and mod-

ern war has been quite as effective in carrying out the filicidal impulses of humanity as child sacrifice and infanticide used to be.(43)

Now the point of this side trip into the methodology of psychohistorical discovery is that far more is involved in contributing to a specific moment of discovery in psychohistory than the technical training of the psychohistorian. Certainly both my historical and psychoanalytic knowledge helped – I had to know how to get around in the literature of both fields – but in a more profound sense every moment of my own emotional development led to the breakthrough in recognizing the birth imagery in war. This goes beyond my own obvious interest in the causality of war over the past two decades, and has nothing at all to do with any theoretical bent toward birth trauma imagery, since I was neither a Rankian nor a Janovian. Far more crucial were, for example, the long hours somewhere around the seventh or eighth year of my personal psychoanalysis when I struggled to re-experience and find meaning in dreams of drowning and sinking in a whirlpool or quicksand, or, when my son was two years old, those hundreds of hours I spent with him

pretending we were babies in mommy's belly, crawling around in the dark under the bedclothes and pretending to fall off the bed crying "Help! Save me!," because that was the endless game that seemed to give him a strong sense of the pleasure of mastery. Psychohistory, like psychoanalysis, is a science in which the researcher's feelings are as much or even more a part of his research equipment than his eyes or his hands. Like eyes, feelings are not infallible: they often introduce distortions, and so on, but since psychohistory concerns human motivation and since the discovery and weighing of complex motives can only be accomplished by identification with human actors, the usual suppression of all feeling preached and followed by most "science" simply cripples a psychohistorian as badly as it would cripple a biologist to be forbidden the use of a microscope. The emotional development of a psychohistorian is therefore as much a topic for discussion as his or her intellectual development. That it includes personal psychoanalysis as a foremost prerequisite goes without saying, as in the case of the psychoanalyst. But I think it goes beyond this formal requirement.

I must candidly report that as a result of my own personal contacts over the past decade with perhaps a thousand historians from all over the world, both in connection with the history of childhood project and in starting this Journal, I no longer believe that most traditional historians are emotionally equipped, even with training, to use their feelings as psychohistorical research tools, although there is a whole new generation of psychohistorians just now beginning to write who are able to do so. To expect the average historian to do psychohistory is like trying to teach a blind man to be an astronomer, so averse are they to psychological insight into themselves or their historical material from any school of modem psychology. There are complex historical reasons for this fact, having to do with the differential process of self-selection within the universities in recent decades and with the process whereby departments of history have lost so many emotionally open students to psychology. In light of this fact, whenever I speak to a scholar of the emotional development necessary to make a good psychohistorian and get a blank look of total incomprehension, I try to find a way to leave the subject of psychohistory altogether. My listener usually is in another world of discourse where emotional reactions are not considered crucial to the results.

A final illustration will further demonstrate this point. For many years I wondered why I, a radical and anti-nationalist, was nevertheless moved almost to tears when I stood with my son watching a parade with marching bands, The temptation was to shrug off the feeling or to give it a label that would deflect the discomfort, but I was so concerned with this feeling of being swept up by military music that I took to leaving my table at the New York Public Library each time I heard

music from a military band going down Fifth Avenue just to see if I could catch my feeling and locate its power over me. If I seemed a bit odd to associates who were with me at the time, so be it-I had to try to answer this question, which was psychohistorical to its core. It was only after the discovery of the war-as-birth thesis that my mind returned to the question of why the bands moved me so – I now had a hunch that I knew the answer. I took a stop-watch out to the next parade and timed the beats of the band. They occurred at about 110-130 beats per minute. Then I timed some popular music, of the usual soothing quality, on the radio-from 70 to 80 beats per minute. When I checked with my wife's obstetrician, I found that the normal heart-beat is about 75 beats per minute and that the elevated heart-beat of a woman during a contraction in labor is between 110-150 beats per minute. I obviously was a baby being born while watching the parade, being picked up and carried along by my mother's heart-beat whether I felt like it or not, and the tears in my eyes were for the impending separation from my mother! Perhaps not the most important discovery in the world, but one thoroughly psychohistorical and though its confirmation might be open to anyone using usual scientific canons of truth, its discovery was only open to the psychohistorian with the quite peculiar personality patterns and even lifestyle necessary for using one's emotions as tools for the investigation of group-fantasy

All of which is not to indicate that I felt satisfied that I had found the ultimate "cause" of war with the war-as-birth paradigm. Oddly enough, science doesn't specifically aim at discovering causes – it tries to solve problems interesting to its own internal development, and causes are often the by product of this problem-solving. What I had done by my research was, I think, something even more crucial to psycho-history than finding a cause: I had changed the question I was asking. I had defined a new problem, embedded in a new theoretical structure which I felt could be both fruitful and empirically testable, and I was now able to ask a whole series of new questions such as: Why do na-tions project birth feelings into their leaders at some moments in their histories and not at others? What means are used to communicate these projections? Are these birth images defenses against other psychic con-ditions in the leadership group or in the nation? Were some wars exceptions to the war-as-birth paradigm, and if so what motivational imagery did they substitute for it? Are there differential evolutionary patterns of war imagery? Why do group-fantasies occur in such grotesquely exaggerated slow-motion, taking months and years to act out events that originally took hours, while exactly the same images in dreams are condensed into minutes?

The ability to generate new questions is precisely the hallmark of a science. Physical science expanded so rapidly in the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries not because scientists were somehow brighter than those around them. In some senses, these early scientists were quite limited in their education and in a wide knowledge of the world around them. The same principle holds for psychohistorians, who hope to succeed where historians have failed by giving scientific explanation to historical motivation. Psychohistorians can achieve this, not because they are smarter than historians but because they conceive of their task in a wholly different way and have access to research tools and scientific models unavailable to the historian. Just as there was no way for even the most learned astrologers to understand the motions of the planets as long as they [1] conceived of their task as essentially narrative – rather than problem-centered, and [2] refused to use a telescope, so even the most learned historian cannot understand the causality of history as long as he [1] conceives of his task as narrative- rather than problem-centered and [2] refuses to use his own emotional-identification capacity in a scientific way at every step in the research process.

Other psychohistorians have, I believe, found ways similar to mine to intensify this emotional-identification and defense-stripping process. Rudolph Binion, in researching his psychobiographies of Lou Andreas–Salome and Hitler, spent several years accumulating mountains of primary source material on their motivational patterns and then locked himself up for months with his evidence and read and re-read every detail until "the pieces . . . all fit together, with the facts all stacked up behind them: this alone carried final conviction."(44) Henry Ebel surrounds himself with his historical material and "Primals" for hours while free-associating to the material in front of him, in a concentrated effort to reach deeper levels of motivation than the usual reading reveals.(45) All these methods, like my own dream-interpretation to remove defenses against discovery, are attempts by psychohistorians to fashion research tools that, like microscopes and telescopes, give access to ma-terial hitherto denied them. For psychohistory is more a rediscovery than a discovery – – it is a process of finding out what we all already know and act upon. Our discovery of exterior conditions is wholly dependent on how much we can strip away of our interior defenses against recognition of what we are doing all the time. Every person going to war speaks in birth imagery, responds to birth drumbeats, and communicates in birth symbols to others going to war, and every historian fills his books with writing that tells of "the pulse-beat of the coming violence growing louder and faster as the nation moves inexorably to the birth-pangs of war." We all know it – yet no one knows it. Only the psychohistorian who trains himself to use what is "in here" to discover what is going on "out there" can hope to succeed where so many have failed in understanding and bringing under control those group-fantasies we choose to call our history.

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38. Robert Sam Anson, "Withdrawal pains," Ncw Times M£-trch 21, 1975, p.25.
39. Fodor, Search, p. 253ff.
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43. As I was writing up this article I found that I had encountered the essence of the baby imagery more than a year earlier in The First Part of the Reiclatioti ofMoses the Sot; ofjehoshar (Fort Lee, N.J.: Argonaut Books, 1973, pp. 58-9, 102, 106) in the brilliant aphorisms of Henry l.?bel describing how "Dresden, Berlin, Hiroshima and Nagasaki were also niade chokewomb hot-wombs" and how "men wonder at the calm bestiality with which the Nazis murdered babies and infants and children. But that wis the whole point. The helpless adults they butchered were equally 'children' to them. If they baby phagged as hard as they could, then perhaps they wouldn't be baby phagged themselves. lf they pushed more babies into the chokewomb hotwoinb, then perhaps Mama would spare THEM."
44. Rudolph Binion, "Hitler's Concept ofLehetisraitti,," Ilistory of CiliUhood Quarterly: TheJourtialofPsyeh0h~.t0ri 1(1973): 196; "My life with Frau Lou" in Perry Curtis, ed., Vie !1istoriat;'s Workshop. New York: Knopf, 1970, pp.293-306.
45. Henry Ebel, "Primal therapy and psychohistory" History of Childhood Quarterly: The Joitrnal of Psychohistory 2 (1975): 563-70; and Vie First Part of the Revelatioti of Moses the Soti oJ~ Jelioshar.

Chapter 3: The Formation of the American Personality Through Psychospeciation

THE FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN PERSONALITY THROUGH PSYCHOSPECIATION

History is, indeed , a stage.
The playwright, she stayed home.

What caused America? What was it that changed a group of totalitarian, bigoted, head-hunting and witch-hunting Englishmen into a nation of fiercely independent Yankees in but one century? In a world accustomed to glacially slow change in historical personality, what sudden shift of psychic forces cracked open the frozen feudal mask of European man and released the powerful individualism which fashioned the world's first modern democracy?(1) Something new had happened to the human personality in America – – Condorcet thought Americans had "stepped out of history", Turgot called them "the hope of the human race" – many agreed on what happened. But what caused it?

Historians over the past 200 years have answered this question with a single theme: trees caused America. Trees, and all that open space, giving the American colonists the freedom to start anew, substituting an institutionless American simplicity for the hierarchical European complexity they left behind.(2) Unfortunately, there are two problems with this environmental

thesis. The first is that the most important social institutions were brought over to America intact – in the heads of the colonists – and two generations after the first Puritans landed New England was as totalitarian, hierarchical and intolerant as anywhere in Europe. Despite all those trees. And the second problem is that if trees, open space and a fresh start could produce democratic men, why didn't it do so in Brazfl or Mexico, or in Siberia for that matter?

The biggest problem with discussing causality with historians is their inevitable assumption that "historical events" are caused by prior "historical events." That is the reason why most historical explanation to date has been essentially narrative: America was caused by an historical event, the encounter of the colonists with Nature. But in fact the initial methodological assumption is mistaken; scientifically, no historical action ever commits a human group to any future action, so it can never be its cause. Pearl Harbor did not cause our war with Japan, because we could have chosen not to retaliate, if we were only different. Any scientific description of the cause of adult historical events must first of all include the formation of the historical personalities involved. including their formation during childhood. The scientific meaning of the question "What caused America?" thus turns out to be similar to that of the question "What caused the giraffe?" Both are answered by evolutionary descriptions. The giraffe is the product of biospeculation from certain mammalian parents through selection and isolation of a deviant population at a specific moment in biological evolution within a certain natural environment. America is the production of psychospeculation from certain psychological parents through selection and isolation of a deviant population at a specific moment in the evolution of childhood within a certain group environment. Just as the locus for transmission of biological structure is the gene, the locus for transmission of psychic structure is the "psychogenic" parent-child interaction. Just as modern synthetic evolutionary biology studies the process of genetic mutation as the ultimate source(3) of new genotypes, so modern scientific psychohistory studies the psychogenic interaction between mother(4) and child as the ultimate source of psychotypes, that is, new historical personalities

What is most unexpected, however, is that psychospeculation, like biospeciation, turns out to be a thoroughly lawful process. The production of psychic variation moves through stages, called "psychogenic modes," similar to the stages of evolution of biological orders, as successive generations of mothers face fresh new populations of infants and attempt to meet their needs in new ways more advanced than those they had endured in their own childhood.

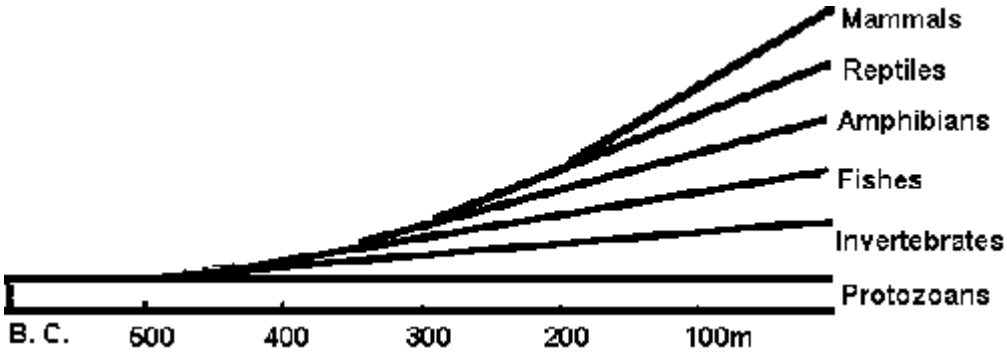

Fig. 1 Schema Of Biological Evolution

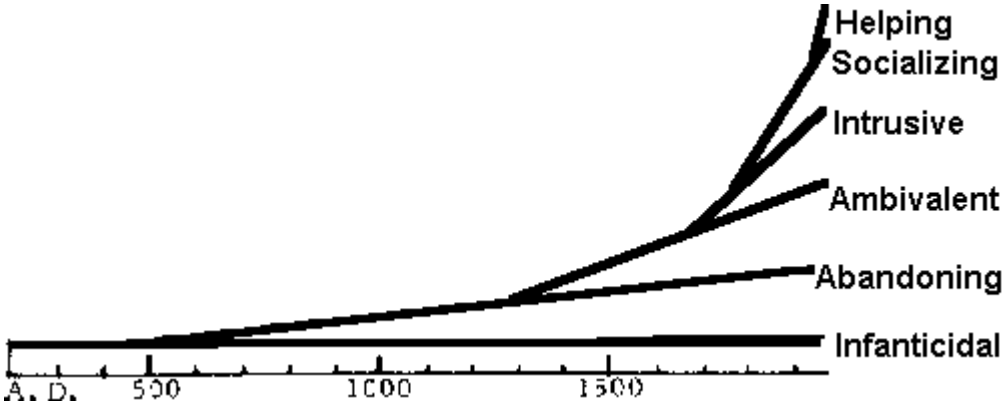

Fig. 2 Schema Of Psychological Evolution

Each advance in psychogenic mode diminishes the emotional distance between mother and child. The infanticidal mode of antiquity handled the anxiety posed by the infant's needs through measures which constantly threatened the child's life, including regular infanticide by rich and poor alike. The medieval mode of abandonment substituted continuous rejection of the child, whether to wetnurse, fosterage or monastery. The ambivalent parent, beginning in the Renaissance, viewed the infant as at once both irrevocably evil and greatly idealized. The intrusive mode of the eighteenth century produced a mother who could now guarantee the child some measure of her love but only under the condition of total control of his emotions. And the currently predominant socializing mode uses covert manipulation of the child predominantly through guilt and the delegation of parental goals.

Each psychogenic mode in turn produces historically new adult psychospecies: the schizoid character of antiquity gives way to the autistic character produced by the abandonment of medieval childhood, the late medieval manic-depressive character being followed by the early modern compulsive character, the result of intrusive mode parenting, and finally by the various types of anxiety characters so commonly found in contemporary society.

Each of these modes of parenting is only achieved historically. As in every evolutionary scheme, as Darwin first noted, the table of past stages also turns out to be a table of contemporary taxology, so that the sequence of psychogenic modes from the past becomes a list of contemporary psychoanalytic personality types, produced by the current spectrum of family types, from "battered child syndrome" parenting to "overcontrolling" intrusive

parenting. Each contemporary type is therefore at the same time a “psychological fossil” once predominant in a past historical period, much as contemporary reptiles were once the predominant species of a past epoch.

Parallels between biological and psychological evolution are not limited to the lawful production of new types; some of the most important mechanisms explaining differential evolutionary paths turn out to be identical. Two evolutionary mechanisms-selection and isolation-are central both to modern synthetic evolutionary theory and to the psychogenic theory of history, in particular to our present question of the evolution of the American personality. For the production of variation, through mutation or through psychogenic mother-child interaction, is of course only half the story. Equally important are the laws explaining the growth and preservation of variant populations. With the mechanisms of selection and isolation we can return our inquiry into “the origin of psychospecies” back to the question of “What caused America?” For just as the selection of a narrow range of variants from a biological population followed by their geographical isolation prevents the “swamping” of emergent genetic variation so too selection of a narrow range of mothers from the European population and their geographical isolation in America prevented the “swamping” of emergent psychogenic variations by less advanced modes of parent-child relations. The American colonies thus became most prolific in the emergence of new psychospecies, sort of the Galapagos Islands of psychohistory.

Let’s take a look at these unusual mothers. The evolutionary moment was the seventeenth century, late in the ambivalent mode of parenting. The production of new mothers from little girls had just reached an important turning point in the evolution of childhood-the virtual disappearance of the conscious and unconscious killing of girl babies as unworthy of living, a practice which stretched back not only to antiquity but even beyond. to our Paleolithic beginnings. (For this and subsequent demographic references, see Appendix.) Now it is unfortunately true that little girls who know their parents are murdering their siblings tend to grow up crippled in their own ability to mother. Although the open infanticide of antiquity – where “more than one daughter was practically never reared” even by the rich-was mildly opposed by the Church, the decline of differential filicide was slow, continuing through the Middle Ages both in open infanticide and through such common practices as sending girls more often to “killing nurses” with only enough money for a few weeks of nurturance, breast-feeding girls for a much shorter time than boys so that they became susceptible to death by

disease, and so on. Although little girls are biologically more hardy than boys in most contemporary societies and have a lower death-rate, the proof that excess girl-killing continued can be seen in the census figures we have showing boys outnumbering girls by one-third, a ratio which did not decline to near equal proportions until the seventeenth century.

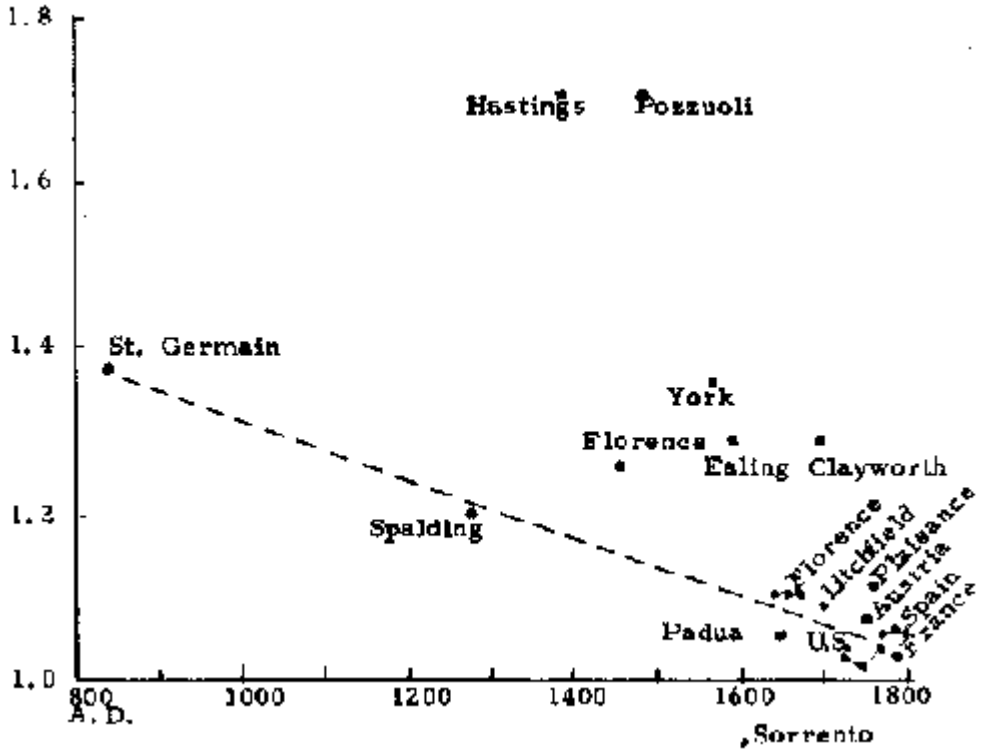

Fig. 5 Boy-Girl Rations As An Index Of Filicide

Even then, there were many areas and classes with higher boy-girl sex ratios, a reflection of the wide variation in psychogenic modes in seventeenth-century Europe. England was a century ahead of France and two centuries ahead of the rest of Europe in such crucial indices as the decline of infanticide, the giving up of tight swaddling and the reduction of the shipping out of infants to wetnurses – a practice still so widespread in eighteenth-century France that 80% of all the children in Paris were shipped out to the country to hired wetnurses returning only years later and then often immediately sent out again to school or to apprentice, so that many Frenchmen could truthfully say with Tallyrand that they had not spent one week of their lives under their father's roof.(6) At the same time, in Germany and Italy parents were still having their little boys castrated by the tens of thousands in the hope of being able to hire them out as singers, newborn Russian infants were still being subjected to hour-long ice-water baptisms to "harden" them, and Italian babies were still being nailed up on display carts in religious processions, donated by infanticidal mothers who hoped that their painful death in the service of religion would guarantee their babies a passage straight to Heaven.(7)

Not only was England in the seventeenth century ahead of the rest of Europe in child care, but it was more particularly the English middle class, from which so many American mothers were drawn, which first achieved these historically new attitudes toward children. At a time when the English nobility still sent their children out to wetnurse, numbers of brave English middle-class mothers, particularly Puritan mothers, who were encouraged to pray with and watch closely over their children, began for the first time in history to face the enormous anxieties of actually relating with empathy to the emotional needs of the infant at their breast. When, for instance, their babies cried upon being swaddled, these mothers stopped complaining that man was born in shackles", a phrase repeated ad nauseum since Pliny(8), and instead empathized with their infants and tried

leaving them unswaddled, over the horrified objections of their doctors. Frenchmen thought the sight of these unswaddled English infants “deplorable” and complained of the excessive “indulgence of Mothers . . . among the English.”(9)

It was from such mothers as these that the American personality was formed. Selected from among the most advanced, and isolated from the “swamping” effects of earlier-mode parents, American mothers became the first in history to face their ambivalent feelings and to begin to fashion the modern intrusive mode of childrearing, a mode which was closer, more nurturant, more consistent and more controlling than any prior mode in the evolution of childhood. The evidence for this is everywhere. Colonial America had the lowest boy-girl ratio and the least child abandonment and infanticide in the world at that time. No huge Foundling Hospitals were required such as were in such abundance all over Europe, and at a time when one could see hundreds of infants every morning in the gutters of London or Paris. Samuel Sewall noted in his diary in 1685 that lie had just seen the “first child that ever was . . . exposed in Boston.”(10) In addition, America was the earliest to set up mass public schooling,(11) the earliest to campaign for the end to beating children in the school and home,'(12) the earliest to end outside wetnursing(13) and swaddling,(14) and – a certain sign that the intrusive mode had begun in earnest – the first to write anti-masturbation literature for children.(15) Predictably, European visitors to a man soon began to complain bitterly about this “spoiling” of American children, this extreme “indulgence” which “makes them petty domestic tyrants”, partly because American mothers now gave children some of the attention which previously had gone to the father and his guests. (16)

The price paid for this new emotional closeness of intrusive mode mothers was a heavy one. If the paradigm of the previous ambivalent mode mother was “You are bad inside, and I must tie you up and beat you because you are a mere container for my own projected badness,” the paradigm for the new intrusive mother became “You are bad, but if you admit it and subject your inner life to total control by me I will allow you to feel dose to me.” American mothers therefore became the world’s first total control freaks, to a

degree today only found in rare clinical cases. “Their wills ought to be entirely subject to ours,” says one colonial parent, “and that whatsoever we command or require, must be punctually comply’d with.”(17) The “continuous surveillance” of the little child, the “breaking of the will” started prior to its first birthday, the mother “contending with me will” of the little infant until it learned to subject itself completely by instant response and by the total suppression of crying, producing what Jonathan Edwards termed “cheerful obedience ever after.”(18) Whereas the ambivalent mode mother would give continuous enemas to clean out the “bad stuff” inside the baby, the intrusive mother began, for the first time in history, to toilet train the infant, as early as four weeks, subjecting even its sphincters to a regime of total control.

Since mothers were attempting to reduce the beating of children, the use of extreme psychological measures was more often relied upon. For instance, children were continuously threatened with death for disobedience, death inflicted by an angry God who “holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider, or some loathsome insect, over the fire,” and even penmanship lessons featured writing over and over again the phrase “Remember that you are born to die.”(20) The natural result was a child who, like David Ferris, felt death “the

most frequent companion of my thoughts", or like two-year-old Elizabeth Butcher, who would reflect on her "sinfulness and corrupt nature" while lying in her cradle.(21) Psychotic episodes abounded in these children, as when the Paris children "began to act after a strange and unusual manner . . . by getting into holes, and creeping under chairs and stools, and to use sundry odd postures and antik gestures . . . "(22)

But at fortunate moments, if the mother felt the children sufficiently cowed to be under her total control, a sweet merging with the mother was allowed, often taking the form of a conversion experience of merging with Christ. Edwards tells us of four-year-old Phebe Bartlet, who in 1735, after praying endlessly in the closet with her mother and after being instructed by her on the punishments awaiting her in hell, goes back to the closet alone and prays:

> *"Lord give me salvation! I pray, beg pardon all my sins!" When the child had done prayer, she came out of the closet, and came and sat down by her mother, and cried aloud . . . Her mother then asked her whether she was afraid that God would not give her salvation. She then answered Yes, I am afraid I shall go to hell! Her mother then endeavored to quiet her, and told her – – . she must be a good girl . . . she continued thus earnestly crying and talking for some time, till at length she suddenly ceased crying and began to smile, and presently said with a smiling countenance . . . Mother, the Kingdom of heaven is come to me! . . . I love God! (23)*

The conversion process, for adult or child, consisted of stages of terror, humiliation and then final merging with a close, intrusive mother a fantasy of regression to a hellish womb and then "rebirth" in a symbiotic state of oneness with a "sweet and lovely" "Eternal Light."(24) This light, the merging with the mother's warmth, previously in history only achieved by lonely mystics, now became, with the intrusive mode, a goal of childhood, adolescence and adulthood. Further, by the 1740's enough Americans had achieved the intrusive mode stage so that they got together in groups for massive fantasies of group-regression, called the "Great Awakening" by historians. Thousands of people would rush to hear preachers who would play the mother's role of terrorizer and allow those assembled to re-experience the regression-and-rebirth fantasy. Although religious revivals had been around since the seventeenth century, it was only in the eighteenth century, when enough intrusive mode adults were available, that huge groups would gather all over America to hear preachers' descriptions of hellfire and damnation, in order to undergo the "frights and terrors, shriekings and screamings, tremblings and agitations, cryings out and faintings" that would purge the badness out of their souls and lead them to the glorious merging with God.(25)

Those intrusive-mode Americans who were able to achieve this regression-rebirth process of merging with the mother, those who called themselves the New Lights, were, finally, the driving force behind the American Revolutionary War, itself a group-fantasy of regression-and-rebirth.(26) Only a personality which had reached the intrusive mode could go beyond the feelings of personal powerlessness and cosmic capriciousness which were caused by the brutality and capriciousness of pre-intrusive mode parenting. Only they could begin to

achieve the ego strength and individuality which are the goals of the modern personality. It was the closer, more consistent intrusive mothering which was responsible for the ending of the need for massive projective identification-that whole world of magic, ghosts, demons, devils and other split-off parts of the self, which disappeared in the seventeenth century, prior to any introduction of scientific thinking.(27) It was the new attitude toward children which was responsible for family limitation and the rapid development of pediatrics, the two main components of the Great Demographic Transition so important to the history of the West.(28) And, finally – since the tyranny of parents sustains every other tyranny – it was only intrusive-mode adults who were able to drop the hierarchical world of passive obedience to the "divine right of magistracy and kings"(29) and make the project of revolution against authority a central life task.(30)

That the American Revolution had psychological in addition to economic roots is a notion only recently entertained by historians. Besides such obvious facts as the total absence of economic matters (or for that matter of the supposed issue of "no taxation without representation") from personal journals and letters written during the period 1775-6, the economic argument

has always suffered from the implausibility of the notion that tens of thousands of men would go charging into blazing muskets and cannon for the sake of $1.20 a year in British taxes.(33) No, the American Revolution was first of all a group-fantasy, an assertion of counterdependency from mother-England, a psychotic group process of regression-and-rebirth similar to that of the Great Awakening, except that in the Revolution it was America rather than Christ that became the mother with which one merged.

The path of this group-regression in the years prior to the Revolution can be traced in the shifts in imagery used in describing mother-England. The basic group-fantasy of colonial America was one of total dependence on an all-giving mother. In 1741, despite America's relative economic and political independence, a characteristic metaphor had it that

> *The colonies are yet but Babes that cannot subsist but in the Breasts, and through the Protection of their Mother Country.(34)*

This dependency fantasy of the "tender mother" Britain served to defend against and deny all hostility. For instance, it was thought as ridiculous to suggest stationing British troops in America as it would be "to place two of his Majesty's Beef-Eaters to watch an Infant in the Cradle. that it doesn't rise and cut its Father's Throat."(35)

By the 1760's, however, as enough intrusive mode adults became aware of and began to voice their unconscious hostility, the imagery began to change and the group-fantasy moved step by step backwards in years to earlier and earlier childhood traumata. First, sibling rivalry was remembered; John Otis, Jr. complained that

Every inhabitant in America maintains at least two lazy fellows in ease . . . in mother Britain's lap.(36)

Then specific childhood practices began to return from repression. Britain was depicted as holding young Americans in bondage by "leading strings" (Fig. 6). The practice of putting iron collars around the necks of little children to make them keep their heads erect was transferred to complaints that Americans were "tamely yielding their necks to the yoke" and that for "generations yet unborn the chains of thraldom cannot be put about our necks."(37) By 1765, John Adams asked if "Britain is the mother and we are the children . . . have not children a right to complain when their parents are attempting to break their limbs . . .", a reference to beating with rods, still a common practice in his childhood.(38) By 1773, the group-fantasy regressed to anal imagery, mother-England being seen as "piercing . . . the bowels of her own children", and by 1775 the oral stage reached only this time the mother was seen not as nurturant but as "poisoning", not as pure and tender but as "an old abandoned prostitute", not as protective but as a murderer, "red with the blood of her children."(39)

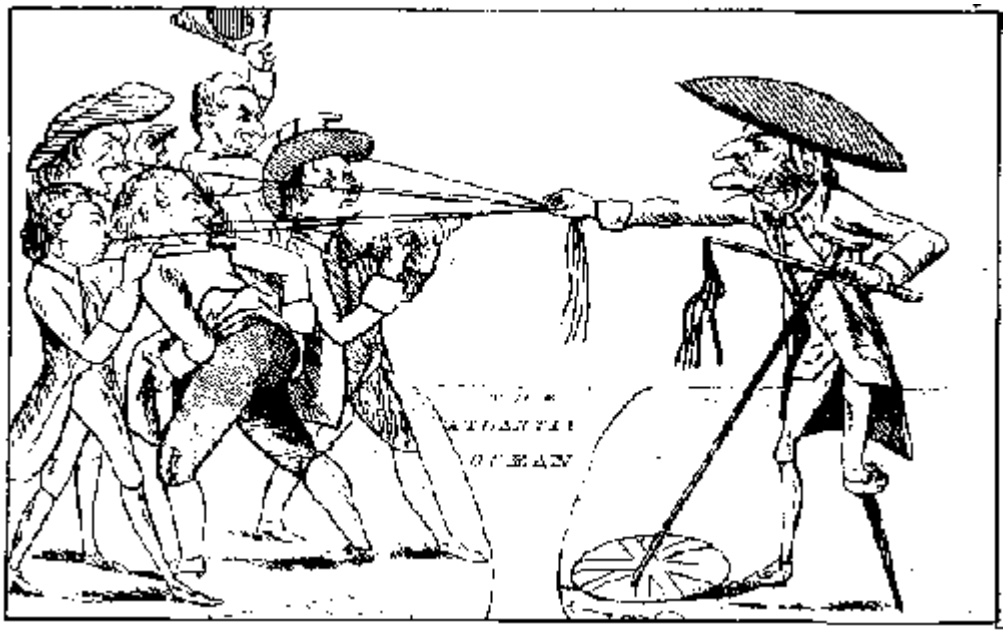

Fig. 6 Anon.: *Poor old England endeavoring to reclaim his wicked American Children. The strings are leading stings, which were attached to children's clothes and used to control them. The strings also represnt the umbilical cord.*

At the same time, political events followed the regressive path of the group-fantasy. The British still imagine that they were stern and fair parents, while the American Loyalists, ambivalent-mode personalities still clinging to hierarchy and unable to merge with the new nation-mother image, continued to insist on the necessity of obedience, even asking that mother-England "chastise her undutiful and rebellious children."(40)

The real turning point in this group-fantasy took place with the Boston Tea Party. The incident itself was strictly symbolic, since both Britain and America were filled with hundreds of similar protest riots.(41) But the infantile symbolism was quite clear to both sides England was jamming food down America's throat, just as mothers used to jam pap down their babies' throats until they threw up (See Figures 7, 8 and 9). This time the colonists didn't take it lying down. The Boston Evening Post termed the tea "poisoned", and the Americans spit it out into the harbor. This spitting-out drove Britain wild with fury. whereas previously she had accepted with virtual indifference the loss of millions of pounds of taxes, she now reacted with military force to this spitting by this "petty little province, the creature of our own hands, the bubble of our own breath.(43) The Battle of Lexington followed, and American group-fantasy regressed to the ultimate trauma, that of birth.

Fig. 7 Anon.: The able Doctor or America swallowing the Bitter Draught Published by Paul Revere in 1774 after the Boston Tea Party. The tea is like pap poured down the throat, only here reversed, the mother now getting hers. Making America a mother enables the artist to merge another theme, that of birth, with the doctor looking under the skirts of the prostrate woman.

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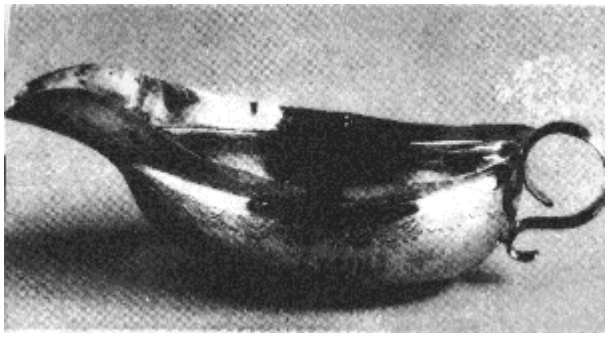

Fig. 8 William Thomson: *Papboat*. Early nineteenth-century papboat illustrates typical colonial style, used to pour bread and water or milk mixture down babies' throats.

Fig, 9 Philip Dawes; *The Bostonian's Paying the Exciseman or Tarring and Feathering.* British drawing of an actual event where the colonists forced a tax collector to swallow tea. The tea being poured into the harbor strengthens the equation.

Birth imagery infused the everyday language of politics during 1775-6. As in all wars,(44) the birth imagery was specific to the actual birth practices of the time. Whereas today, with hospital deliveries the norm, we go to war with images of "surgical air strikes", colonial mothers gave birth at home, amidst much hemorrhaging, so the American Revolution is filled with images of the "innocent blood" of "infant babes", "feet sliding on bespattered stones" and "streets stained with blood." Even the familiar bedsheet of childbirth is evoked by one writer, who saw the coming Revolution as "a large sheet . . big with Oppression and desolation . . big with destruction . . "(45) Another writer even imagined that "women in childbirth were driven by the [British] soldiery naked into the streets" at Concord.(46) Even the newly-invented practice of tar-and-feathering is a projected acting-out of the birth scene, with the mob turning the victim into a feces-baby, covered with black tar and often also rolled in cow- or hog-dung.(47)

Thus "the child Liberty was born," as James Otis, Jr. put it' "midwifed into existence" by Americans acting out the group-fantasy of war-as birth, fighting their way out of the fearful maternal womb and identifying with "the child Independence struggling for birth ."(48) Thus America was "plunged into the dreadful abyss" of war. as Edmund Burke put it.(49) And thus does the American Revolution which we celebrate this year illustrate, like all historical movements, the psychogenic law that history is the final receptacle for the repressed, the final resting-place for infantile traumata, the group-fantasy which at last reenacts and makes real that which we would most disown-our own childhood.

APPENDIX: ON THE DEMOGRAPHY OF FILICIDE

Most of my psychogenic theory of history has aroused the anxiety levels of the historical community, but no part of it has produced more extreme anger than my insistence on the long continuity of filicidal wishes of parents toward their children. The death of babies, on those rare occasions when it enters into academic discourse, is considered an unfortunate accident of demography, a mere side-effect of ignorance, poverty, or the lack of medical technique – anything but a wish of parents. As Dorothy Bloch and Joseph Rheingold have shown over and over again in their writings,(50) the child always vigorously denies knowledge of the parents' death wishes, preferring to believe the worst about himself or herself rather than admit being completely unwanted. Historical opinion echoes this deep revulsion against the reality of filicidal wishes.

As just one example, Joseph Kett, in his review of my work in The American Historical Review(51) says “almost everything” is wrong with my notion that child abuse was widespread in the past, because

> *To establish the pervasiveness of exposure of female children, he cites a few instances of grossly imbalances sex ratios but passes over the work of serious demographers who treat the evidence for infanticide more cautiously.*

Despite Kett’s unnamed serious demographers,” however. the facts are precisely the opposite-out of the fifty-three articles written by historical demographers on infanticide and sex ratios, all but one agrees with me that infanticide on a large scale did indeed exist during antiquity and the middle ages, only declining slowly in modern times. Since this one exception, the medieval demographer David Herlihy, is no doubt the authority for Kett’s reference to “serious demographers,” his statements should be examined in detail before moving on to the mass of direct evidence for the steady decline of filicide shown in Figure 5 above.

Herlihy’s contention that “exposure of girl babies does not appear to have been a common practice” in fifteenth-century Italy is based on a single assertion, repeated throughout his writings, that the constant excess of boys in the census figures he reports is “principally due to a failure to report girl babies.”(52) The only evidence he gives in any of his writings for this strange propensity to err only in counting girls-a propensity that mysteriously declines after plagues, when girls are more welcome-is that “surviving sermons provide a complete list of the sins of the age, and that crime attracted no particular attention.”(53) The possibility of the crime being rather commonly accepted, and therefore not of “particular attention,” is not considered by Herlihy.

His actual figures show far more boys than girls in Renaissance Pistoja: “The sex ratio of the population, urban and rural, for children 15 years of age and younger, is very high, 125 boys to every 100 girls. This may reflect a peculiarity in the sex ratio at birth. Giovanni Villani, for example, stated that at Florence in the 1330s, out of 5500 to 6000 babies baptized yearly, the number of boys surpassed that of girls by from 300 to 500, but even this distribution, if accurately reported, would at the maximum result in a sex ratio during childhood of about 118.”(54) This excess of boys (105/100 being the normal birth ratio(55) is but another disproof ot Herlihy’s “miscounting” thesis, since one does not differentially miscount individual baptisms by sex. Further, since girls are everywhere biologically hardier and less susceptible to disease than boys,(56) a 125 to 100 sex ratio from ages 0-15, later filicide excluded, would mean an infanticide rate of something on the order of a third or more of all girls born.(57)

In all his writings, Herlihy gives only one instance actual]y backing up his oft-repeated “no infanticide” thesis by figurers. in his comments on two Carolingian surveys, he finds one, that of St. Victor oi’ Marseilles, with “106 female children but only 99 males. a ratio of 93.40,” and concludes from this that “there is no suggestion of female infanticide among the peasants of St. Victor.”(58) This conclusion, however. manages to overlook one crucial fact: in over a third of this count, no sex was slated for the child. To conclude that the unstated sexes of

such a small sample must have been precisely in the same ratio as the stated ones is completely unwarranted. Further, in Santa Maria of Farfa, the second Carolingian study Herlihy cites. where the number of "no sex stated" is much lower and the total population high so that the survey is far more trustworthy to a demographer. boys outnumber girls by 136 to 100. Herlihy can only comment that this higher ratio is "scarcely creditable . . . a further indication of the erratic reporting of children."(59) For Herlihy, low ratios and incomplete surveys prove conclusively "no infanticide," while high ratios and more complete surveys prove "erratic reporting."

Figure 13 Carolingian Children's Sex Ratios

	Males	Females	Ratio	No Sex Stated
St. Victor of Marseilles	99	106	93.40	155
Santa Maria of Farfa	328	242	135.54	123

In contrast, an accurate and extensively analyzed study of Carolingian sex ratios which agrees with my thesis of widespread infanticide is provided by the work of Herlihy's former student, Emily Coleman.(60) Her studies of the polyptych of Saint Germalti-des-Pres (ca.801), which include the extensive use of product-moment correlation analysis, conclude that the childhood sex ratio (136 boys to 100 girls) is not explained by miscounting, since it

correlated (inversely) with the size of the farm, and therefore that differential female filicide was definitely being practiced.(61) This principle, in fact, applies to all our figures, since one can hardly imagine a "propensity to miscount" which correlates with size of land holdings and goes up and down before and after plagues.

The evidence cited by other historians agrees with this picture of widespread filicide prior to modern times. Although census figures are sparse in antiquity, and one might be tempted to doubt such studies as Kirchner's Prosopographica Attica showing a ratio of five boys to every girl in 346 families,(62) more recent studies confirm the thesis of massive filicide in antiquity. William Tarn summarizes the Hellenistic data:

> *Of some thousand families from Greece who received Milesian citizenship c. 228-230, details of 79. with their children, remain; these brought 118 sons and 28 daughters [a ration of 42 /100], many being minors; no natural causes can account for those proportions. Similarly Epictetus' families, 32 had one child and 31 two; and they show a certain striving after two sons. The inscriptions at large bear this out. Two sons are fairly common, with a sprinkling of three; at Eretria, third century, certainly two families in 19 had more than one son, which is lower than the Miletus immigrants, but agrees with the evidence from Delphi . . . more than one daughter was practically never reared, bearing out Poseidippus' statement that 'even a rich man always exposes a daughter.' Of the 600 families from Delphic inscriptions, second century, just I per cent reared 2*

daughters; the Miletus evidence agrees, and throughout the whole mass of inscriptions cases of sisters can almost be numbered on one's fingers. . . (64)

In his massive volume on Italian Manpower, classical demographer P. A. Brunt confirms the existence of massive differential female infanticide, noting that

we are told of a 'law of Romulus' whereby citizens were bound, on pain of forfeiting half their property (a sanction of no force against the proletarii), to raise all male children and the firstborn girl, unless the child were maimed or monstrous, when it might be exposed if five neighbors approved. The exposure of deformed infants seems indeed to have been obligatory under the Twelve Tables and to have been a normal practice. (64)

The demographer J. C. Russell. who spent his life studying ancient and medieval populations, agrees that the high sex ratios in Roman times are only explainable by differentially greater female infanticide, and cites the English enumeration of John of Hastings (1391-2) as similar evidence for the medieval period (170 boys to 100 girls).(65)

Renaissance demographer Richard Trexler agrees,(66) and devotes a careful analysis of the records of fifteenth-century Florence which illuminates the important distinction between the open infanticide of previous times and the more common filicide of the later middle ages which more and more replaced it. Trexler cites the Florentine Catasto of 1427 which shows a growing imbalance between the sexes as the age increases:

Figure 14 Childhood Sex Ratios in Florence (1427)

birth	115
0-1	118
1-2	119
2-3	120
3-4	119

Now this increasing sex ratio is not only the opposite of the normal case in most populations today where female hardiness is allowed to have its effect, but in addition Trexler shows that it is mainly only true among the

babies taken care of by paid wet-nurses: while among those babies sent to the hospital girls fared about as well as boys. almost twice as many girls as boys died before their first birthday while at wet-nurse, either because of preferential treatment while at wet-nurse or because of a greater propensity to send girls to ill-paid wet-nurses, or both. This combination of outright infanticide at birth by strangling, drowning or exposure plus later fillicide by sending more often to wet-nurse or by sending with only enough money for a few weeks upkeep to "killing nurses" used to taking the hint(67) produces the overall fillicide rates which are used in my chart (Figure 5).

Although occasionally very high boy/girl ratios are found in birth registers [Feuchere's ratio of 162/100 for French nobility in the late middle ages being the highest I have encountered(68)]. more often the birth ratio ranges in the 110-120 area, while the census figures range higher. so that both differential infanticide and later filicide combine to produce the overall imbalance reflected in the raw census figures. Perhaps the most extensive overall study of this combination of infanticide at birth and filicide later on is the work of Ursula M. Cowgill, a biologist at Yale, who has not only presented figures breaking out the exact degree of differential infanticide and filicide in York, England over three centuries, but also has actually observed the mechanisms at work in the field in Guatemala. Working with the parish registers of York from 1538 to 1812, Cowgill fed 33,000 births into a computer and produced a graph of death rates for children which showed girls dying at every age at a greater rate than boys, which Cowgill says "suggests that parents in York took better care of their boys than of their girls."(69) This differential treatment, added to the infanticide occurring at birth (sixteen century ratio at York of 110.8),(70) produced the overall ratio of 136/100. In a pair of fascinating articles written with G.E. Hutchinson, (71)

Cowgill describes observing an Indian village in Guatemala where the sex ratio is 178/100, an imbalance she says is wholly due to the tendency of parents "to favor males . . . by breast feeding male infants for a longer period than females. it is in fact possible to find male children still being breast fed while younger female siblings have already been weaned. Living with the people, one gets a strong impression that, after weaning also, boys are better cared for than girls" The practice of nursing boys longer than girls can, of course, be found in the historical literature right along with the other differential treatments mentioned. It is an interesting parenthetical note that these filicidal Indians, like the filicidal Europeans of half a millennia earlier, dressed their children as miniature adults, unlike nearby tribes who had less differential treatment of girls. In fact, Cowgill and Hutchinson even suggest that little girls' sexually provocative behavior toward adult males might function as an evolutionary mechanism necessary to prevent "demographic catastrophe" by eliciting interest on behalf of little girls in cultural systems so hostile to them-a polite way of saying that little girls have to seduce males into letting them live!

Although Shakespeare, in Macbeth, assumed his audience was thoroughly familiar with "the birth-strangled babe/Ditch-deliver'd by a drab," by early modern times, especially in England and America, differential infanticide proper had been almost entirely replaced (for legitimate babies) by differential filicide after birth.(72) Although F. G. Emmison calls infanticide in sixteenth-century Middlesex and Essex "woefully common,"(73) by the seventeenth-century Keith Wrightson, in an article reviewing infanticide in seventeenth-century England, concludes that, although disposal of infants "took in part the more familiar form of killing at birth," in the main

it was accomplished “by studied neglect during nursing, a form of infanticide which would appear to have been regarded as less unambiguously criminal.”(74)

The ratios which I used in the graph for Figure 5 above confirm the major thesis of my psychogenic theory of childhood evolution on the gradualness of the decline of filicide, conscious or unconscious, throughout history:

Figure 15 Sex Ratios Used in Graph (Fig. 5)

Place	Source: Footnote	Date	Ratio: Boys/Girls
St. Germain, France	75	801-829	136
Spalding, England	76	1268-9	120
Hastings, England	77	1391-2	170
Florence, Italy	78	1427	125
Pozzuoli, Italy	79	1489	170
York, England	80	1538-1600	136
Sorrento, Italy	81	1561	91
Ealing, England	82	1599	128

Padua, Italy	83	1634	104
Florence, Italy	84	1622-42	109
Clayworth, England	85	1688	34
Lichfield, England	86	1695	108
Austria	87	1754	107
Plaisance, Italy	88	1758	110
Spain	89	1768	104
Spain	89	1787	105
Spain	89	1797	104

France	90	1776	102
U.S.A.	91	1703-1774	1014

What, finally, is one to make of such a long history of filicide. One thing one must not conclude, and that is that it is a result of poverty. The evidence is clear that rich as well as poor killed their children. Coleman's figures on land holdings, for instance, show a slight tendency for richer peasants to kill fewer girls, but even the richest farmers had children's ratios running as high as 130-140, only lacking the highest ratios of 150-200 which were sometimes found among the poor. And the Florentine Catasto showed a much higher ratio for the rich (those assessed more than 400 fiorins) than the poor![92] Since these are just the amounts of filicide revealed in the sex ratio statistics, it is likely that one can conclude that being born of rich parents and therefore being more likely to have been sent out to wet-nurse gave one little if any advantage over being born poor, considering the vast literature proving the increased death rate for infants sent out to wet-nurse. (93)

Nor should it be imagined that these are all illegitimate children who are being killed. Even if we did not have direct evidence of parents ordering the killing of legitimate children,(94) almost all those sent to wet-nurse were in fact legitimate (the notion that Europe was ever 'tolerant' of illegitimate babies is of course quite untrue)- when, for instance, the parents of Lyon sent one-half of their newborn to the countryside to wet-nurse, and half of these died(95) the effect of not keeping them home is clear. Therefore, I have to stick with my original statement that legitimate children were killed in great numbers throughout antiquity and the early middle ages, declining in the later middle ages, and that only by the seventeenth century was infanticide generally restricted to illegitimate babies.

What, then, can one conclude from all this demographic evidence as to the filicidal atmosphere surrounding growing up in the past? First, as to the extent of this filicide, my best estimate at this time is still that the extent continues to be enormously underestimated – that from a third to a half of all babies born in antiquity and the early middle ages were probably killed, a

ratio only slowly to decline by early modern times. Since virtually all illegitimate babies seem to have been killed, boys and girls at the same rate,(96) and since a third or more legitimate girls than boys were killed, one must account for literally millions of dead babies when judging the emotional effect on those remaining. To illustrate the kinds of proportions which can be hidden behind a childhood sex ratio, a recent detailed study of a Japanese village from 1717 to 1830 showed a sex ratio at birth of only 114 boys to 100 girls, about where much of Europe was in the early modern period after much of the gross infanticide of legitimate babies had died down-yet a more careful analysis of the age groups showed far more infanticide than was at first apparent, since a large percentage of boys were also killed (as revealed by probability analysis by age), the infanticide being practiced "less as part of a struggle for survival than as a way of planning the sex composition, sex sequence, spacing, and ultimate number of children."(97) Boys were killed both to avoid division of property and also simply because parents had had enough, so the sex ratio was unbalanced by 114 to 100 but only because girls were killed in yet even greater numbers than boys. I estimate about a quarter of all legitimate children

born in this village were killed, from the figures given, to which must be added almost all the illegitimate children, for a total of certainly over a third of all children born. Societies still in an earlier psychogenic mode would run still higher filicide rates, with half the children born being killed a not unlikely figure for antiquity.(98)

The effects on the survivors can barely be imagined. The remaining children would surely be impressed with the filicidal atmosphere of the people around them, as they saw the rivers, ditches and latrines filled with dead and dying babies, watched baptisms in icy rivers, and visited villages of "killing nurses." Our demographic and literary evidence may always fail to capture that crucial moment as the parent screams at the child "I could have killed you, you know," and only a literary genius like Louis Adamic can describe his internal horror as he watched the "killing nurse" who wet-nursed him croon to the infant at her breast that she would strangle it that night.(99) Yet, all said, we surely by now have enough evidence to warrant my statement in the main text of this essay that little girls, hardiest of every species, grew up in a filicidal atmosphere, knowing that their life was cheap, that their siblings were being killed through infanticide and neglect by the millions, and that the decline of this massive filicide by early modern times was part of an important improvement in their ability to mother their own children in turn when they grew up.

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3. Mutation is "the ultimate source" not "the only source" of genetic variation in modern synthetic biological evolutionary theory. "Recombination. . . is by far the most important source of genetic variation" says Ernst Mayr in his definitive statement of modern synthetic theory, Animal Species and Evolution. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1 963, p. 1 79. So it also is with psychogenic variation, with the "recombination" accomplished through marriage.

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Chapter 4: The Psychogenic Theory of History

CHAPTER 4

FOUNDATIONS OF PSYCHOHISTORY

by LLOYD DEMAUSE

THE PSYCHOGENIC THEORY OF HISTORY

"Theories are nets:
only he who casts will catch."
– – Novalis

1. That psychohistory is the science of patterns of historical motivations and is based upon an anti-holistic philosophy of methodological individualism

lA. Psychohistory is a science, not a narrative art like history.

lA. 1. All psychohistorical research must be comparative, striving toward lawful propositions.
lA. 2. Psychohistory advances like any other science, by the discovery of new paradigms and attempts to disprove them.
lA. 3. Like psychoanalysis, psychohistory uses self-observation of the emotional responses of the

researcher as its prime tool for discovery; nothing is ever discovered "out there" until it is first felt "in here."

lB. Psychohistory is individualistic, not holistic like sociology and anthropology.

lB. 1. The holistic fallacy that the group exists as an entity over and beyond its individual constituents presumes what it should investigate-the fantasy that the group is really the mother's body and has goals and motives of its own.
1B.2. Sociology, whether Parsonian or Marxist, is based on the holistic statement of Durkheim that "social facts must be treated as things, that is, realities external to the individual" and is, as Parsons admits, "inherently teleological."
1B.3. Anthropology is based on a similar holistic concept of "culture," so that when Steward states that "Personality is shaped by culture, but it has never been shown that culture is affected by personality" the tautological form of the assertion is dependent upon not noticing that the term "culture" has no meaning beyond the term "personality."
1B. 4. All statements of the form "X is socially (or culturally) determined" are tautological and assume a holistic entity beyond the individual.

1B.5. Terms such as "society," "culture," "state," "social structure," and "power are all holistic; their individualistic replacements are "group," "personality," "government," "group-fantasy," and "force."
1B.6. The central method of sociology and anthropology is to establish correlations between two facets of adult personality and then claim causal connection; the central method of psychohistory is to establish causes of motivational patterns in prior personal events and their restructuring within the adult group.

1C. Methodological individualism is the principle that group processes may be entirely explained by (a) psychological laws governing the motivation and behavior of individuals and (b) descriptions of their current physical historical situation, which itself is only the outcome of prior motivations acting on physical reality.

IC. 1. The diagram below is sufficient to explain all historical processes, "group-fantasy" being the term for shared fantasies of individuals when in groups.

1C. 2. Durkheim's sociological rule that "Every time that a social phenomenon is directly explained by a psychological phenomenon, we may he sure that the explanation is false" is replaced by the psychohistorical rule that "All group phenomena have psychological explanations; individuals in groups act differently than individuals alone only because they split their psychic conflicts differently, not because some 'social' force is acting on them."

1C. 3. With the disappearance of the deathless entity society" all group values are revealed as tentative and subject to change each generation; what now seems problematic is not change but constancy.

1C. 4. It is not only the irrational in history that is susceptible to psychohistorical explanation; all of history, its strengths as well as weaknesses, integration as well as disintegration, has childhood determinants and group dynamics.

2. That the ultimate source of all historical change is psychogenesis, the lawful change in childrearing modes occurring through generational pressure.

2A. Psychogenesis depends upon the ability of parents and surrogates to regress to the psychic age of their children and work through the anxieties of that age better the second time than in their own childhood.

2A. 1. The regression-progression process stems from the innate biological desire of both parts of a previous dual-unity to relate to each other, and thus is the only historical theory to posit love as its central mechanism for change.

2A. 2. The regression-progression process is identical to that which produces change in psychotherapy; thus history can be viewed as the psychotherapy of generations.

2B. The evolution of childhood proceeds at different rates of progress on both individual and population levels.

2B.1. Individual level variations in rates of psychogenic evolution occur because of (a) biological differences (both genetic and uterine events), (b) birth order differences (the later the birth, generally the less intense the parenting), and (c) chance (early loss of parent, injury, other personal life variations). 2B.2. Population level variations in psychogenic evolution occur because of (a) selection and isolation (emigration of a narrow range of parenting modes), (b) immigration (the infusion of new parenting modes into a larger population), (c) non-reproduction (psychotic unfit, or other lower psychogenic modes not as often raising children), (d) culture contact (reinforcing emergent parenting types, providing surrogate parents), (e) material conditions (only as they affect child rearing), and (I) group-fantasy factors (wars and revolutions as they affect children, share of work by mothers, father's share in child rearing, etc.).

2C. The evolution of childhood is a series of closer involvements between adults and children, each advance tending to heal splitting, reduce projection and reversal, and increase empathy.

2C. 1. The six psychogenic modes and their dates of evolution in the most advanced countries are:

MODE	PARENTAL WISH	HISTORICAL MANIFESTATIONS

INFANTICIDAL	Mother: "I wish you were dead, to relive my fear of being killed by my mother."	Child-sacrifice and infanticide, child as a breast-penis, intolerance of child's anger, hardening, ghosts and magic, child sale, child sodomy
ABANDONING	Mother: "I must leave you, to escape the needs I project into you."	Longer swaddling, fosterage, outside wetnursing, monastery, nunnery and apprenticeship
AMBIVALENT	Mother: "You are bad from the erotic and aggressive projections put in you."	Enemas, early beating, shorter swaddling, mourning possible, child as erotic object precursor to empathy.
INTRUSIVE	Mother: "You can have love when I have full control over you."	Early toilet training, repression of child's sexuality, end of swaddling and wetnursing, empathy now possible rise of pediatrics
SOCIALIZING	Mother and Father: "We will love you when you are reaching our goals."	Use of guilt, "mental discipline", humiliation, rise of compulsory schooling, delegation of parental unconscious wishes
HELPING	Mother and Father: "We love you and will help you reach your goals."	Children's rights, de-schooling and free schooling, child therapy, birth without violence.

2C. 2. The "ambivalent mode" is a watershed in the evolutionary series, because up until then progress is achieved by internalization and repression of previously projected parts of the personality (magic), whereas after ambivalence is able to be

tolerated (the Kleinian "depressive position"), progress is achieved through the reduction of repression and the increase in ego autonomy.
2C. 3. Progress at each mode depends on overcoming anxieties specific to that mode; for instance, a shortage of wetnurses will have a greater effect when abandonment is the crucial modal issue than at another time, and so on.

2D. The end result of man's biological evolution produced a helpless baby whose instinct is to form an intensely personal relationship, challenging the parent to regress and relate rather than repress and be alone.

2D. 1. Freud's idea that civilization proceeds by "progressively greater renunciation of instinct" was precisely backward; civilization proceeds only through progressively greater acceptance of the drives of children, allowing them to mature without defensive distortion.
2D. 2. Hegel's idea that history is "man's nature achieving itself" is closer to the truth, but only because each generation tries to help. their children achieve their own desires, so that new values are generated evolutionarily rather than teleologically.

3. That the evolution of new psychogenic modes produces new psychoclasses which threaten the group – fantasies of earlier psychoclasses and are expressed in historical periods of rebellion, triumph and reaction.

3A. Group-fantasies are formed in order that individuals may play roles to defend themselves against childhood anxieties.

3A. 1. Intra-psychic defenses are not effective in groups, so group-fantasies are substituted as shared defenses which prevent regression to childhood traumas.
3A. 2. The larger the group, the more the threatened regression, so the earlier the source of

group-fantasy and the more primitive the splitting.
3A. 3. Man does not, in a group, become an animal – – he becomes a frightened baby.

3B. What is usually called "social structure" is actually the splitting of large groups into smaller delegate-groups which play specific roles within group-fantasies.

3B.1. Delegate-groups act out ambivalent feelings common to all members of the larger group but which the rest of the group wish to deny and project into them.
3B.2. What are usually called "social institutions" are historical delegate-groups: the Church as a group-fantasy of dependency, the Army as a group-fantasy of birth, the Government as a group-fantasy of nurturance, Capitalism as a group-fantasy of control, Revolution as a group-fantasy of counterdependency, the Class System as a group-fantasy of obeisance, the School as a group-fantasy of humiliation.
3B.3. Delegate-groups are made up of individuals who share defensive styles, and form themselves into hierarchies in order to contain fantasied group violence.

3C. Leaders are personalities able to become containers for the bizarre projective identifications of group-fantasies.

3C. 1. Projective identification, the central means of communication in group life, is the fantasied forceable thrusting of repudiated parts of one's psyche into another.
3C. 2. Leaders are not just parents – they play the defensive roles required by whichever stage of group-fantasy is operative, becoming stern fathers when group violence is being denied, nurturant mothers when abandonment is defended against, rebellious sons when authority is decaying, and paranoid siblings when group violence is being projected.

3C. 3. Leaders are always containers for the group's feelings of humiliation – the depersonalization or stripping away of intra-psychic defenses which occurs in a group producing the threat of being made a helpless baby again-so leaders always conduct foreign policy while filled up with feelings of near-humiliation.

3D. Historical group-fantasies result from the interaction of different psychoclasses.

3D. 1. Psychoclasses are groups of individuals with the same childhood mode within a given population.
3D. 2. Psychoclasses require different group defenses, and these are often intolerable to other psychoclasses.
3D. 3. The wider the range of psychoclasses in a given population, the more the conflict between their defensive styles.
3D. 4. The higher the psychogenic mode of the psychoclass, the less it is necessary for it to act out its conflicts.
3D. 5. Psychoclass is only partially related to economic class, depending on historical period.
3D. 6. Political and religious movements correlate more closely to psychoclass than to economic class.

3E Each generation brings a new psychoclass to the historical stage, disturbing the group-fantasies of the older psychoclasses and producing periods of rebellion, triumph and reaction.

3E. 1. Only that portion of the new generation which shares the new child-rearing experience makes up the new psychoclass.
3E. 2. A period of rebellion occurs when the new psychoclass is young, first mainly in the artistic spheres.

3E. 3. A period of triumph occurs when the new psychoclass becomes dominant in the group's goals, even though they are still a numerical minority.
SE. 4. A period of reaction occurs when the older psychoclasses clamp down on the goals and lifestyles of the newest psychoclass.

3F. Psychogenic change is the ultimate source for all technological change; technological change is not, as often assumed, automatic, nor does it drag the psyche in its wake.

3F. 1. The reason childrearing styles correlate with technological levels somewhat is that the former produce the latter, not the reverse.
3F. 2. Low level parenting is always disfunctional to all technological levels early toilet training did not help early capitalists accumulate money, it made them neurotically unable to invest it productively, as it does today.
3F. 3. No economic system "requires" any specific psychogenic types-capitalism and socialism have both functioned with both sadistic and mature personalities-and no economic system "requires" any specific childrearing.
3F. 4. The invention and spread of new technologies occurs when new psychoclasses reduce the projective identification of parts of their psyches into things-so that deep plowing can replace scratch plowing when "mother Earth" is decathected, gears can be invented and used when they are separated emotionally from teeth, and the whole of modern science can be invented when the Aristotelian notion of "real essences" is discarded.
3F. 5. Economic systems change when new psychoclasses can reduce the use of the group for projective identification -so that early market economies can develop when earlier reciprocal gift-giving is less needed as a defense against primitive death-wishes,

late medieval expansion of commerce could come about when feudal bonds were not needed as defenses against abandonment, and capitalistic ownership of goods could appear with the decathexis of property from its "historical" (group-fantasy) ties.
3F. 6. Even supposedly "purely physical" historical phenomena turn out to be determined psychogenically Even plagues are dependent on the Christian love of dirt to sustain the rats whose fleas were its carriers.
3F. 7. Psychogenesis, not "social need," defines the order of invention-otherwise, scientific astronomy would not have preceded the invention of the flush toilet.

3G. Primitive tribes are not magical thinkers because they are technologically primitive-they long ago experienced psychogenic arrest and thereafter did not develop technologically, but only elaborated their group-fantasies.

3G. 1. Primitive tribes lies somewhere in the first two psychogenic modes of childrearing, as evidenced by the lack of depressive (guilt) illnesses which are the achievement of the ambivalent mode.

3G. 2. Primitives did not adapt their personalities to their harsh environments-they migrated to harsh environments because they matched their inner life.

4. That psychogenic modes determine the level of personality which can be attained, and establish the typical conflicts and defenses of each historical period which sustain the art, religion, politics and economics of each age.
4A. Psychogenic modes correspond to specific sets of personality types, using typical defensive patterns and growing in ego strength with each mode:

Infanticidal Mode	Schizoid Personality	Primary-process thinking, symbiotic omnipotence, gender/zonal confusion, splitting and projective identification, sado-masochistic disorders
Abandoning Mode	Autistic Personality	Unrelated, narcissistic, exploitive, parasitic, distrustful, oral rage, self weak or grandiose, psychopathic, unable to tolerate delay, lacking in remorse, idealized mother, timeless
Ambivalent Mode	Depressive Personality	Guilty and depressed, insatiable in needs for love, status, sex, enormous superego demands, reality of time
Intrusive Mode	Compulsive Personality	Pseudorational, cold, detached, self critical inwardly, phobic, obsessive-compulsive and conversion symptoms
Socializing Mode	Anxiety Personality	Less rigid character armor, free-floating anxiety and dissatisfaction with life due to delegate-living, loss of individuality in group, incomplete feelings
Helping Mode		None yet adult

4B. These personality types can range from "normal" to "abnormal" within each mode, depending on the degree of integration within the personality and the degree of support given by others in the historical period:

RANGE OF PERSONALITY TYPES BY PSYCHOGENIC MODE

	Infanticidal	Abandoning	Ambivalent	Intrusive	Socializing
N o	Schizoid Personality	Autistic personality	Depressive personality	Compulsive personality	Anxiety personality

rmal					
Neurotic	Impulse disorders and sado-masochistic defenses	Anaclitic (neglect) depressive disorders and psychopathic defenses	Introjective (guilt) depressive disorders and manic defenses	Obsessive-compulsive disorders and conversion defense	Hysterical disorders and psychosexual defenses
Psychotic	Catatonic and hebephrenic	Paranoid schizophrenia	Manic-depressive psychosis		

4B.1. The leaders of every historical period – those who launch wars, repression and revolution in a considered and careful manner – are only those most integrated into the group-fantasies of the age.

4B.2. Those considered "neurotic" in each age may often be a higher psychogenic mode than those considered "normal", only they must stand the anxiety of not sharing the group-fantasies of the age.

4C. The master group-fantasies of each historical period correspond to three defensive levels:

4C. 1. The Calamitous Fantasy-corresponding to the basic trauma of each childhood mode.

4C. 2. The Defensive Fantasy-denying this basic traumatic fantasy.

4C. 3. The Desired Fantasy-a further denial, providing the ideal group-fantasies of the age.

EVOLUTION OF FANTASIES IN THE WEST

5. That groups, whether face-to-face or historical, induce a "fetal trance state" in their members, reawakening specific physical memories from uterine and perinatal life.

5A. Man is a political animal, as Aristotle said, because for most civilized people only life in a group can re-establish contact with repressed fetal emotions.

5B. Only individuals in fetal trance states are able to form group-fantasies, which follow specific rules of fetal life such as:

5B. 1. Life gets continually more cramped, and growth always requires more physical space through actual expansion of territory (even though any fool can see that the resulting opposition to expansion destroys the group's growth.)
5B. 2. Other groups are either nurturant or blood-sucking, poisoning placentas (even though it is obvious that all groups are made up of individuals who have all shades of attitudes towards one.)
5B. 3. The proper attitude toward a nurturing placenta is awe toward its "power flow" (even though it may in fact be harming you.)
5B. 4. The proper attitude toward a blood-sucking, poisoning placenta is to suck its blood and to poison it in return (even though this may in fact involve your own death through retaliation.)
5B. 5. The primary purpose of any group is to preserve its womb-surround, regardless of the cost to individuals within the group (even though a war kills most Americans, it is worth it to preserve "what America stands for.")
5B. 6. The "skin" of one's womb-group wholly determines one's relationship to events (even though there is an epidemic in a nearby country, your morning paper features what your leader had for breakfast.)
5B. 7. Individuals are connected by umbilical cords to leaders, alternately being fed by and feeding them (even though the leader may be wholly inactive, or detrimental, to the group, power and obeisance "flows" on.)

5B. 8. Groups are connected by umbilical cords to other groups, placentas, and must fight for dear life for the "vitality" which flows between them (even though it may be beneficial for two groups to both reduce their armed strength, they cannot do so because it would affect the "balance of power," and so must "stem the turning of the tide" to "prevent the loss of vitality to its system.")
5B. 9. Disturbances to one's womb-surround are always the fault of a poisoning placenta, whom one can harm by "putting pressure" on it (even though you in fact increase your neighbors' hostility.)
5B. 10. When the group-fantasy of an intact womb-surround fails ("the fabric of society stretches thin, then tears"), the group inexorably slides into a war-as-birth group-fantasy (even though the actual reasons for war at that moment may be minimal.)
5B. 11. During the war-as-birth group-fantasy groups pump feelings into their placenta-leaders of being too crowded, asphyxiated, starved and strangulated (even though their economic condition may be in fact excellent.)
5B. 12. Groups go to war in order to overcome the helplessness and terror of being trapped in a birth canal, through means of a' sadomasochistic orgy in order to "hack one's way out" of the mother's body (even though in fact the most logical solution to most war threats is to do nothing, nevertheless

violent action is always most compelling.)

5B. 13. Once others plunge into a war-as-birth experience, neighbors feel sucked into a similar fetal trance state (even though Americans realize European wars are irrational, once they start they get picked up by "a force they cannot resist" and jump into their own birth primal.)

5B. 14. After successful wars, groups feel "reborn" and have a period of vigorous, optimistic cooperation which is viewed as "The Best Years of Our Lives" (even though they are actually economically depleted.)

5C. The extent to which a group sinks into a full fetal trance state is determined by the ability of its current group-fantasy to create the illusion of an intact womb-surround which can contain the traumas of childhood.

Chapter 5: Jimmy Carter and American Fantasy

JIMMY CARTER AND AMERICAN FANTASY

It has been four and a half years since America has been at war. This is a long time for peace to last-at least if recent experience is any guide, and if near-wars like the Cuban Missile Crisis are counted. The first question, therefore, that one should ask of a new President is obviously:
"Will he take us into war?"

The results of this study give a simple, if frightening, answer to this question. Our conclusion is that Jimmy Carter – for reasons rooted both in his own personality and in the powerful emotional demands of Amer-ican fantasy-is very likely to lead us into a new war by 1979.

Which crisis might be chosen to act out our fantasy needs is not our concern here, since our focus is wholly American. Nor can we give an exact timetable or scenario for the next crisis. Even so, and with all due respect to the tentativeness of predictions made in our young science of psychohistory, we must conclude that it ap-pears that Jimmy Carter is very likely to be our next war leader not too far in the future.

That no one usually considers this blunt but crucial question-whether a leader might take us to war-is due more to our fear of hearing the answer than to any inherent difficulties in asking the question. After all, modern depth psychology is now able to determine emotional maturity of personality in at least some rough sense and

feel reasonably certain of its findings. Modern psychohistory is also, by now, able to determine the general emotional mood of a nation – again, with

some rough degree of accuracy-and show how our shifting national emotional needs interact with our leader's personality to produce moments of national crisis.(1)

But psychohistory to date has mainly been written about the distant past-the more distant, the better. Since we are part of the group-fantasies of today, how can we possibly analyze them? This is a first try at measuring the emotional maturity of a current President, Jimmy Carter, relating his personality to the emotional needs of the American people, and predicting what the immediate future is likely to bring as a result of the interaction between the two.

THE ORIGIN OF THIS STUDY

This study of Jimmy Carter and American fantasy is the fifth of some twenty-two projects currently being sponsored by The Institute for Psychohistory, its Journal of Psychohistory, and The Psychohistory Press.(2) The project began in the summer of 1976 at the regular Summer Workshop of the Institute, where several Research Associates began preliminary discussions of Paul Eloviti's initial report on Carter's childhood and personality – particularly in relation to the kinds of unconscious fantasies the media were at that time creating around him, from his teeth imagery to his various messianic "outsider" roles. Over the past year, our research and discussions have continued at Institute meetings and in private smaller gatherings, so that, as in all our Institute projects, it soon became hard to tell whose ideas were whose, so free-flowing and "non-academic" were our discussions and our sharing of individual research results.

My own research has been concentrated on repeated patterns of American group-fantasy over the past quarter century of American politics. Paul Elovitz's interest has sent him to Plains, Georgia, for psychoanalytically – informed – interviews with Lillian Carter and other emotionally crucial figures in Jimmy Carter's early life. David Beisel has tried to be more synthetic in approach than any of us, focusing on the complex interaction between personality traits and American historical fantasy needs. John Hartman has focused on utopian group-fantasies surrounding Carter s nominating Convention, and Henry Ebel has given us an inner glimpse of the way we all unconsciously perceive our leaders as super-potent adults and as super-babies at the same time. Yet all of the studies converge on one central theme: the intimate, dynamic relation-ship between the unconscious needs of the leader and the equally deep

unconscious needs of the group he purports to "lead."

Since psychohistory, as we conceive of it at the institute for Psycho-history, strives to be a science of patterns of historical motivation, our discussions and subsequent research have focused primarily on two areas crucial to

the analysis of Jimmy Carter's motivational dynamics. The first is his childhood – what did it feel like to be the son of Lillian and James Earl Carter, in the late 1920's, in Plains, Georgia? What strengths and what weaknesses did Carter acquire during his formative years from his relationship with his parents and other caretakers? What personality traits, what general patterns of behavior, have remained dominant throughout his life to determine the way he reacts to the enormous emotional tasks put on him as our leader?

The second main focus of study is that of historical "group-fantasy," a term which I use psychohistorically in a rather more specific way than it is used in the field of small-group dynamics, from which I borrowed it. An historical group-fantasy is a set of shared unconscious assumptions, quite unrelated to any "objective" reality, about the way it feels to be a member of a historical group at a particular time in history. Group-fantasies are what national opinion polls attempt to capture when they periodically try to determine the "mood" of America, and ask people whether they feel their leader is strong or weakening, whether they feel the country is safe or in a state of turmoil, whether the enemy is strong or threatening, what they feel the future may bring, and so on. These "gut" feeling change in patterns which, in fact, have nothing to do with the actual condition of the country. As we will shortly discover, they are almost wholly due to shifting fantasies constructed by people, and communicated by the media, which center on the leader's ability to provide imaginary nurturance to the "led." But these shifts in "mood" are nevertheless real, they can be measured, they move in roughly predictable ways, and they determine when we choose to participate in or abstain from international conflict.

One final word on the Carter project before I begin the presentation of my evidence. The demands of group-fantasy in America today are such that the majority of the press, including reviewers, will probably refer to these essays as an "attack" on Jimmy Carter. Nothing could be further from the truth. Indeed, quite the opposite. I even suspect that Carter would both enjoy and profit from reading these studies. In point of fact, we all voted for him, but even if we hadn't, our empathy-which is the first condition of our task as professional psychohistorians-has allowed us over the past year of research to so continuously identify with him, both as a growing child and as an adult, that by now he seems like one of us, a friend, hardly someone we could unfeelingly "attack." Besides, he is our leader-we are the passengers on the ship he is piloting through international waters, and we would ourselves be participating in the

common group-fantasy that no one really dies in wars if we wished him anything but well. Let it be said at the outset: Jimmy Carter is a decent, personally attractive, well-intentioned human being. But matters of war and peace involve the very deepest layers of the personality, and it is unfortunately likely that if the day should come when we are all evaporated by that bright orange glow on the horizon, it will be a decent, well-intentioned man who will have pushed the button.

STAGES OF AMERICAN GROUP-FANTASY

The political roles each of us plays within the shifting group-fantasies of our national life are, of course, roles both derived from and acting as defenses against childhood anxieties.(3) But even though one person may tend to take on liberal roles and another conservative ones, depending on the respective amounts of strictness and

support in childhood, there is a higher fantasy level which views these roles as merely two parts played in a drama that encompasses both, one whose "script" transcends the usual left-right political dichotomy of modern politics. Thus, America may split on temporary issues, but as a rule the vast majority of the country unites on major political assumptions: we unite in wanting our leader and nation "strong," we unite in feeling that the leader is often too strong and the government too big, we unite in agreeing to split over minor matters so as to make certain that no substantial changes can take place, we unite on who the "enemy" is and how dangerous he is, we unite on when it is time to go to war, and when it is time to end a war.

It is this higher level of group-fantasy which I have attempted in recent years to conceptualize and then measure. The tool for this measurement I have termed "Fantasy Analysis." The detailed technical criteria for the Fantasy Analysis of any historical document will be found in another of my essays(4) but suffice it to say here that it involves extracting from the historical document all the operative fantasy terms, including all the metaphors, similes, feeling states, body images, and other key emotional terms present. This produces a series of words describing deep body feelings, which then can be analyzed and placed in psychohistorical perspective.

As just one example out of hundreds I elsewhere detail, here is a passage from the minutes of a Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearing in 1949 discussing our posture vis-a-vis the Russians in Germany:(5)

> *We understand that there are powerful pulls in the other direction and that there are things which the Russians would do which would be important in any such situation as that. We have no doubt that*

> *at some time or other the Russians are going to get ready to sell the Poles down the river on the eastern boundary.*

A Fantasy Analysis of this passage would pick up only two terms: "pulls . . . down the river." (Generally a Fantasy Analysis condenses documents to about 1% of their total verbiage.) The rest of the words are considered non-operative in motivational terms, essentially defensive in purpose, "rational" covers serving to distract one's attention from the emotionally powerful fantasy language buried within.

Now this may appear at first sight thoroughly arbitrary, and I admit that with any less than 50 pages of illustration and discussion it will be difficult for me to convey the accuracy and trustworthiness of this new psychohistorical tool. But even in the case of this 1949 hearing, it turns out that the words "pulls . . . down the river sound the emotional theme of the whole meeting, and condense very well its main historical group-fantasy: that the group's actions in taking a harder line against the Russians on Germany may result in its being pulled down a dangerous, "squeezing" passageway against its wishes, and that something terrifying might happen. Thus, al-

though the full text of the Hearing reads in a rather controlled and even dull tone, the Fantasy Analysis of the opening sections reads as follows:

hurting . . . face saver . . . riposte . . . large voice . . . horse's mouth . . lay down . . . undermine . . . pussyfoot . . . terrified . . . terror . . . terror . . pull . . . pulled . . . pulls . . . down the river . . forced . . . driven . . afraid . . . pull . . . run out . . . down the river. . . war. . . pull. . . fear. . . break. . . insane . . .squeezed . . . corridor . . corridor . . . corridor . . . corridor . . .

What I found from performing Fantasy Analyses of hundreds of historical documents-including newspaper and magazine articles, committee hearings, speeches, press conferences, political cartoons, even the Nixon Watergate tapes-is that hidden within every group communication is the skeleton of an emotionally powerful set of body feelings, and that a large part of the time this message has to do with body memories stemming from the primary trauma of all our lives: birth.

Although this discovery of birth as the key to group-fantasy appears at first to be a rather astonishing and even bizarre finding, it is the outcome of several years of analytic effort, and was in fact produced "by the material" rather than being imposed upon it for any theoretical reasons. (Indeed, I was so thoroughly disbelieving for some time of the nature of the results, that I retested the Fantasy Analysis technique with people unfamiliar with my earlier work to be certain I wasn't reading into the material something that wasn't there.) The selection above is one typical

version or stage of this body memory, one which regularly occurs as the result of Fantasy Analyses of historical material. It depicts a moment prior to the onset of actual birth, when the fetus is just beginning to feel the pull "down the river" and "into the corridor,' when the "squeeze" of the mother's contractions is just beginning to produce "terror" of what lies ahead-the seemingly endless hours of enormous persecutory pressure of the birth itself.

Since I am unable to go into as much detail here about the way birth stages affect group-fantasies as I have done in other studies,(6) I can only say in summary that the results of my Fantasy Analysis of hundreds of public documents from recent American history show a regular, lawful pattern of stages of group-fantasy, a pattern which repeats itself over and over again every three or four years, as follows:

ILLUSTRATION 1

STAGES OF GROUP-FANTASY

FETAL STAGE	LEADER FANTASY	NATION (WOMB) FANTASY	ENEMY FANTASY

FSl “Strong”	Strong	Intact womb, safe inside	Enemy strong, at bay
FS2 “Cracking”	Weakening	Cracking, crowded, unsafe	Weakening. dangerous
FS3 “Collapse”	Helpless	Collapsed, pressures building	Collapsed, poisonous
FS4 “Upheaval”	Tough	Trapped, fight way out of choking womb	Enemy powerful, engaged

The conditions within each stage were consistently correlated in historical documents subjected to Fantasy Analysis. In stage one, when the leader is strong-often but not always at the beginning of a presidential term-the nation seems safe and the “enemy” is kept at bay. Politics seems to be centered around the personality of a nurturant fantasy-leader, and to consist of discussions of how strong he is, whether he is too strong, whether government is doing enough, or is too big, and so on. In time, the ability of the leader to sustain a role of total magical nurturance to his people begins to deteriorate, and the “Cracking” stage two begins. News articles proliferate on how the internal strains in our

153

“Oh, dear! I’m ‘fraid thouse Right-to-Life folks
are trying to cut abort my candidacy!”

Illustration 2 — This cartoon directly portrays Care as a fetus.

154

country are threatening our national strength, on how a sudden collapse of values is to be feared, and on how the enemy too (projectively) seems to be “cracking at the seams,” with crises of leadership that may make them unstable and therefore dangerous. Stage three, “Collapse,” often begins with a specific event that can be viewed as a “collapse of values” which the fantasy-leader is helpless to prevent-whether a set of local events, such as riots, or an external event, such as a foreign policy reverse. During this stage, the central focus of anxiety is: Can the helpless leader protect us against possible upheavals and catastrophes? Articles are written on

how crowded the world (or the cities or the highways) is getting, how slender the food supply is, how polluted the environment has become, and how sheer chaos is just around the corner. Finally, with stage four, “Upheaval,” birth itself begins, and the nation looks for some crisis, usually involving war or the threat of war, to get into. The nation feels trapped, choking, claustrophobic, and must engage in a “struggle for freedom” in order to fight its way out of an intolerable situation. After a crisis situation is located, the enemy is engaged, and the nation feels strong again-and also greatly relieved, because at least it is now actively fighting something in the real world rather than passively suffering the fantasized intolerable pressures. (Political cartoons of the head hurting from painful pressures, and of the body being stretched and twisted, mark this stage.) But if the leader cannot “win” the war within a year or so, the nation fears it is not so tough after all and may actually die during its birth-crisis, and the leader is then instructed by the fantasy-language of all the media at once that somehow the birth pains must be ended. The leader then ends the war (at least in fantasy), the leader is once again strong, and the cycle repeats itself all over again.

The actual evidence for this group-fantasy cycle is detailed, document by document, in my study “Historical Group-Fantasies ,” with Fantasy Analyses of the media, speeches, conferences, congressional hearings, tapes, political cartoons and other material for the past 25 years of American history. The results of this analysis have been summarized in Chart A.

The past 25 years of American history have seen 6 complete group-fantasy cycles, each birth stage finally being acted out in a real crisis, generally, though not always, in a war or a near-war. The captions above the line show the crisis which was chosen to act out the birth fantasy at the peak of each cycle. The international crisis has usually been provided by whatever was handy at the time, and in every case the fantasy preceded the reality. That is, the fantasy language first went up to stage four, and the nation was crying for relief from intolerable pressures, and then whatever crisis was around was deemed important enough to produce action on our part. To emphasize this point, I have also put

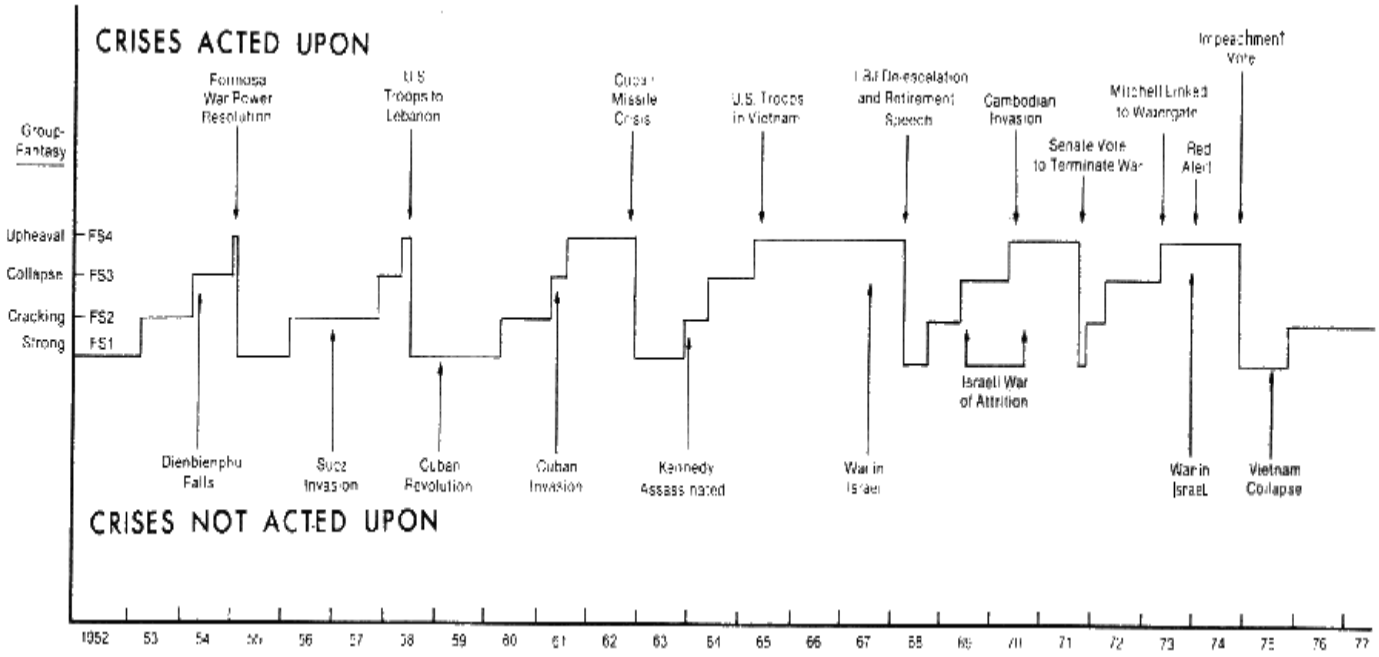

Chart A — LEVELS OF AMERICAN GROUP FANTASY

below the line some of the international crises which occurred during the first three stages, just a few of many that actually occurred, to show how many crises we did not choose to get into. Most of these, like the fall of the French forces in Indo-China, the Suez invasion, and various Arab-Israeli wars, were just as "important," often even more so, than the events we chose to jump into, but we were not under sufficient psychological pressure to respond with war-like action until we reached the fourth or "Upheaval" stage.

The first fantasy cycle begins with the slow buildup in the early Eisenhower years. It helps explain why Eisenhower could, during stage three, coolly withstand the powerful forces trying to get us to send planes and even troops into Dienbienphu, but then a little while later, at stage four, suddenly alert the nation and ask for formal war powers from Congress over a few insignificant islands off Formosa. Eisenhower's second cycle has a similar pattern, first careful restraint (during stage two) and refusal to commit our troops in the Suez-crisis, followed unexpectedly, and almost without rhyme or reason, by the dispatch of U.S. troops to peaceful Lebanon when we again reached stage four and couldn't find any other crisis to become involved in.

Kennedy's single cycle reached the fourth level early in 1961, and although for a time it looked as if we would be able to act it out in an armed confrontation with the Russians over Berlin, they seemed reluctant (for their own reasons) to get into a fight at that time, and built the Berlin Wall instead, thus ending the "crisis" — but leaving America "hanging" in mid-air at the "Upheaval" level. As we moved into 1962, we were therefore badly in need of something to fight about, but with no active war around to get into, the media began to comment on the "strange calm" the world seemed to be afflicted by-there was such cognitive dissonance between the upheaval and terror of the group-fantasy in our heads and the "quiet" of the world outside that we thought we might be insane. By the summer of 1962, we found the solution: Cuba. Long before we even suspected there might be missiles there, we began to use war-like language against Cuba, passing war resolutions, calling Cuba a "cancer"

on America, declaring a blockade of the island, terming Castro's existence and a "Red Cuba" intolerable to us, and then sending U-2 planes over to see what we could discover. The actual finding of the missiles after all this fantasy came as a great emotional relief, and when the Russians agreed to remove them in exchange for what we admitted were totally useless missiles in Turkey, which we had decided to remove anyway, we turned down the offer, gave the order to prepare to invade the island, and risked starting World War Ill-all 50 we could actually engage or at least thoroughly humiliate the poisonous "enemy" and experience the catharsis of fantasized birth.

Johnson's crisis was of course the Vietnam war, and although we may

have "inched" our way into it, the fact is that our first actual combat troops were sent to Vietnam only a week after the group-fantasy language reached stage four in every periodical in the country. Yet Vietnam, like both world wars before it was a very unsatisfactory catharsis-it didn't seem to want to follow its fantasy script and to end when we "felt" it should. So after months of articles and protests in 1968, demonstrating how many of "our boys" were dying there (at the fantasy level, no one seems to die early on in a war), Johnson "ended the war" by announcing its de-escalation and his own retirement. Immediately, two things happened to the group-fantasy. First, fantasy language went right back to stage one, and the war virtually disappeared from the media. It was as though, by common consent, we had agreed to pretend that it was over, though of course in fact it was still escalating, and the biggest battles and most destructive bombings lay in the future. Those who still protested, the same protesters that earlier captured fond media attention, were now vilified as nuts and crazies-why protest when the war had ended?

Nixon was elected, and went through the usual cycle of strong and then weakening leadership, and when at length in 1970 we got back up to stage four again, we began looking around for a new crisis in which to act out our birth fantasies. We looked at the world situation and discov-ered-lo and behold-Vietnam! Three weeks after the group-fantasy language again reached stage four, Nixon ordered the invasion of Cambodia, and the media quite rightly declared that "a new war" had begun.

By 1971, this "new war" again began to be painful enough to end, and the U.S. Senate did what it could easily have done years earlier; it voted to terminate the war. The fantasy language immediately dropped back to stage one again (although, as with Korea before it, the war actually dragged on for another year and a half after our fantasy declared it had ended). Nixon got the peace message from the nation and announced his purely symbolic trip to China-since he was now a "strong" leader again and could easily bargain with "the enemy."

But by the time the sixth cycle on our chart again reached stage four, Nixon found he had no crisis anywhere around to get into; indeed, he was just in the process of actually ending the Vietnam war. The Middle East was once again very tempting, but just managed to evade becoming a real crisis. Therefore, Nixon made the ultimate sacrifice-if the weak leader can't prevent the crisis, he will become the crisis, and by removing himself give a new leader a chance to go through the strong-weakening-helpless-tough cycle. Watergate, which previously had been buried in the back pages, now moved to the "front burner" of national attention, and Nixon, trained in

self-sacrifice from birth, threw himself into the flames “to relieve the intolerable pressures.” Here the Watergate tapes

are invaluable evidence of the movement of group-fantasy over the months, and a long analysis of the tapes and other documents from the Watergate “crisis” are part of my “Historical Group-Fantasies” article, along with a discussion of the special conditions under which a nation can substitute the replacement of a leader for the catharsis of war. But even during the Watergate period, the fourth stage crisis in 1973 did involve a plunge into a near-war action. After the last Arab-Israeli war had ended, Nixon ordered a full “Red Alert,” and two million American troops prepared for war, including the arming of nuclear weapons-all over a thoroughly insignificant Russian message about U.N. peace-keeping forces.(7) The Russians didn’t respond, of course, so the crisis was kept at a fantasy level until the impeachment vote finally removed the weak leader.

After Nixon’s removal, Ford became our stage one leader, and was everywhere shown as strong and nurturant, at least until he had been in office for some time and was shot at by two different women. He then appeared weak and ineffectual (stage two), a joke to many. When Jimmy Carter became President, because of the length of time since the last crisis, he started out at stage two in group-fantasy-which explains why he has barely had any “honeymoon” period in which he could get programs through Congress, as has been common with the beginning of other presidencies. Carter’s Gallup Poll after four months in office shows only 66% of those polled approving of the way he does his job, compared to 82% for Truman, 74% for Eisenhower, 76% for Kennedy and 73% for Johnson after a similar period.(8) This “lack of strength” image is wholly due to the stage of group-fantasy we are in at the time of this writing (May, 1977), which calls for a weakening (stage two) leader. In reality terms, Carter became President at the best of times – a sharply rising economy, no war, no civil strife – and no President has worked harder to strengthen his image with the people during his first months. But in group-fantasy terms, he remains a weakening leader, certain to weaken even further during the coming year. This is why his bills are already running into trouble, even though they have been rather modest in scope compared to the early proposals of other Presidents, and this is also why those polled continue to complain that in some indefinable way they still haven’t been able to “really know” what he is like.

THE PRESIDENT AS FANTASY LEADER

It should be understood at the outset that any actual accomplishments of a nation and its leadership are achieved despite the process of group-fantasy – fantasy works to defeat all real accomplishments, to handcuff all real leadership qualities, to waste all real assets and to keep people

wholly passive. Even wars turn out to be passive group acts-no decisions are required that are not purely tactical, no painful compro-mises of values, no maturity, only pure emotional release. America was never so passive and uncreative as in the Vietnam years (Vietnam indeed killed The Great Society, as Johnson said it did, only far more profoundly than just economically). In fact, I have elsewhere presented evidence that the President, his

advisors, the Congress and most of the people in the nation enter into what is an actual trance state while communicating and acting out these group-fantasies, a genuine trance similar to that of hypnotism or to that experienced under certain drugs. A group of presidential advisors sitting around a table in a War Room (as in the Cuban Missile Crisis) or a group of Congressmen attending hearings on war-powers legislation (as in the Gulf of Tonkin Crisis) are participating in what is technically more like a seance than a rational discussion. Their trance-like state can even be documented (with some effort-verbatim minutes are rarely kept of actual decision-making meetings, and memories of what really happened are notoriously skimpy). All the elements of a trance state can nevertheless be seen in these meetings:

heightened suggestibility, increased dependence on the leader, extremes of passivity by usually forceful people, demands for group unanimity, emotional rather than logical thinking, amnesia for inconvenient facts, inability to tolerate inaction, and even an increase in such body feelings as dizziness, fears of loss of control, dry mouth, pressures in the head, increased heart rate and feelings of claustrophobia, all of which are related to birth memories.(10)

The notion of the President as primarily a fantasy leader who is a delegate of national moods is quite at odds with the traditional model of political science, which regards leaders primarily as holders of something called "power" which they use to get action. In fact, most of politics works in an exactly opposite fashion: the nation first develops quite irrational group-fantasies, then pumps them through the media and lower government officials into the President and his advisors, expecting them to somehow act them out in order to relieve the anxieties generated by the fantasied conditions. This is true regardless of nation, period, or form of government. I have elsewhere documented the presence, for instance, of powerful birth emotions of being choked, trapped and strangled in the words of many nations going to war, from Kaiser Wilhelm's declaration before World War I that he felt "strangled" because a "net had suddenly been thrown over our head" to Hitler's going to war to solve Germany's problem of "Lebensraum." Similarly, America's wars from the Revolution to Vietnam have been permeated by language like "the child Independence struggling for birth," "a descent into the abyss," and the inability "to see the light at the end of the tunnel."(12) Although geopolitical or economic motives are usually

presumed to be the cause of wars, they are more accurately the occasions for war, the real causes being psychodynamic, wholly internal and shared psychological states. When the German General Staff wrote in 1914 that they "took to extreme measures in order to burn out with a glowing iron the cancer that has constantly threatened to poison the body of Europe," they used the same language and were responding to the same fantasy as Richard Nixon when, before the Cuban Missile Crisis, he said that "Cuba is a cancer . . . war is risked if Communism is not stopped and is allowed to spread now."(13)

The responsibility for solving this fantasy is finally dumped into the lap of the fantasy leader, who is an expert at receiving and interpreting the inchoate, powerful, shifting fantasy needs of large groups of people (this being the very definition of a politician). The "pressures" of the moment are translated into action-solutions and the fears of the people become the commands of the leader. The enormous relief provided by violent action is shown in Churchill's letter to his wife in 1914, as Europe went to war: "Everything tends toward catastrophic and

collapse. I am interested, geared up and happy." A similar group mood is revealed in what one American wrote from Washington, D.C. on the day Truman decided to send U.S. troops to Korea:

> *I have lived and worked in and out of this city for twenty years. Never before . . . have I felt such a sense of relief and unity pass through this city . . . When the President's statement was read in the House, the entire chamber rose to cheer.(14)*

Perhaps one of my most surprising findings has been that the frequency and seriousness of wars and war-like actions has little to do with the realities of military force, realities which supposedly govern so much of international relations. For instance, Truman's presidency was conducted in a continuous state of panic, culminating in his plunging America into the bloody, protracted Korean war-all during a period when America had overwhelming superiority of all forces, including sole delivery capacity for the atomic bomb. Indeed, the Truman Doctrine, the basis for a quarter-century of world-wide American intervention in local politics, was proclaimed in 1947 at a time when America enjoyed an atomic monopoly and when Russia lay utterly prostrate from World War II damage to her industry and population, a moment which Dean Acheson described as one of the greatest crises in history, when Russia was about to "carry infection to Africa through Asia Minor and Egypt, and to Europe through Italy and France."(15) In contrast, Eisenhower's years were far less interventionist, and were wholly without actual war, despite America's loss of military preponderance after Russian nuclear and missile development. It is, in fact, solely our fantasy needs which

prevent us from seeing that internal dynamics, not external threats, govern our foreign policy. Actual shooting wars, then, begin when two nations, in a slow, deadly dance, match group-fantasy cycles, wave for wave, crest for crest, and agree to grapple through a birth together-agreeing, as Kruschev wrote to Kennedy at the height of the Cuban Missile Crisis, to "come to a clash, like blind moles" battling to death in a tunnel.(17) While group-fantasy cycles in modern times are on the general order of four or five years long, actual shooting wars occur only every fourth or fifth crisis, when the psychological dynamics are right, the military preparations are adequate, and when an "enemy" has been located who is at his own peak of birth anxiety. Actually, statistical studies of wars confirm the lawful-ness of this group process rather well, at least for most of the industrially-developed world. In the past two centuries, for instance, wars have occurred on the average of every 18 years in the U.S., 18 years in England, 20 years in France, 24 years in Germany, and 18 years in Russia.(16) Our ritual death-dance has a rhythm of its own which captures every generation just as it reaches its peak of youth and then throws it into the hellish maw of Moloch.

THE PERSONALITY OF PRESIDENTS

At this point, the reader is justified in stepping back and asking a pertinent question: "If we grant that all the rather outrageous things you have said so far have some measure of truth, and that so early an event as birth seems to govern politics, then why bother with all the usual psycho-historical evidence about childhood and

parental influence and personal-ity development? It all appears quite hopeless the way you present it-with these eternal cycles of birth and rebirth. What possible differ-ence could it make what kind of personality the President has if politics depends so much on birth experiences everyone shares?"

The answer is of course that birth is only a part of the story. Regard-less of how traumatic an actual birth anyone has, even birth memories are profoundly modified by later childhood experience. The more a child is surrounded by love, freedom, and empathy, the more the child is able to repeatedly rework its earliest anxieties, the more it is able to modify them and even overcome them. A warm family provides a natural therapy even for birth anxieties, and if, as I claim in my "Evolution of Childhood" study,(18) childhood has a progressive trend throughout history, mankind should eventually be able to cure itself of war just as it has cured itself of slavery, vendetta, dueling, witchhunting and other group-psychotic practices. Yet most children even today have simply horrible childhoods, and wars are certain to continue for some time before

enough people become sufficiently emotionally mature not to need them. It is therefore one of our first tasks as psychohistorians to ask what kinds of personalities our leaders have and precisely how they interact with the emotional needs of the nation.

The psychohistorical study of presidential personality has unfortunately barely begun. There are only two Presidents who have been studied in sufficient depth, including their childhoods, to provide intelligent psychobiographies: Theodore Roosevelt and Richard Nixon.(19) Even so, enough information is available in primary sources to make a few generalizations about the kinds of people we have chosen to be our leaders in the twentieth century. First of all, none of them have had extremely traumatic child-hoods. On the six-stage scale of family types which I use to measure child-rearing modes (infanticidal, abandoning, ambivalent, intrusive, socializ-ing, helping), all Presidents in this century fall into the next-to-highest "socializing mode" with the exception of Nixon, whose dour Quaker mother and often brutal father put his childhood in the lower "intrusive" category. What this means is that in order to become a leader of America today, you cannot have a background which includes continuous batter-ing, repeated overt abandonment, or any other massively traumatic deprivations. (This, by the way, has not been the case for other countries and other periods-Hitler, for instance, was a classic "battered child", as were many of his generation of Austrians, the product of regular bloody beatings, hundreds of blows at a time.)(20) The overall level of American childhood, however, has been good enough in this century not to require such a psychopathic leader.

Within these limits, however, one trait stands out as common to the childhood of almost every President: an emotional distancing by the mother. This often occurs in the context of a series of nurses or other servants, to whom the mother delegates many of the child's caretaking functions, as was the case with T.R., F.D.R. and J.F.K. (21) It is as though the mothers of our Presidents must be "good enough" to give them the ego strength needed to survive the competition for leadership, but they must also be "distancing enough" to give them a deep hole of loneliness in the pit of their stomachs, a hole which they feel driven to fill with the needs and the adulation of large masses of people. No one who has not been the fantasy leader of an actual group can begin to image the demands put upon one who is expected to stay in touch with, and resolve, the deepest and most ambivalent

anxieties of the “led.” And generally only a deeply lonely person, who from childhood has expected to gain whatever approval and warmth he got by being the delegate of his mother’s needs and by performing in perfect tune to her wishes, however distorted, can be expected to become a professional politician. The sight of our fantasy leaders following our emotional commands is so common-place that we no longer even note it. David Frost tells Nixon on TV to

make statesman-like noises, and he becomes the all-powerful leader of the free world. Frost tells him to “apologize to the people,” and he cries and apologizes.

One childhood, however, stands out among those of all the Presidents for not having included a distancing mother: that of Dwight Eisenhower. Although no biographer has studied his childhood scattered through his writings are enough references to his early years to make the psychohistorian prick up his ears and suspect that something was differ-ent here. Although he grew up at the turn of the century, and his father’s occasional “application of leather” was similar to other families of the time, he had a most unusual mother, one whose closeness, warmth, consistency and real happiness with herself and her children was unique among the mothers of Presidents. Eisenhower’s stories about her, even his use of adjectives, are quite unlike any other autobiographical writing I have encountered in any world leader. He speaks of her as “warm,” “gentle,” “serene,” “tolerant,” with “an open smile”-and gives enough detailed incidents to assure one that this is not a reaction formation. When she was put upon by others, she was capable of being thoroughly outraged and doing something about it (once, having been cheated out of something, she began to study law at home), and in general seemed unusually successful in “making life happy and meaning-ful for a family of eight,” spending “many hours a day” with the children.(22) Her photographs are the only ones I have yet discovered in which the mother of a President is actually smiling (Eisenhower, too, is unique in smiling in his boyhood pictures, one happy face among his pained schoolboy comrades).

This unusual inner happiness made Eisenhower an oddball through-out his military career, from his early runins with the authoritarian MacArthur to his opposition to the rest of the military chiefs during World War Two with respect to the African landings (Eisenhower’s plan for immediate invasion of France, which could have cut the war short by two years, was firmly overruled by Churchill).23 But it was as President that Eisenhower was unique-so much so that it shows up plainly on our American group-fantasy graph (Chart A). Whereas other Presidents responded to the growing pressures of group-fantasy by finding a real war to act out, Eisenhower resisted all efforts to get him to be the usual fantasy leader. Although his political views were hardly unconventional, someplace deep inside him he found a core of maturity, and sense of personal worth, that enabled him to think rather than act when the majority of the country was saying: “We feel like we’re dying-you must do something to relieve our fears.” In fact, when he did act at the peak of two fantasy cycles, he did so in a way that at once relieved the anxieties by seeming to take war-like action but in no way actually led to war. The first was in 1955, when Congress-stung by his refusal to get

into Indo-China-gave him a formal war-power resolution over Formosa, hoping he would get into a fight with China. But although Eisenhower spoke tough, he actually used U.S. forces only to remove Nationalist troops from the islands that were under contention, thus ending the crisis. And when the birth peak came again in 1958, he moved troops in and out of sleepy Lebanon in such a way as to make it appear that we had somehow won a victory against Communism. He did not achieve this war-free record easily-McCarthy was the spokesman of our frustration with Eisenhower's maturity-but he did so effectively. The point to re-member is that it was one happy mother in Abilene, Kansas who, fifty years earlier, wrote the script for this most peaceful decade on the American historical stage.

THE PERSONALITY OF JIMMY CARTER

How, then, does Jimmy Carter's personality rate in comparison with other modern Presidents on the crucial parameters set out above? What kind of childhood did he have, what has his development beep like to date, and what can his interactions with the American group-fantasy to date tell us about the likelihood that he will act out our next birth crisis in war-like action?

The available evidence on Carter's childhood which is presented in the following essays places him squarely with the majority of recent Presidents as the product of a "distancing" mother. For his mother worked much of the time, believed children should not be with their mothers very much, and delegated many of her caretaking functions to others. He of course adapted well to this initial emotional deprivation, as did other Presidents, but deep down inside there is a well of loneliness which has been the mainspring of his political career and the source for his oft-repeated and nearly mystical "intimate relationship with the American People." His meteoric rise from being "Jimmy Who?" to being President was based not on traditional machine politics but on a messianic "outsider" image, which was cultivated from the start to fill whatever group-fantasies Americans projected into him. (Pat Caddell's famous memo to Carter-which told him that the fact that people do not know what Carter stands for is an asset because "large parts of the electorate can project their own desires on to Gov. Carter" – is as good a definition of the fantasy leader as I have seen.)(24) In particular, as David Beisel analyzes in detail in his study, Carter won the election through his intimate variations on themes taken from the Watergate loss of leader-ship, themes which drew on elements of his personal history, the myth of his "perfect" family, and the nation's feeling of having been "aban-doned" by their deposed leader. His personality has every trait seen in

Illustration 3- This cartoon portrays two group-fantasy themes. The first is Carter's Christ-like ability to walk on water. The second is the portrayal of the campaign as a tranquil sea, symbolic of the Good Womb.

Illustration 4- By March of 1977, the utopian group-fantasy is beginning to decay. In this magazine cover Carter is depicted as holy but the caption warns against expecting too much.

that of our past war leaders. His experience in childhood in interpreting his mother's distanced and often distorted messages made him extremely sensitive to the hidden group-fantasy needs of the nation; his need to live up to both his parents' seemingly unfulfillable expectations made him a classic workaholic; and both his populist image and his choice of an "active-positive" political role tend to make him action-prone when the time comes to carry out a birth episode. His positions on war to date have been consistent with that of a future

wartime leader. He was a Vietnam hawk up to the end of the war, and ever since then the topic of world peace has rarely been mentioned by him as an overriding goal of his Presidency.

There is nothing, I believe, which he has done since his inauguration to offset this summary of personality traits. He began by choosing his foreign policy staff out of the Rockefeller-supported Trilateral Commission, he has cooled down relations with Russia, scrapped years of effort in disarmament, discovered a "12-year decline" in NATO armament, urged a new push to build up NATO forces, scrapped his promise to reduce the American arms budget, and-lest the quiet, steady, insistent growth of atomic weaponry be completely forgotten-has added even more atomic warheads to the tens of thousands which presently exist, many of them in the new "more acceptable" form of battlefield atomic weaponry. That this new mood of belligerence has been virtually unnoted by the liberal press is to be expected-psychobistorians have learned to read U.S. News and World Report, not the New York Times, to find out what is really going on in American group-fantasy. The headlines of a recent issue of U.S. News in fact read: "THE PRESIDENT TALKS TOUGH . . . Harder Line With Russia," and quotes Carter as follows:

Africa:	"We see the possibility of war in the southern part of Africa as being ever-present."
Mideast:	"Americans would not respond well to any overt or implied threats" of an oil embargo.
Panama Canal:	"There is a potential threat to the Canal. .
Soviet Union:	"The differences between us and the Soviet Union are still wide and very significant."(25)

(The New York Times, the same week, took an astonishing report from its Mideast expert, Drew Middleton, headlined "Two Sides in Middle East Speak Casually of a War As Stress Shifts From Political to Military Solution," and buried it in the inner pages instead of giving it the first-page treatment it obviously merited.)(26)

Carter's language, as revealed by extensive Fantasy Analysis of his speeches, is quietly permeated with the imagery of fear and war. When it

occurs in the context of a domestic issue, so that an energy program becomes "the moral equivalent of war," the press picks up and repeats the imagery, with headlines about a world-wide oil crisis that requires "wartime urgency"(27) and cartoons showing Carter dressed as Jesus walking with a sign saying "The End Is Near." When his speech is about foreign matters, it bristles with the same kind of aggressive and fearful imagery, carefully hidden between noble phrases, that I have found time and again in Fantasy Analyses of Presidential speeches before other war-like actions. Here, for instance, is a Fantasy Analysis of his Notre Dame University address on May 22, 1977:

dark faith . . . strands that connect . . . confidence . . . separated strength . . . arms . . . fear . . . fear . . . fought fire with fire fire is better fought with water . . . confidence . . . contained weakened its foundation . . . war . . . crisis . . . sapping . . . strains . . . weakened . . . crisis . . . danger . . . violence . . . com-bat . . . fear. . . awakening. . . pow-

erful . . . strong . . . war . . . reduce the chase . . . war . . . hatred . . . damage, hunger and disease . . . blood . . . despair . . . reinforce the bonds . . . con-fidence . . . dangerous . . . freeze . . . weapons . . attack . . . death . . . explosives . . military intervention . . . military force . . . danger . . . arms . . . explosives . . . explosives . . . arms . arms. . . war(28)

That there is a positive side to many of Carter's words and actions which lead to increasing tensions is of course not to be denied. But that he has a deeply-felt commitment to human rights, for instance, does not negate the fact that the form and particularly the timing of his repeated attacks on Russia with respect to human rights are part of the "get tough" fantasy, and incidentally do nothing for the Russian dissidents he is defending. The same case could be made for the form and timing of his statements on Palestine, Africa, and so on.

What is more, the American public is, I think, fully aware of the hidden imagery of Jimmy Carter as a future war-leader. His leading symbol-his teeth-is the identical image regularly used in portraying another leader chosen for his belligerence, Theodore Roosevelt, especially in his "Big Stick," aggressive, "biting" role.(29) Even Carter's ambiguity as to whether he is a liberal or a conservative acts to increase tensions. For Carter is an ideal President to obstruct. Conservatives can oppose him as a Democrat, Liberals as a Conservative, and it seems a good bet that stalemate will be the main theme of the period in 1978 while stage three builds up-as it often is in other stage three periods-and that the peak of tensions for stage four will, if the past two decades is any guide, occur some time in 1979.

Given the current condition of the Middle East as the world's tinderbox, and given the current American view that any future oil embargo is a crucial "strangulating" birth precipitant, one is even tempted to fore-cast the scene of the next conflict. Henry Kissinger has declared that America will go to war in the Middle East only "where there is some actual strangulation." Gerald Ford has said: "In the case of economic strangulation we must be prepared to take the necessary action for our self-preservation. When you are being strangled it is a case of either dying or living." (Ford's definition of "strangulation" is even more fetal: "Strangulation if you translate it into the terms of a human being, means that you are just about on your back.")(30) I need hardly say that when I begin to hear the word "strangulation" bandied about regularly some time in 1979, 1 intend to put my family and dog in the car and head for Canada, out of the way of the prevailing winds and atomic fallout.

Even if the hairline trigger of the Mideast is not the actual release mechanism for the next crisis, it is doubtful that anything short of war-like action will be the stage upon which the drama is played. While the conditions that determine whether a birth-crisis takes the form of war, revolution, or other leadership crisis are yet to be presented, Carter's personality seems to be quite closed to precipitation of a leadership crisis like Nixon's. Nor does he have the kind of self-destructive drive and accident-proneness which made Kennedy go into Dallas while full-page ads were using the language of violence, and then ride slowly through the center of town in an open car. So the only thing that can deter Carter from responding to our next call for war, when "pressures" once again grow intolerable, is his maturity.

Might Carter's well-known "independence" include an independence even from us? Might a man who can show physical warmth to his wife in public-and mean it-be able to tap some deep source of human warmth in his heart when the chips are down and decline to plunge us into another hellish birth? Might a man who spends whole days with his daughter, in which she plans every minute of his time, be able to remember that children really die in wars?

One hopes so. For on such a slender thread of hope hangs the existence of mankind.

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Chapter 6: Historical Group-Fantasies

CHAPTER 6
pages 172-200

FOUNDATIONS OF
PSYCHOHISTORY
by LLOYD DEMAUSE

HISTORICAL GROUP-FANTASIES

THE CONCEPT OF HISTORICAL GROUP-FANTASIES

In my previous four papers,(1) I have introduced the use of the concept of historical group fantasies as that part of my psychogenic theory which describes how the values produced by the evolution of parent-child relations are translated into historical movements. In this paper, historical group-fantasies are defined as those shared fantasies which are [1] massive displacements onto the public stage of feelings connected with the individual's search for love, [2] allowing people to use groups to relieve shared private feelings and [3] to act out and defend against re-pressed desires, rages and prohibitions which have their origins in childhoods common to the group, [4] using the same ego mechanisms of splitting, condensation, reaction formation, etc. as in personal fantasy formation, only [5] forged in public discussion [6] out of materials provided by recent historical events, [7] distributing group roles by psychoclass, and [8] producing group dynamics which can lead to a breakdown of group-fantasy, a period of paranoid collapse, and an attempted restitution through the formation of a group-delusion, [9] which result in a group-trance state which may require discharge in violent historical action.

Each of these points will receive extended empirical illustration during the course of this paper. First, however, in order that the concept of

historical group-fantasies may be distinguished from ones like “myth,” ”group mind,” and ”national character,” I will briefly elaborate what I mean by each of the nine elements of my concept.

[1] “massive displacements of feelings onto the public stage connected with the individual ‘s search for love”: That historical group-fantasies are displacements of private emotion onto the public stage has been commonplace ever since Freud wrote the world’s first psychohistorical article on “Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of His Childhood” almost seven-ty years ago.(2) But that the core of these displacements always has to do with feelings produced by one’s search for love-that the displacements are always from family to religion and politics-has not been equally as evident. Just as many psychotherapists still do not recognize that their task is to assist the patient “on a voyage of self-discovery toward the goal of love,” as Reuben Fine puts it,(3) so too most historians still do not recognize that their subject matter involves emotions continuously being displaced from this same search for both the giving and receiving of love in the lives of those they study.

At first glance, although one can readily imagine people wanting to receive love from and to give love to a leader or a group, it is admittedly difficult to imagine how such violent historical events as wars and revolutions can be a result of an individual’s search for love. Upon reflection, however, it is perhaps no more difficult than it once was in individual psychology to imagine murder and suicide to be part of one’s search for love. It is only when the psychohistorian has a full realization of the overwhelming quantity of desperate clinging, inner emptiness and violent rage which have been the sad result of the loveless atmosphere in most families throughout history, that they can begin to appreciate the full force of the displacement of the drama of unfulfilled love, disillusionment and hostility onto the public stage.

Displacements from family to political and religious activity occur in two senses: (a) in the indirect sense that the kinds of personalities produced by the childrearing modes of each age ultimately determine the group-fantasies of a generation later, and (b) in the direct sense that the psychosexual conflicts between men and women, and between men and men, in any period of history are sources for the historical group-fantasies of that period, however distorted these erotic fantasies may appear in projected form in an historical event.

I have long been puzzled by the problem of the central moving force for change in historical group-fantasies. In previous papers I have used a working theory that the passage of time itself was sufficient to produce the decay and collapse of group-fantasies and the perception of the weakening of the fantasy-leader which my empirical research has revealed. My reasoning has been that since group-fantasies have such a large defensive function, they are inherently unstable, and, like personal

defensive structures, are subject to eventual breakdown due both to the return of the repressed and to the inability of reality to live up to the requirements of the fantasy content. This latter dynamic – – particularly the inability of the real leader to fulfill his fantasy-leader expectations emphasized the group’s need to have the fantasy-leader provide magical nurturance, effortless solutions to its emotional needs and conflicts. Therefore, I have tended to view the leader-group relationship in my work to date within a more or less maternal, pre-oedipal theoretical structure.

My investigations into this pre-oedipal material in my previous four papers using the "failure of nurturant leader" model has led me to earlier and earlier imagery which I discovered in my historical material, until finally, in my "Jimmy Carter and American Fantasy" essay, in which I outlined a theory of group-fantasy stages moving from "strong," "cracking," and "collapse" to "upheaval," I suggested that these stages paralleled the stages of the earliest pre-oedipal period of infancy: birth. The more I work with the historical evidence, however, the more I see that this parallel with birth stages is only part of a more complex picture. These four group-fantasy stages – – which I initially found empirically in the historical material – – have a validity all their own over and above the birth metaphor, summarizing the basic feeling tones of the historical group as its confidence in their fantasy-leader moves toward collapse. The imagery of rebirth which I found can now be set in a more comprehensive framework. It is not so much a question of whether or not birth imagery is present in historical material. It is there in quantity, and no psychohistorian can afford to ignore desires for rebirth in historical groups. It is, however, more a question of what meaning it has, what function it plays within the group dynamics. Beginning with the "collapse" stage of the group-fantasy, the reason that there is always a proliferation of violent birth imagery-just as there is an upsurge in violent oral, anal and oedipal imagery-is because the containing group-fantasy, which had previously bound and defended against the repressed material, has collapsed.

Even though my previous excursions into early pre-oedipal material were useful in identifying the symbolic content of the regressive phases of historical group-fantasies, still the limitation in the working model in previous papers retained its emphasis on the maternal, nurturant leader-group relationship. As one trained in Freudian psychoanalysis, I have often asked myself "Where is the oedipus complex in history?" There are no obvious mothers to gain and fathers to kill in religion and politics, and history does not appear to be overtly erotic. At most, if all enemies, internal or external, are seen as fathers, there are only fathers in politics. (And only mothers in religion?) The situation seemed confusing to me for a long time. It was only when I questioned the central model of the

leader primarily as nurturer-and the traditional model of politics as the distribution of goods-that I recently have moved to a more comprehensive model, one which would contain its own group-fantasy dynamics beyond the notion of "natural decay of nurturance."

The solution is not difficult to find once the correct question is asked, which is: "If the various pre-oedipal nurturance roles are positions which historical groups are found to regress to, what are they regressing from?" The answer is, as it is with individual neurosis, the oedipal conflict itself.

But who is the father and who is the mother in historical group-fantasies? The answer is perhaps not so obvious, and will take the rest of this paper to begin to examine. I now believe that the fantasy-leader is usually the imagined father and the group itself is usually the mother in group dynamics. The central force in the movement of group-fantasy from one stage to another-which is to say the ultimate source of the movement of history itself – is therefore the continuous displacement of erotic fantasies, including pre-oedipal fantasies, organized by the oedipal drama of the killing of the leader-as-father to win the group-as-mother.

Whether or not the leader was somehow chosen by the group or whether he is said to rule "by force" is beside the point. Even if he is chosen, he is chosen to be deposed, or, more accurately, to handle the inevitable disillusionment and hatred somehow, whether through heroic defensive postures, through displacement of the rage onto enemies, or through his own symbolic death. It is also of no consequence that the individual members can in no real sense be said to be able to really "win" the group-as-mother. The leader-father is perceived as "owning" the group-mother, and every effort of every individual acting in history is influenced by this central group-fantasy and its consequences. The buildup of disillusionment and rage toward the fantasy-leader is the cause of the eventual collapse of the effective group-fantasy and the source of the leader's perceived weakening, and is avoided only when he does something to increase his apparent power over the group, to appear as its heroic savior, or to deflect this rage from himself onto others.

The various choices which fantasy-leaders and historical groups make in attempting to solve personal emotional problems with historical action will be the focus of the later empirical sections of this paper. What I would like to emphasize in this opening theoretical section is the strange role the leader plays in this psychogenic model of historical group-fantasy. Whereas in the most common model of history, that of political science, the leader is conceived of primarily as a source of power, and whereas in sociology the leader is conceived of as a distributor of nurturance, in my psychogenic model these two roles are both present but only as regression positions, only secondarily important within the primary drama of containment of and defenses against oedipal conflicts.

Both power and nurturance roles therefore vary in history according to the evolutionary stage which the group-fantasy has reached – – which is to say, according to the specific form of erotic life at each historical stage.

A more precise description of these changes of form of historical group-fantasies will become evident later in this paper. First, I want to make one more remark about the emotional task of the fantasy-leader. Even though the leader must be masochistic enough to take on the continuous oedipal hatred of the individuals within the group, he must also be sadistic enough both to be able to identify with the group's hatred of himself and also to be able to convince the group it should displace some of its rage onto others. This displacement, of course, often includes the assumption by the leader of responsibility for the most destructive actions human beings can undertake, so that the sadism normally found in each of us is not really sufficient to make an effective historical fantasy-leader. In addition, the leader must find enough gratification in "crazy" thought and action to allow himself to be a receptacle for the continuous psychotic projections of the group, including various levels of unreality, splitting, paranoid suspicion, grandiosity, violent rage and other forms of psychotic anxiety. The only thing a fantasy-leader need not be is mature. Leaders every day are "successful" though extremely disturbed emotionally-witness the Napoleons and Stalins of every age in every country.

As I shall describe in a later section, the fact that the changing forms of erotic life in each historical age determines the group-fantasies of the age means that one of the most important tasks of psychohistory is to examine the precise level of relations between the sexes attained by evolving historical personalities for each group and age. Even though this psychohistory of sex has yet to be written, there is enough material already

available to see something of how the evolution of sexual attitudes are projected into historical material. Each forward step in sexual relations between men and women-whether it is the new idealization of women in medieval courtly love, the attempts to explore sexuality within marriage in early modern times, the changes in the family produced by the Victorian women's rights movements or the emotional effects of the contemporary feminist movements-all are sources of the anxieties, desires, rages and guilts projected onto the political and religious spheres in each period. This is to say, the sexual relations of each age and group are indicators of and indeed effects of the higher and higher levels of solutions to the conflicts posed by the oedipus complex within continuously more evolved childrearing modes. The same, of course, holds for the psychohistory of homosexual feelings, a subject even more hidden, but crucial to the understanding of all power relationships between men. In fact, the study of "power" in history turns out to be less a matter of armies and more a question of the degree and form within which

each age arranges the homosexual surrender of resources by the majority to the few – – a subject which is part of the psychohistory of sex, not force.

The psychogenic theory of historical group-fantasies exactly reverses the direction of the casual arrow assumed in other theories of history with respect to the relationship between private love and hate and social institutions. Rather than private emotions "reflecting" the economic or social "base" of the period, the psychogenic theory states they determine the economic and social forms of each age. For instance, social commentators from Friedrich Engels to Steven Marcus have said that the ownership of women by husbands was a reflection of the economic ownership of goods, and that sexual attitudes toward women which use capitalistic terms such as "saving" and "spending" were derived from the economic sphere. This seems to me to state the case precisely backward. What actually happens is that families teach growing children attitudes toward their bodies which make them fear their own sexuality so much that they construct a sexual code which teaches them to "save up" their desires (and secondarily their goods) until marriage. Later, as adults, they project these sexual attitudes onto the economic sphere and construct a group-fantasy of erotic materialism to help them master their individual sexual anxieties. Notions of "saving" and "spending" of a man's sperm can be found in the history of sexuality all the way back to Aristotle, and are thus hardly new to capitalism. What is modern is the group-fantasy that money is infused with sexual fantasy, and that schemes for the redistribution of money are used to relieve castration anxieties. In the real world, it is only in the sexual sphere where great numbers of people actually fight off a desire to "spend," real capitalists in fact rarely "save" to build up their capital as the capitalistic group-fantasy imagines them doing. Thus the casual arrow in fact runs from the psychosexual to the economic sphere, not the reverse.

The same principle holds, of course, for projections of oedipal conflicts, the love and hate of each age, onto other historical group-fantasies of the time. One of the central advantages of having historical group-fantasies in the first place is that using the historical stage for projection of one's intrapsychic conflicts affords the opportunity to use group divisions to gratify libidinal desires with the "good" section and to ventilate pent-up resentments against the "bad" section without any of the irritating ambivalences present in interpersonal relations.

All of these conditions relate to the psychohistorical discovery that the end result of all historical childrearing to date has been to produce adults who, in their personal lives to various degrees, severely condemn their own deepest feelings, and who then use historical groups for the simultaneous projection and condemnation of these feelings in other persons and groups. The ability of the psychohistorian to recognize this central importance of the displacement of love and hate into history allows him or

her to discover the consistencies behind the bewildering multiplicity of historical events, no matter how well they are disguised and distorted, and to locate in the symbols of each period-from Christ on the cross to the Hiroshima mushroom cloud-the erotic group-fantasies of the age. On the other hand, failure to recognize this central hidden theme can on-ly lead to the view that all historical events are unique and beyond the reach of scientific inquiry. The focus on displaced emotional conflicts also radically sets the psychohistorian apart from those whose emphasis in studying history is on the need for equilibrium within society (sociology), or on the concept of "culture" as cause (anthropology), or the notion that historical events are primarily caused by reactions to previous historical events (narrative history).

[2] "allowing people to use groups to relieve shared private feelings": One of the foundations of psychohistory is the principle that there are major psychological advantages to individuals to get together in groups and to form and act out group-fantasies – – advantages, that is, beyond those merely private fantasies can furnish. It is not sufficient for a psycho-historian just to recognize that participation in group life somehow produces new kinds of shared fantasies, because this formulation sidesteps the all-important question of exactly what the advantages are to individuals to form new groups in the first place.

That historical group-fantasies are absolutely essential to the psychic well-being of individuals is unquestionable. People stripped of important group-fantasies-even though their private fantasy systems remain intact – – nevertheless feel they are going crazy. The most dramatic examples, perhaps, are those found in anthropologists' accounts of groups who are suddenly "deculturated," who lose their rituals and beliefs through traumatic contact with Western or other cultures. This dramatic loss of traditional group-fantasies generally leads to such severe outbreaks of personal anxieties that new group-fantasies with apocalyptic and millenarian content are usually quickly formed to replace them.(5) It ap-pears that being without a set of group-fantasies is one of the most dangerous personal conditions which can be experienced.

For instance, Germans had lost wars before World War I, yet its end came so suddenly and unexpectedly that, as Binion's study shows, most Germans felt a "paralyzing terror," "a genuine panic," a "fearful moral breakdown" with "effects so catastrophic and consequences so fateful" that even the replacement group-fantasy of the "stab in the back" by internal enemies could not contain the outbreak of anxiety.(6) The sudden removal of the group-fantasy of German invincibility produced the traumatic effects, not simply the loss of the war, for other wars had been lost without producing severe group trauma. As Binion puts it:

> *Eloquent among the momentos of the defeat is this diary entry of 3*

October 1918 by a German seaman: "We have lost the war as if overnight... the German people were completely in the dark about developments down there. Now all at once the crash comes..." Ar-resting testimony came from many a moral casualty of the crash. Thus Franz Schauwecker: "With one blow the most tremendous expectations were dispelled. Suddenly everything had been in vain. The world appeared senseless." Ernst Junger felt weak and vulnerable at first, then developed "symptoms that, as in a chronic illness, were now more, now less pronounced without ever vanishing entirely. Among them was a sense of constriction, of being tight pressed..."(7)

Thus it is the psychological rather than the material damage which groups experience which is felt as more dangerous, even though what are actually lost are "only fantasies."

It should be emphasized at this point that I in no way mean to imply that human history is "nothing but" projections of individual anxieties, or that history is determined solely by historical group-fantasies. Like all groups, historical groups have real work to do, aside from fantasy work, and this real work is determined very much by the material reality as well as the psychological reality of the moment. When a group has a plague or a volcanic eruption or a Mongol horde sweeping down upon it, these material events certainly effect the history of the group, and the sciences of epidemiology, vulcanology and demography will be consulted to provide the explanations for the causes of these events. What psychohistory can provide as an independent science of historical motivation through the theory of historical group-fantasies is the explanation of what level of response to different situations is possible by groups made up of different psychosexual levels, with different personalities, and different strengths, anxieties and solutions available to them. Whether psychological or material reality is "more important" at any one time in history depends on whether the eruption of Vesuvius or of the group's own group-fantasies is more imminent.

[3] "to act out and defend against repressed desires, rages and prohibitions which have their origins in childhoods common to the group:" That one of the main functions of historical group-fantasies is to handle repressed desires, rages and prohibitions rooted in childhood is possibly the most controversial part of the concept, for nothing seems more ob-vious to common-sense historians than that public adult historical events, not family matters, count most in producing the historical events they study. One nation is defeated in war by another, it then constructs a revenge fantasy... surely the military defeat caused the fantasy? Yet common sense is nonetheless false, for just as often military defeats do not produce revenge fantasies. It is only when a historical event is invested

with important unconscious tasks that it has later causal effects at all. (The same, of course, is true of personal events, for unless a childhood event, however "dramatic," is woven into a personal fantasy, powered by a wish, it has no effect on later life.) If a military defeat was not unconsciously linked to repressed rage from the purely personal sphere, people would not have national revenge fantasies at all, but would say to themselves simply, "Thank God that's over. Let's never have another terrible war."

This is not to say that the outcome of historical events themselves "does not matter." It indeed did matter whether Germany won or lost World War I. The question is: How did it matter? What did it mean? Strictly speaking, saying that Germany's loss of World War I caused World War 11 is as misleading as saying a person's second marriage broke up because the first one did, when in fact both broke up for similar psychological reasons relating to the person's childhood, psychosexual development and present personality organization. Indeed, one of the most demanding yet most rewarding tasks of a psychohistorian is tracing the contents of historical group-fantasies to their roots in childhood and later developmental patterns common to members of the group-a task requiring an intimate knowledge of the details of the history of childhood for that specific group, empirical research into the typical range of psychosexual developments, careful biographical work on representative figures important in forging and acting out the group-fantasy, and a skill in tracing the connections between these family sources and the disguised contents of the historical group-fantasy itself.

[4] "using the same ego mechanisms of splitting, condensation, reaction formation, etc. as in personal fantasy formation": In order to decode historical group-fantasy, a psychohistorian must be thoroughly familiar with every single ego defense mechanism used to interpret private fantasies, dreams and myths, as described in psychoanalytic literature over the past eight decades-and even be able to discover a few new mechanisms used only in group-fantasy formation. Sometimes the distortions are transparent, at least to one not taking part in the group-fantasy-which is to say it is always easiest to analyze other people's fantasies when one does not share them. But most of the time it takes literally years of study to unmask the many levels of disguises that underlie seemingly simple but in fact highly condensed historical group-fantasies as "the Crusades," "witch-hunting," "the Divine Right of Kings," "Protestant martyrdom," "the Secession of the South," "the Dreyfus Affair," "the November criminals," "the Jewish poisoners," "the Cuban Missile Crisis," and so on. Moreover, historical group-fantasies are multiple, are related to each other, and – – like individual fantasies – – must be classified according to their psychological connections within the emotional life of the people who hold them.

[5] 'forged in public discussion": It is not enough for fantasies to be shared for them to be considered historical group-fantasies-they must also be formed over a period of time through public communication. A crowd on a beach may all at any one moment share a fantasy of making love in the sun, but this remains on the level of a private fantasy simply held simultaneously by many individuals. Group-fantasies can be seen to evolve over time, as different people in the group suggest variations, until the precise formulation is reached which best fits the unconscious needs of the largest number at that historical moment.

To those who are unaware of the enormous emotional stake which underlies such group-fantasy work, the discussions during the formation of historical group-fantasies seem patently ludicrous. My favorite prototype of

the work that goes on during the formation period for a historical group-fantasy is the early christological controversies, such as those discussed at the Council of Nicea in 325 A.D., as one watches the group hammer out the precise formulation of the image of the Christian deity which would satisfy the emotional needs of the time. Was Christ god or man; how did he suffer; how die; how separate was he from God; did he defecate; how was he born; was his mother's hymen intact after his birth; and so on – all anxiety-ridden questions involving intense personal childhood fantasies shared by the people of the time. Watching the discussions about whether or not Christ was "consubstantial after the flesh" is good practice in recognizing the similarly arcane, hair-splitting, but very important formation work going on in every group-fantasy's early stages.

It is, of course, the public character of this formation process which gives the psychohistorian the documentation needed to unravel conflicting emotional strands within the group-fantasy, for fights over minute distinctions early in the formation process often reveal unconscious conflicts which are smoothed over and thoroughly disguised in the final formulation. In our example, when the Nicene formula concludes that Christ is "one substance with us as regards his manhood" it would be difficult if not impossible to untangle the condensation of personal fantasies which lay behind this final formulation, as difficult as it is for the therapist to untangle the condensations of a dream without free associations. The psychohistorian often has voluminous documentation at hand which, like free associations, can reveal the fantasies and anxieties embedded in the final formulation-in this case, the whole history of the Arian controversy which preceded the Nicene formula.

Of course, to speak of "public discussion" which is conducted as a group-fantasy evolves is not to imply that the unconscious contents of the fantasy always appear clear or undisguised. As we shall see in detail shortly, group-fantasies are communicated in a hidden language, using emotionally powerful imagery, and using metaphors, similies, body

language and other emotion-laden words which are carefully enshrouded in enough defensive material to deny them entry into conscious awareness.

[6] "out of materials provided by recent historical events": The central tenet of the narrative historian – – that historical events are simply reac-tions to earlier historical events – – turns out to be precisely the main rationalization needed to sustain a group-fantasy. How obvious it is to everyone sharing the group-fantasy that countries are simply reacting to events "the only way they could have," and how difficult it is for the psychohistorian to demonstrate unconscious choice, hidden goals, motivated historical "mistakes." Historical "mistakes," like private "slips of the tongue," are motivated. Indeed, notions like "the mistake of Munich," repeated in every history of World War II, are part of the group-fantasy. It remains for the psychohistorian to invent a science of mistakes which can reveal their hidden motivations rather than accept the public opinion of the time.

Recent historical events, as has been said before, only gain emotional importance when woven into a developing group-fantasy. Without this, they pass like ripples in the sea, leaving no trace, no matter what their "real" importance is, until they are needed later for some new group-fantasy. People wonder why interest in the Holocaust, for instance, waxes and wanes as though fulfilling some hidden needs of each decade – but in fact

this is the rule for all historical events, not the exception. This becomes most obvious when we deal with the history of a far earlier time (as everything in much earlier periods seems more obvious, since we have such vastly different childhoods now and therefore do not share their most basic group-fantasies).

When, for instance, the English concluded after 1066 that William's invasion was successful because God was angry at them for having sent away so many English babies to the Irish, we smile at their linking two historical events so absurdly. Yet we do the same thing every day ourselves in order to cover up the internal group-fantasy sources of our contemporary historical actions.

As just one recent instance, when word was received in America that North and South Korean troops were fighting at the 38th parallel, the conclusion that the North had unilaterally invaded the South at the command of the Russians seemed irresistible. Evidence to the contrary was simply ignored: that the North was not mobilized for war, that the South's President, Syngman Rhee, was about to be deposed by his legislature and had good reason to provoke war, that the Russians had just walked out of the U.N. Security Council and were obviously taken by surprise by the fighting – all were ignored in the "sense of relief and unity" which the new war provided America psychologically.(8) An American ally had been "attacked" – what choice had we but to "re-

spond"? That America had many choices, that in fact we actually helped cause the conflict to break out at that time through our announcement a few weeks earlier that Korea was now outside our defense perimeter, are unpleasant facts which are denied by the group-fantasy formulation of the attack as stimulus and our troop movements as response. Like all behaviorist thinking, however, this stimulus-response model of the world is designed to hide motivations, not reveal them; and it is the internal sources of our desire to go to war in Korea which are here being hidden by the standard "behaviorist" narrative historian.

[7] "distributing group roles by psychoclass": The historical drama produced by successive group-fantasy cycles involves the splitting up of various group roles, a splitting which I believe more accurately reflects psychological class (shared childrearing modes) than economic class. This approach runs counter to that assumed by all other major contem-porary theories of history. The psychogenic theory of history is based upon the main thesis that the evolution of childrearing modes within the family produces new historical personalities, that society at any one time is made up of several of these kinds of personalities, that the values of the most advanced psychoclass clash with those of the older psychoclasses, and that this value-clash is then reflected in the conflicts of each new historical group-fantasy. Within these dramas, historical roles are taken according to psychoclass, which only roughly coincides with economic class.

One example which might be mentioned in this respect would be in comparing the roles taken in the revolutions which form the early modern nation-state. In France, because eighteenth century childrearing tended to differ considerably by economic class, roles in the French Revolution split along economic class levels more than in any other country (and thus furnished Marx with the empirical basis for his economic theory of history). But in England, where differing childrearing patterns were more closely divided between different religious groups, the Civil War split more along religious than economic lines. In contrast, in the American Revolution, it

is agreed that neither economics nor religion explains why individuals became rebel or royalist, so that one must actually study family by family the differing childhoods of the two groups to understand group roles. Finally, the American Civil War split between North and South not primarily because of economic interests, but because this geographical division most closely coincided with psychodass divisions-the North having been initially settled by advanced psychoclasses, mainly intact families escaping persecution for having advanced religious views, while the South was settled more by [1] single men, [2] later-born sons who were rejected by their families and who had poorer parenting than their first-born brothers, and [3] convicts, servants and other lower psychogenic mode personalities. Thus, even when, at first

glance, groups seem to be splitting along economic, religious or geographic lines, they are in fact taking roles by psychoclass.

Role-taking by psychoclass is, of course, the central finding in many studies in applied psychoanalysis ever since Adorno's Authoritarian Personality demonstrated the correlations between authoritarian childrearing and authoritarian political attitudes. Even so, a full theory of psychoclass as the basis for historical role-taking in every historical period has yet to be attempted – owing as much, I believe, to the difficulties in conceptualization of such a radical notion as to the lack of empirical evidence on historical childrearing and personality.(9)

In any case, my psychogenic theory conceives of history as a combination of the evolution of historical personality-which I view as progressive toward greater maturity-expressed in cycles of group-fantasy, together producing a spiral pattern of history rather than merely a linear or cyclical pattern, with each spiral representing attempts toward a more mature solu-tion to the problems of living together in groups. During each cycle, the more advanced psychoclass becomes the "liberals" of the period, identifying with the id (while denying its infantile content), fearing mainly separa-tion, and seeking security in revolt, while the less advanced psychoclass becomes the "conservatives," identifying with the superego (while denying its infantile content), fearing mainly gratifications, and seeking security in order. Each sub-group represent partial psychological truths, and together they split the emotional tasks of working out the group's historical problems.

[8] "producing group dynamics which can lead to a breakdown of group fantasy, a period of paranoid collapse, and an attempted restitution through the formation of a group-delusion": Since group-fantasies require that the fantasy-leader be under continuous attack for his possession of the group, and since the leader's attempts to counter these attacks through magical and heroic efforts to prop up his image are doomed to fail, every group-fantasy eventually reaches a "collapse" stage where the leader is experienced as being extremely weak, unable to nurture the country, and in-creasingly powerless to contain the growing rage and anxiety within, the group. This collapse of ego defenses releases previously bound material at all psychosexual levels, a condition within group development which parallels that which occurs in preparanoid individuals just prior to the formation of their paranoid delusion.(10) In preparanoid individuals it often happens that some new life situation removes an important authoritarian "leader" figure from the person's emotional life, someone who previously had served to direct, organize and give meaning to his or her life. This lack of direction and containment produces a collapse of structure in the individual – a collapse from which the new paranoid delusion itself is in ef-

fect an attempt at restitution.(11) This collapse of structure can be looked at productively from any one of a number of theroretical positions: as a col-

lapse of ego functions (Freud's disintegration anxiety), a collapse of self structure (Kohut's dread of self-dissolution), collapse of alpha-function (Bion's dispersal of contact-barrier), or collapse of womb-surround (Grof's Basic Perinatal Matrix stage 2). With historical groups, this "paranoid collapse" of an important group-fantasy produces an historical moment of extreme anxiety, narcissistic rage and confusion. Since one function of historical group-fantasies is to redistribute anxieties through historical role-taking, the collapse of the effective fantasy threatens both to release id and superego elements which it had previously bound and to produce a threat of total disintegration of the self. Objectless paranoid fears, often with religious apocalyptic overtones, sweep through the group. During this "paranoid collapse" period, fears of sexual license and of political anarchy appear most prominently; oral, anal and oedipal conflicts long hidden erupt into the public consciousness and language of public discourse; and rebirth and millennial fantasies proliferate.

These periods of "paranoid collapse" – during which group-fantasies of anarchy, sexual license and rebirth emerge in full bloom – are perhaps most clearly expressed in Reformation and early modern times. For instance, during the English Reformation, the collapse of Catholic mythology led to widespread fears that changes in ritual would produce widespread bouts of wild "beast-like carnal liberty" by anabaptists, anarchic violence by sacramentarians (many of whom were in fact pacifists) and so on.(12) Similarly, the English Civil War was prefaced by fears of the outbreak of adultery and incest, including millenarian rebirth fantasies among Fifth Monarchists and others,(13) the French Revolution was preceded by a paranoid "Great Fear,"(14) the American Revolution was prefaced by groundless conspiratorial fantasies on both sides, and so on. As I shall describe later in detail, every violent group-delusion in history is preceded by a "paranoid collapse" period, whether it is called a Popish Plot, a Gallic Peril, a Yellow Peril, Alien and Sedition Acts or a Communist purge. All perform the function of concretizing the objectless rages and anxieties of the group after the collapse of the group-fantasy

During this collapse period, groups often split into opposing camps even more hostile to each other than usual. Each sub-group claims the other is the real threat to order, hierarchy and authority, projects all id material onto the other group and itself identifies with the moralistic superego. At other times, minority millennial groups, often overtly bizarre in membership and purpose, are delegated the task of acting out the anxieties of this collapse period-groups which previously the larger society paid little attention to but which now capture widespread interest and even awe as delegates of the majority's emotional state. As the fantasy-leader appears at this stage to be extremely weak and helpless, these "crazy" delegate groups appear to be both uncontrollable and yet

somehow extremely meaningful-whether they are Nazi youth groups or Millerite millenarians or Bolshevik revolutionaries or McCarthyite paranoids, they are able to hypnotize the public body far beyond their tiny size, be-

cause they reflect the main emotional conflicts of the moment of paranoid collapse far better than does the more prosaic fantasy-leader.

One note of caution in regard to the period of paranoid collapse should be emphasized here: it has nothing to do with the periods of economic collapse, as most sociological theories have posited. In fact, economic recessions are almost always periods of decreased paranoid content, and leaders during periods of low economic activity are relatively inactive in foreign policy. It is only when a group's emotional values seem to have fallen apart that it looks for fantasy-leaders who are activists in foreign policy, who will provoke other nations in order to set up as many crisis areas as possible out of which new group-delusions may be formed in order to restore the group's psychological stability.

A group-delusion, then, is a more irrational and violent group-fantasy adopted by individuals in order to ward off feelings of paranoid collapse and to gain relief from what feels like an intolerable state of emotional dissonance between the relatively calm external world and the turmoil of their internal world. The intolerable ambivalence of the collapse stage is now avoided by splitting: the repressed narcissistic rage gets directed toward the enemy, while the unfulfilled love and grandiosity are projected onto the group itself. The country is now seen as infinitely precious and superior, but endangered from the outside, not from one's own hostility.

Given the central role of the removal of "sinful" feelings in group-delusions, it is no coincidence that they are so often conducted as crusades, for the Crusades of the Middle Ages are a paradigm of violent group actions conducted for the stated purpose of cleansing the soul of all sinsince Crusaders joined the movement with the promise that this would wash their souls of all sinfulness. The group-psychological pur-pose of group-delusions is in fact identical to that of all scapegoating and sacrifice in primitive and ancient societies: the purging of pollution and impurities (which is to say sexual and hostile wishes) through redirection toward substitute victims, a purification undertaken in order to restore group stability.(15)

Like the formation of an individual delusion, the formation of a group-delusion is always restitutional. Often, it is formed during one dramatic incident, one which might be termed a "moment of group-psychotic insight,"(16) when specific concrete enemies are suddenly perceived as the cause for one's present painful condition. The psychoanalyst O. A. Will has described this moment in the formation of the individual's paranoid delusion in these terms:

> *As communication fails, isolation increases, and the sufferer finds himself caught in a nightmare, driven by a feeling of urgency to make sense of the incomprehensible with which he is involved. He seeks a simple formula to make all clear, and if he is unfortunate he may elaborate the paranoid solution with its grandiosity, apportioning of blame, and chronic reformulation of the past and present to refind and protect a "system" that will reduce anxiety.(17)*

This group-delusion then takes over and structures the needed authoritarian component of the old group-fantasy, only in a new, more fixed, less rational and more violent form. If the group-delusion focuses on an enemy external to the group and the group goes to war, the once-weak fantasy-leader is now seen as "tough," "fighting," while his hated oedipal aspects are split off into the external enemy. If the group-delusion turns to an enemy within the group itself, the leader can be "tough" in eradicating "Jewish poisoners," "internal Communist conspiracies," or "bourgeois enemies of the people." If the group-delusion is millennial, the group can unite under a "tough" messianic figure who will effectively split the world into those to be saved and those to be killed in the coming apocalypse. And if the group-delusion is regicidal, the old weak leader can be killed off, in reality or in fantasy, under the direction of a "tough" new revolutionary leader. In all cases, the group delusion allows the anxiety, confusion and ambivalence of the paranoid collapse to be relieved by establishing a new authoritarian figure to organize the group's fantasy activities-only now with more irrational components: more paranoid, more inflexible, more irreversible, more power-centered, more intolerant, more grandiose, more violent.

This "moment of group-psychotic insight" can occur over a long period of time with each of the delusional elements being worked out by different delegate groups(18) which have split off to develop the group-delusion. Alternately, the delusion can be formed rather quickly, particularly when the group has long been in search of a delusional solution to its condition of collapse. Assassinations, for instance, are favorite organizers of group-delusions. Whether they lead to war, like "the shot at Sarajevo," or to internal persecution, like the assassination of Vom Rath which produced Kristallnacht and intensified the persecution of Jews, assassinations occurring after an extended period of paranoid collapse produce the precise feeling of "Aha! I knew the enemy was real and not just in my head" which is necessary to justify the respective group-delusions of "Germany really is being strangled by enemies" and "Jews really are blood poisoners." Although the dramatic external event appears to trigger the delusional solution-as, for instance, when the burn-ing of the Reichstag was fantasied to be a conspiracy and was used to unify Germany under Hitler-the actual formation of the group-

delusion precedes the moment of psychotic insight. For instance, as we shall show in detail shortly, the group-delusion that Fidel Castro was a dangerous extension of Russian power, and had to be wiped out by American forces, was actually formed by July of 1962. It was only in September, after Congress gave President Kennedy special war powers directed at Castro, that America sent the U-2 planes over Cuba which discovered the missiles which then appeared to trigger the delusion-based confrontation known as the Cuban Missile Crisis.

It is therefore important for the psychohistorian to be alert – when studying periods in which the main group-fantasy has disintegrated – for evidence that a paranoid collapse may have occurred and that a group-delusion may have formed. As Sullivan was the first to point out,(19) in in-dividuals this transition to the delusional phase is accompanied by a sense of uncanniness, suspicion and confusion-feelings which then disappear when the delusional insight is formed, because all the weaknesses and defects which during the collapse phase were felt to be "in" the individual are, during the delusional phase, projected into the enemy, so that the world seems once more to make sense, however dangerous the real enemy then appears. These group dynamics explain the hitherto unexplained fact that when the political psychologists Holsti and North(20) constructed a "paranoia index" and conducted a content analysis of German communications before World War I, they found that the

paranoid content reached its apex at the very moment when the decision to go to war was made – that is, at the moment of psychotic in-sight when the group-delusion was formed The anxiety on their graph then declined sharply, for the world "made sense" again once the external enemy was identified and the decision was made to fight, even though the actual war had yet to break out. However disastrous the next four years of carnage were to prove, they were less threatening than the terrible feelings of internal collapse and objectless rage which preceded them.

[9] "which result in a group-trance state which may require discharge in violent historical action." The more I have studied historical group-delusions in the past decade and tried to empathize with the individuals I followed through my documents, the more I have realized that something very strange was going on inside myself during this study. As I worked with primary documents, my head began to feel stuffed with cotton, my memory seemed to dull, and I began to realize that I felt exceptionally passive in the face of problems I was trying to solve – as though there were something in the study of group-delusions, particularly war, which would forever elude me, and which put this subject in a class by itself among all the problems I had ever encountered. I began to feel as though I were in a trance, a state I was somehow sharing with those I was studying. I began to suspect that people in the midst of group-delusions are themselves in a group-trance, in which normal rules of logic are sus-

pended.

Saul Bellow once captured this group-trance feeling rather well. When trying to think about the problem of war, Bellow observed, he seemed to become

> *very drowsy.. wakefulness, for some mysterious reason, comes and goes... Sometimes I suspect that I am myself under a frightful hypnotic influence – I do and do not know the evils of our times. I experience or suffer this alternate glowing and fading in my own person, and I see that others, too, are subject to it. I am familiar with the history of World War I and of the Russian Revolution. I know Auschwitz and the Gulag, Biafra and Bangladesh, Buenos Aires and Beirut, but when I come back to facts anew I find myself losing focus. Then I begin against reason to suspect the influence of a diffusing power – a demonic will that opposes our understanding. I am forced to consider... whether we do not go about lightly chloroformed.(21)*

The group-trance contains all the primary process attributes of individual delusional thinking, using many of the mechanisms of what the Kleinian school calls the paranoid-schizoid position, but with the illogical thinking confirmed even further by group consensus. This is why group craziness is so much more powerful – and less studied – than individual craziness. Just a few of the more common rules of group-trance thinking include:

(a) Opposites never contradict: Jews can be simultaneously despised weaklings and all-powerful poisoners without the one image affecting the other; Russia can be crumbling and ineffective but at the same time at the peak

of its power and expansionist desires; one can believe, as we all believe today, that war occurs regularly throughout history and that another war is bound to reoccur soon, while, at the same time, planning our lives around the axiom that war in our lifetimes is impossible. Opposites which, in normal conscious thinking, would modify each other, in trance thinking merely exist side by side.

(b) "Mistakes" proliferate: When, for instance, Truman permitted MacArthur to continue north in Korea despite Chinese warnings that they would respond militarily, it was called a "mistake," despite voluminous evidence that "mistakes" of this kind are motivated. Munich is a "mistake," Pearl Harbor is a "mistake," the Bay of Pigs is a "mistake," Vietnam is a "mistake" -none are desires.

(c) Two plus two equals zero: The larger the risk, the less it is consciously felt in the group-trance. As Eichmann put it, "One hundred dead is a catastrophe. Five million dead is a statistic." When President Kennedy told us all over TV that he was turning down Khrushchev's of-

fer to exchange Cuban missiles for our obsolete Turkish missiles, and im-plied he would soon be forced to invade Cuba even though a hundred million Americans might be killed by Russian missiles, we all nodded our approval from the depths of our group trance, certain that this figure was too large to be personally meaningful.

(d) Personal embarrassments become substitutes for policy: President Kennedy's way of summing up the American relationship to Russia at the beginning of his presidency was: "If Krushchev wants to rub my nose in the dirt, it's all over." In return, during the Cuban Missile Crisis, Krushchev admitted Russia indulged in the same kind of crazy "personalized" thinking:

> *When I asked the military advisers if they could assure me that holding fast would not result in the death of five hundred million human beings, they looked at me as though I was out of my mind or, what was worse, a traitor.. The biggest tragedy, as they saw it, was not that our country might be devastated and everything lost, but that the Chinese or the Albanians would accuse us of appeasement or weakness. So l said to myself: "To hell with these maniacs. If I can get the United States to assure me that it will not attempt to overthrow the Cuban government, I will remove the missiles." That is what happened. And so now I am being reviled by the Chinese and the Albanians. They say I was afraid to stand up to a paper tiger. It is all such nonsense. What good would it have done me in the last hour of my life to know that though our great nation and the United States were in complete ruins, the national honor of the Soviet Union was intact?(22)*

The "personalized" reactions of the group-trance state all assume that the world outside the group is suddenly full of others who for some strange reason are out to humiliate the nation, and especially its leader. In fact, foreign policy during group-trance periods is so concerned with humiliation that the search for the group-psychotic insight is usually conducted as a search for a humiliating other." This is a result of two group processes during the collapse stage. In the first, the leader feels his group's growing rage toward himself, including contin-

uous attacks on his self-esteem, but denies that it comes from his own group and displaces it instead to the outside world: “The American people are not trying to humiliate me – the Russians are.” A careful analysis of the accusations which leaders imagine outside groups are making of them usually reveals how little disguised many of them are from those current-ly being made by members of his own group. In the second process, paralleling the first, both the group and its fantasy leader, facing a breakdown of defensive structure, a disintegration of the self, experience

extreme narcissistic rage, and become humiliation-prone. The “humiliating outsider” is simply the critical, accus-ing, persecutory super-ego’s response, projected onto others: “American values are falling apart and we are nothing but a mass of selfish desires-the Russians see how low we have fallen and are trying to humiliate us.”

(e) Nothing is real, everything is fantasy: So powerful is the derealization process of a group-trance that I have never been able to find any na-tion anywhere in history going to war which bothered to estimate the number of dead and injured expected to result from their actions. The dead are quite unreal to the planners, who are op-erating out of their delusional trance. During the Vietnam War, for instance, the Pentagon never once tried to make an accurate estimate of total civilian casualties, even of the civilians we were supposed to be protecting. When in 1966 a Harvard student asked Secretary of Defense McNamara, who was famous as a “real numbers whiz,” how many civilians had been killed in Vietnam, he admitted he simply had no idea.

The function of dead people in the group-trance state is to confirm the internal violence of the group-delusion. If, for some reason, not enough people are dying to match the internal fantasy, something seems amiss. As Nixon put it when the number of American casualties had dropped sharply toward the end of the Vietnamese War: “American casualty figures in Vietnam had been reaching new lows. I knew that these reductions might be a ploy on the part of the Communists to make escalating the fighting that much more difficult for me.”(23)

(f) Historical amnesia is the rule: In a century in which 100 million people have been killed by wars, and on a planet where there is currently destructive power equal to 10,000 tons of TNT for every man, woman and child, the mere suggestion that there may be more destruction on the horizon is regularly met by blank stares and suspicions of mental imbalance. Historical amnesia is one of the first symptoms of a group-trance. If wars and revolutions always come as a surprise, that fact may have less to do with the difficulty of predicting human vio-lence than it does with the fact that there are presently more studies on the library shelf on jewelry than on wa r- so pervasive is our need to deny even the very existence of our group-delusions.

(g) Goals disappear, action becomes irresistible: One of the most bizarre results of group-trance thinking is that no war, revolution or other group-delusion is ever begun with a goal of what is expected to be accomplished by the action One’s logical assumption that any war leader actually has a plan for what to do when the war is over and won is quite mistaken. Even though wars and revolutions are often supposed to have economic causes, no group has ever drawn up a document setting out the economic consequences of their intended action. If it had, it would never have proceeded, since group-delusions are highly

uneconomical ways of getting what you really want. The action itself is in fact the goal, not the consequences of the action. When the Japanese ignored their intelligence reports, which unanimously concluded that the U.S. would win in any conflict with Japan; when the Germans ignored their intelligence reports, which said that fighting Russia as well as England would result in German defeat; when President Johnson ignored CIA reports saying that his massive bombing of North Vietnam would not bring victory, they were not just "being optimistic." Their goal was the violence and emotional release of action itself, not its possible consequences in terms of any tangible goals which could have been considered rational by even the most ardent apologist. In a group-trance, action becomes irresistible in order to carry out delusional motives. Literally crazy thinking-which allows such notions as "preventative wars" or "better dead than Red"-becomes the rule.

(h) Violence is imperative: Because the enemy, internal or external, serves as the repository of projections during the group-delusional stage, the impulse to action implies the need to wipe out the carriers of these projected feelings. All the objectless rage of the paranoid collapse phase is now at the service of the organized group-delusion, and the enemy is now seen as worth less than vermin, existing only to be killed. The official enemy, of course, is not the only victim-the group also indirectly kills off many of its own id-representatives, its youth, who represent itself in the life-phase when it was most sexual and most aggressive.

Oddly enough, the group-delusion is so powerful that the successful outcome of the group's violence, an outcome which obviously depends on power factors alone, is always seen by the group as confirming the success of the moral values of the group-fantasy itself. Thus, American success or failure in "wars against Communism," like Korea and Vietnam, is thought to indicate the success or failure of American liberal values; the various victories of ancient Athens or Sparta somehow are supposed to prove the worth of their differing political systems; the defeat of the Spanish Armada indicates the greatness of Elizabethan values; the defeat of the American South by the North indicates the moral superiority of abolitionism; and so on. All military triumphs are rationalized by reference to the courage and superiority of the "winning" group-fantasy systems, but in fact all come down to accept-ing that might makes right and to denying the premise that all violent actions in fact represent the failure rather than the triumph of real human values.

In summary, the concept of historical group-fantasies includes a theory of history as consisting of evolving cycles of attempts by individuals to form large groups organized around shared fantasy systems, based on displacements of personal psychosexual conflicts from

192

successively higher psychoclasses, each cycle culminating in a paranoid collapse of the group-fantasy and the acting out of a group-delusion to relieve shared feelings of inner chaos and rage. These cycles take place because of the group's psychohistorical dynamics, in a sphere of the psyche independent from that of individual neurosis, but drawing upon its content. The independence of historical group-fantasy stages from those of individual neurosis produces the strange feeling of discontinuity between the public and private sphere that is reflected in such discussions as "Were the Germans really sick in following Hitler?" or "Did America go crazy dur-

ing the Vietnam war?" The same population of individuals – with the same levels of maturity, personal psychic distress, and rates of psychosis-at one point in a group-fantasy cycle can manage successfully to bind their anxieties under a "strong" fantasy-leader, and several years later, without their individual psychodynamics or "personal health" changing at all, they can march off to war. We "go crazy together" in group-fantasy cycles of from a few to a few dozen years in length, in accordance with psychohistorical group dynamics, quite independent of cycles of personal distress, of changes in childrearing patterns, or of any other criteria.

Unlike the "natural therapy" which I believe goes on within historical families, as successive generations of parents attempt to do a better job than their own parents had done in raising their children, I do not believe that going through successive group-fantasy cycles is therapeutic. No one ever seems to learn anything from wars and revolutions, and acting out group-delusional projects seems to leave the personality structure as immature as before. In fact, group-delusional violence is actually traumatic to the individual, to the family, and to the parents' ability to pass on a more mature psychic structure to the next generation. History can therefore be viewed as a race between the therapy of family evolution and the traumas of group-delusional violence.

The empirical evidence for my theory that historical groups repeatedly lurch from stable group-fantasy to paranoid collapse to group-delusion under the group dynamics which I have described will be the task of the remaining sections of this paper. First, however, I will introduce a new technique which I believe can be useful in the task of revealing the specific historical group-fantasies hidden in the mass of empirical material available to the psychohistorian: Fantasy Analysis.

A FANTASY ANALYSIS OF THE NIXON TAPES

Part of the concept of historical group-fantasy is the assumption that the bulk of the public discourse which psychohistorians regularly examine is defensive in nature, designed to beguile the conscious mind into

accepting the rationalizations which hide the underlying fantasy message being shared by the members of the group. Although this purely defensive content is interesting in its own right and cannot be ignored, the underlying group-fantasy itself is more easily seen if only the more powerful emotional words are selected and set down next to each other, where connections and themes can emerge which otherwise remain buried under the sheer mass of defensive material.

One technique I have found useful over the past few years is to go through the historical document, be it a newspaper article, a Presidential speech or a Congressional committee transcript, and pick out only the metaphors, similies, body terms, strong feeling words, repetitive phrases and symbolic terms, and then examine them for thematic content. This technique, which I term Fantasy Analysis, becomes rather easy to do when one realizes that one must first read the original material for overt content, in order to satisfy one's conscious desire to find out what the person is intentionally saying about "real" events. Then, in a different mind set entirely, the same document must be reread for fantasy content alone. This fantasy content is rarely much more than one percent of the content of the document and can be elicited by following these eight rules:

1. *Record all metaphors and similes*, regardless of context. This is not as easy as it may sound – the history of etymology shows all phrases beginning in a metaphoric haze and only becoming specific with long use. It is better to include borderline cases than leave them out – for instance, "arms cuts" begins to have fantasy overtones (in a disarmament conference) once connected with other fantasy words which comes to convey the literal meaning of cuts in the (human) arm.
2. *Record all body language, strong feeling tones, and strong emotional states*. Obviously the words "kill," "death," "love," "hate," and so on convey important emotional messages – but what is fascinating is how often they occur in contexts that simultaneously deny their importance and defend against their "really" having an emotional meaning. Often a meeting which is deciding on going to war spends much of its time discussing procedural matters in a very dull, emotionless language, but just as everyone is about to fall asleep, slips in terms like "killing the outstanding bill" or "progress on the bill has come to a dead halt," and the psychohistorian must be alert enough to pick up just the words "killing" and "dead".
3. *Record all repetitive, unusual or gratuitous word usages*. This requires total concentration, especially when a long document is being examined, since the repetitions are often pages apart and

the "unusualness" of a word or phrase depends upon context. But if, for instance, a Russian revolutionary document uses coming out" several times (to mean revolution), this should be picked up as an important unusual phrase conveying a particularly potent emotional message.

4. *Record any obviously symbolic terms*, especially political terms, like flags and such, but also including familial imagery or any other overtly symbolic phrases.
5. *Eliminate all negatives*. A speaker coming before you and saying "I do not want to speak today about war, revolution, death, fear and destruction" is, of course, conveying the positive message he denies. All negatives and all denials are part of the defensive, not the fantasy, structure; as Freud said long ago, the unconscious does not know the negative.
6. *Eliminate all subjects and objects*. The basic defensive technique involves projection of subject and/or object, so one can-not depend on the language of the speaker to indicate the real subject/object of the fantasy. So when the document says "The Russians are cracking", only the word "cracking" is copied down; whether it is the Russians that are truly cracking or whether it is the speaker (and his group) who feel they are cracking should be left to other evidence.
7. *Record all overt group responses*, laughter, moments of relaxation in meetings, breaks, asides, tense silences, and so on, wherever possible.
8. *Note any long periods of no imagery.* If, in a meeting, you cannot find a single image for pages and pages of dialogue, make a note of this in brackets in your analysis – it indicates that there is a lack of group development and that group-fantasy is being severely repressed for some reason.

In order to illustrate what kinds of new connections and themes can be seen through this technique, in this section of the paper I will take a recent historical document, the Nixon Tapes, and will present in the next several

pages every single word of fantasy language located under these rules – a complete Fantasy Analysis of the entire 800 pages of tapes, as supplemented and corrected by the subsequent Judiciary Committee report comparing the White House version with actual tapes available to them.(24) As an informal test of reliability, I have compared my version of the selection technique with versions of several colleagues using these rules. They have come up with virtually the same list of fantasy words, only sometimes with a few additional words they picked out which I did not. These were generally variations of the kinds of feelings I myself included, except that I tended to be quite conservative as to what con-

stituted a "strong" feeling. (Of course readers are invited to test for themselves the reliability of the method against the easily available transcript of the tapes.)

For the first two meetings, in September of 1972 and February of 1973, I have reproduced below the full sentences wherever Fantasy Analysis words appear, and have put the fantasy words in bold type, so the reader may examine the surrounding material. I have also indicated the page number in brackets, to give some notion of the limited frequency with which group-fantasy words appear in the full text. The Fantasy Analysis of the first two meetings, both between Nixon and John Dean, is as follows:

> *9/15/72: Nothing is going to come **crashing down**...this is a **can of worms** as you know a lot of this stuff that went on.. the way you have handled all this seems to me has been very skillful putting your **fingers in the leaks** that have sprung here and spring there. [61].. So you just try to **button up** as well as you can...[66] 2/20/73:...he is likely to **float it out there** and they will **grab** it. [70] They would give him a **hot seat**. [72]...It will be **hot**, I think they are going to be **tough**. I think they are going to be **gory** in some regards, but I am also absolutely convinced that if everyone **pulls their own oar** in this thing. ..[81].. The doctors say that the poor old gent had a **tumor**... the man had a **brain tumor**. [82] .. .I haven't the **foggiest** idea. It is a Sullivan story as to where the **leak** might have come from about the current Time Magazine story, which we are **stonewalling** totally here. [84].. .There has never been a **leak** out of my office. There never will be a **leak** out of my office. I wouldn't begin to know how to **leak** and I don't want to learn how you **leak**. [86]... I tried to get it through his **thick skull**. His **skull** is not **thick**... [90].. .1 am planning a number of **brain** sessions with some of the media people... You know, I am a **small fish**. [91]*

The first thing one notices from following the page numbers above is the sporadic nature of fantasy content. It is as if the people in the meeting try for several minutes to hold off all fantasy language, then suddenly emit several potent emotional phrases in a short burst, then return to denial or work tasks for several more minutes. (I have found this true of most meetings, both those I have studied in transcript and those in which I have participated. Every time the group goes for five or ten minutes without any fantasy language, I begin to feel uneasy, emotionally adrift, out of touch with group development, until a new burst of fantasy language relieves the tension and puts me back in contact with the on-going group-fantasy, expressed though it is in a highly condensed language.)

and themes which I for one had never before noticed, even though I had read the entire tapes through several times previously. Although it is true that each person reading the results of a Fantasy Analysis will differ on the interpretation to be assigned to various feelings and themes, still, the existence of these themes should be something most analysts should be able to agree upon. In these two meetings, one begins by noting something small (“small fish,” “worms”), a sense of floating in a liquid (”leaks,” ”oars,” ”floating”), a container (”can,” ”button it up”), a threat of collapse (“crashing down”) and perhaps the additional themes of a hurting head (”thick skull,” ”brain tumor,” ”brain sessions,” “stonewall”) and a hurting rear (“hot seat”). Obviously, how one puts these themes together will vary according to one’s theoretical orientation. Some analysts might emphasize the concern with leaky boundaries, others might note infantile images of vulnerability, of trying to keep feelings buttoned up, of imminent danger, and still others might see a fantasy of a fetus floating in a leaking womb. But whatever the interpretation, one initial theme is certainly sounded, which will be further developed as the meetings continue: that the group’s previously contained boundaries seem to be in danger of crashing down and releasing a flood of dangerous feelings.

The next meeting, in March of 1973, with Haldeman, Dean and Nixon present, presents us with even more prolific imagery on the themes already introduced (from here on I will only reproduce the fantasy words on each meeting):

> *3/I 3/73:...in the drawer...bob and weave.. hide.. hunkering down .bob and weave.. bullet biter.. blowing up a little smoke up him... hang in there.. cross that bridge.. little bomb... piece of dynamite... uncover a shield.. cracking.. wash operation.. stroking... hard row to hoe.. .dry hole.. hang-out road.. hang-out road.. hang-out road... kicked around.. hang-out.. .hang-out. . .domino situation.. last gasp.. squeal.. squeal.. squeal.. got the hell kicked out of them... establishment is dying... ran up against walls... bear trap... real bomb.. .very hot.*

By now, the group feeling seems to have reached a further stage of development. The initially milder image of something that’s only hot, with slight cracks and leaks, has now turned into one with real explosiveness (“dynamite,” “real bomb,” “blowing up,” “very hot,” “bear trap”) and a far more vulnerable boundary condition (“establishment is dying,” “uncover a shield,” “cracking,” “hang-out,” “up against the walls,” “hide,” “squeal,” “last gasp”). The violence of the imagery has been stepped up several notches, and one begins to feel the growing rage and fear, along with further imagery of collapse and danger.

That this danger and rage is felt by the participants to be both external to each of them, which is to say part of the group feeling, and internal, which is to say part of their own unconscious intrapsychic fantasy system, will become evident as we move on. However, it should be noted at this point that at least one of the participants,

Dean, indicated as much when he later recalled this period for the House Judiciary Committee's secret testimony on these meetings. Twice during his testimony Dean told the Committee that he felt "pregnant" during this period of time. One of the members thought he heard him wrong, and asked him, "Mr. Dean, at the risk of being indelicate, did I correctly understand you on at least two occasions during your testimony to say that you were pregnant?" Dean replied, "I used that phrase." The member, as if in disbelief, spell-ed it out, "P-r-e-g-n-a-n-t?" Dean replied, "I was pregnant with the cover-up, as I think I started testifying, and where the phrase first came from, I said I was a reluctant lady at first and soon I was pregnant." Later in the testimony he again confirmed that he felt the Watergate coverup was inside himself, using the phrase that he had actually felt "raped' during the conception.(26) As we proceed with the Fantasy Analysis of this and other meetings, it will become more obvious that the feelings being expressed refer primarily to internal feelings of growing rage and anxiety and then secondarily to perceptions of the external "reality" situation of the group.

A week later, Dean began his meeting with Nixon with his famous "we have a cancer growing on the Presidency" speech-an image which was actually introduced into this group process by Nixon himself, in an "aside" he delivered during the February meeting quoted earlier: the im-age of someone he had heard of who had a "brain tumor." (Actually, Nixon often used the 'cancer" imagery throughout his career, only usually in international affairs, as most politicians use it, as when he said in 1962 that "Cuba is a cancer" which might spread.) The Fantasy Analysis of this meeting reads as follows (the reader should try reading this whole section aloud):

3/21/73:...cancer within... growing... growing... growing... bust... bust...disaster... fish or cut bait... blows... blow... pushed without mercy... White House is not happy... White House... White House ... pushing... broken loose... containment... hold it... blow up... growing cancer... blowing... cap on the bottle... blows... growing... growing... blows... cover up... breaking... watch after their behind... protect my ass... scared... blowing... broken... pieces... over that cliff... blow... hot... blows... down the road... hunker down... cover it up... keep it buried... take the heat... take the heat... bits and pieces... broken... bits and pieces... bled to death... hanging... blowing the whistle... go down in smoke... come out... break loose... re-

luctant dragon... erosion... erosion... long road... protect their own behind... blow up... collapse... cancer growing... clean it out... clean the cancer out... cutting the cancer out... blow

Now the first thing that must be noted about this remarkably expressive and emotionally consistent meeting is that the actual Watergate situation by March of 1973 is far from having "heated up," so that in no way can fears about the coverup be said to have been responsible for the language of this meeting. Nixon has in fact just been re-elected by a very large majority, the Watergate break-in trial has ended with very little coming out, Hunt is about to be paid his hush money after this very meeting, and the cover-up looks as if it is working suc-

cessfully. As will be our point throughout this paper, the language of enormous growing internal violence precedes by days, weeks, or months the external "reality" danger situation. As our theory of historical group-fantasies posits, the collapse of group-fantasy and the fantasies of growing internal violence are in fact first experienced, as in the language above, as a "cancerous growth," about to "blow" or "bust" into "bleeding" "bits and pieces" – – all "paranoid collapse" images common to this stage – and only then are external conditions set up by the group which turn the fantasy into a reality

This is quite clear in this March 21st meeting. First the group experiences the internal rage and collapse feelings, and only at the end of the meeting does the President say "get it" in relation to the Hunt hush money-which is the major act of obstruction of justice in which he was later considered for impeachment. The people in the meeting first experienced the feelings of paranoid collapse and only then proceeded to commit the illegal acts which objectified the paranoia and set up the delusional solution: the fantasized death of the leader, through the "smoking gun" he himself will fire through his own temple. The group present at this meeting did not "go along with" Nixon; they ordered him to find a solution to the intolerable condition of rage and collapse they all felt.

The second thing to note in the language of this meeting is the heavy anal overtones to the violence expressed. Not only in the overt sense of phrases such as "protect my ass" and "watch after their behind" and such, not only in the implicit sense of all that "pushing," "blowing," "coming out" and "clean it out" imagery, but also in all the "expletives deleted," which reputedly contains mostly anal imagery, the primarily anal focus to the rising anger reveals itself. This is quite often true in modern political discourse when subjected to Fantasy Analysis: the anal hostility forms the basis within which the oral and oedipal are embedded. A group with a lower psychogenic level of personalities, a primitive tribe for instance, whose anal training is less severe, might substitute earlier

level imagery for the anal – for instance, images of growing group pollution from dangerous menstrual blood. But here, with a group whose toilet training was early and severe, as with most Americans in their psychoclass growing up in the 1920s and 1930s, the imagery is heavily anal. Every participant in the meeting (Ehrlichman and Haldeman join Dean and Nixon about half-way through), no matter what the topic (and the topics ranged widely), when reaching for a metaphor or simile or emotionally expressive term, came up with one feeling, one fantasy, which grew by the end of the meeting to a command: "We've got to clean out the explosive shit-rage soon, or we'll all blow up into bleeding bits and pieces."

The feelings of paranoid collapse of a modern group-fantasy are identical with those of the moment of "sacrificial crisis"(27) in a primitive group. Feelings of growing pollution within the group-mainly feelings of growing violence-require purging through the offering-up of a substitute, a scapegoat, in order that the "social fabric," the effective group-fantasy, may be restored. Whether the sacrificial victim is a true scapegoat (animal or human) or an enemy (external or internal to the group) or the leader himself (as in the annual sacrifice of divine kings which bring on the cleansing rains to clear the group of pollution) is another matter, one which has more to do with the opportunity furnished by the historical situation than with group-fantasy stages, our present focus. In

this case, Nixon's own personality was partially responsible for his opting for the "suicide of the leader" group-delusional solution, in addition to the fact that another war was hard to make palatable immediately after the Vietnam War had ended. In fact, Nixon moved toward the suicidal choice as early as the day after his re-election, when he said he felt he was about to collapse "like an exhausted volcano," and tried to combat this strong feeling state by asking for the resignations of his entire White House staff and Cabinet-thus beginning what he planned as a vast "reorganization" scheme, one guaranteed to alienate the entire executive branch and lead to the leaks which brought about his downfall. Even so, Nixon almost managed, in the middle of the Watergate crisis, to find the external enemy needed to deflect the rage outward: the October Red Alert, when he imagined out of the whole cloth a Soviet plan to land an expeditionary force in the Middle East, and when he put American forces on worldwide war alert for the first time since the Cuban Missile Crisis. But Nixon's "crisis,' was too manufactured, the Russians declined to participate in the confrontation attempt, and political suicide was the only group-delusion available to him. The point I wish to emphasize here is that whether regicide or suicide or war or revolution or millenarianism are the group-delusions resorted to, all act as group purification rites designed to displace the growing rage onto others, to clear the group of violence, and to be reborn under a new, more stable group-fantasy.

A third point might be appropriately made here. Each of the four members present at this March 21st meeting shared and contributed to the development of the group-fantasy despite their quite different personalities. A more detailed biographical study would reveal how each contributed out of the store of his own personal psychosexual experience to the imagery of each stage of the group-fantasy. For instance, John Dean's unconscious homosexuality was often evident in his contributions, as in the language of his being "raped" and "made pregnant" with Watergate. Nixon, on the other hand, often showed a strong personal preoccupation with death, stemming from his unconscious guilt for the deaths of his brothers,(29) so that he was the one most responsible for the introduction of death imagery into the developing group-fantasy-as in "establishment is dying," 'growing cancer" and the like. Similarly, one can trace-as Rothenberg has done so well(30) – Nixon's preoccupation with burglarizing, bugging, eavesdropping, taping, shadowing suspects, illegally opening mail, and eliminating "leaks," to his infantile voy-euristic desires. Our Fantasy Analysis of the tapes, by focusing at this point only on structural and content changes in order to describe stages of development, may seem to slight the biographical dimensions of the group process, which of course would be included in any full psychohis-torical study of the group. Even so, although it is always personal rage which we are examining, and although there is no group geist or "unseen hand" directing group "needs," each member of the group contributes out of his own storehouse of unconscious emotions, to the developing group-fantasy in ways appropriate to each stage of the group's dynamics.

What is perhaps most unexpected about the material we have seen so far in these initial Fantasy Analyses of what is secretly going on in the Oval Office is that the emotions being shared and developed by the President and his associates are also being shared and developed throughout America as a whole. When one performs Fantasy Analyses of the newspaper editorials, Presidential press conferences, Congressional meetings, newsweekly articles, cartoons and other shared emotional material, one finds the identical shift of content

from the “cracking” stage near the end of 1972, with its fears of growing rage, to the paranoid “collapse” stage of March and April, with its more violent and more open rage.

As with the tapes, the media imagery is not primarily to be found in discussions relating to the Watergate developments-which actually were barely noticed in the national media at this point (the Senate Committee investigation didn’t start until later) The group-fantasy is, instead, shared at the subliminal level in seemingly innocuous ways. In September, the fantasy language of the media in headlines and lead ar-

ticles and cartoons centers around images of cracking, rising pressures and fears of coming explosiveness, just as our Oval Office Fantasy Analysis did. The newsweeklies, for instance, headlined their lead ar-ticles with language emphasizing “Rising Pressures for Longer Controls,” “Crackdown on Crime,” “Where Busing Issue is Hottest,” and in cartoons such as one showing a ticking bomb labeled “Federal Tax Boosts Timed to Explode After Elections.”(31) U. S. News, in a typical front cover and lead article on September 18th, asked “How Big a Boom Ahead?” which featured fears about a “big boom” coming, a Fantasy Analysis of which reads simply:

boom... boom... boom... danger... overstimulate... boom... steam... runaway... pressures(32)

It must be remembered that during September of 1972 American planes and tanks were slaughtering thousands of Vietnamese civilians, but that this fact was almost completely absent in the coverage which I found in the national newsweeklies. The group-fantasy, as usual, was relatively unconcerned with reality, focusing more on its “cracking” stage imagery and fears of a “coming boom” as oedipal rage at the fantasy-leader threatened to get out of hand, producing feelings which could better be projected onto domestic trivialities than on Vietnam in its final stage.

On October 2nd, U. S. News became excited about the supposed “cracking-up” of the Democratic Party, and in an article headlined “Can Democrats Rebuild Their Party?.. **Breakup** of the New Deal Coalition,” they projected the country’s shared internal feelings of cracking and coming violence as follows:

breakup... landslide... watershed... breakup... welded together... breaking away... slippage... war... impending disaster... collapsed... weakness... .disaster(33)

Now I would argue that it was not the breakup of the Democratic Party which was actually feared as a coming disaster by this Republican newsweekly, but rather it was the “impending disaster” coming from the hidden internal emotional state of the nation. Similarly, when at this same time Nixon made a Labor Day speech to the nation, his language was still at the milder “cracking” stage, which, in this case, he used in the sense of “cracking down on prices”:

Treadmill... treadmill... war... cracking... cut... squeeze... cripples... cutting the pie... bake a bigger pie... hatred... fear... bedrock... sit out(34)

bulls and boiling housewives were drawn independently during the same week by three cartoonists in Columbus, Georgia, Washington, D.C. and Louisville, Kentucky, all in response to “national mood” alone.

I have usually found that the body images used by the cartoonists of the nation are by far the best index of the group-fantasy stages of the nation. During the “cracking” stage of September, 1972, Herblock focused his cartoons mostly on imagery of cracking-he calls his cartoon chapter of his book on this period “Cracks in the Dam”(36) – and showed the White House’s locked doors about to break down (Illustration I) By June, for the “collapse” stage, he drew cartoons showing the walls collapsed and the cleansing torrents of water under way – calling his chapter on this period “The Flood” (Illustration 2):

Illustration 1 – ”Cracking”
September 17, 1972

Illustration 2 – “Collapse”
June 26, 1973

Returning now from national media analysis to the Nixon tapes, a Fantasy Analysis of the next three meetings in the Oval Office continues even more overtly the previous meeting’s theme of “clean out the shitty rage”:

> *3/22: tippytoes… cross the bridge… fighting… unstuck… get the big fish out… loose… hang out… hang out… hanging out… heavy load… put the fires out… nailed down… come out… off the lid… clean… good boy… clean… clean… clean… 3/27: cut it off… ass in this thing… apples and oranges… shaken… sticky position… apples and oranges… big enchilada… red herring… bleeding… take the dive… stream… cross-currents… clean as a hound’s tooth… 3/30: leak… in hand… cover up… cover up*

By now, the illegal hush money had been paid to Hunt, and someone had

to take the next step and delegate some member to go outside the group and reveal the illegality, as the fantasy language above puts it, in order to "get the big fish out" and "clean" the "ass" as "clean as a hound's tooth" so everyone can be a "good boy." The theme of relieving the intolerable emotional pressures, of "pulling the plug" on the built-up shit-rage, of purging the national group pollution, is introduced at the very beginning of the crucial meeting of April 8th, the Fantasy Analysis of which simply reads:

> *pulled the plug.. pulled the plug… pull the plug*

That afternoon John Dean acts as unconscious delegate of the group's needs by going over to the Watergate investigators and telling them all he knows. Before he does so, Dean actually tells Haldeman on the phone he is talking to them, but not of course that he is acting out the delegated command to "pull the plug" on the group. Yet the next meeting, on the afternoon of April 8th, between Nixon, Haldeman and Ehrlichman, held at the very moment Dean is spilling the beans across town, shows that the group knows precisely what is going on between Dean and the prosecutors – and the group begins to imagine how "painful" the coming "purge" will be, how "pricking the boil" will feel like "poison," like "blowing up sky high," like a "bombshell:"

> *4/8: nail… nailed… blow… cut… bag job… busted… broke… my water can't rise any higher… nail… nail… straw that broke the camel's back… bite the bullet… kills… kills… blow last straw… dragged in by the heels… roll his eyes… cover-up… cover-up… bite the bullet… take the poison… caving… caving… heads up there on the dock… cover-up… cover-up… cover-up… rape is inevitable… breaking… bottling up… blow 'em sky high… take the gas… purge yourself… bite it… bit it… bombshell… pain… painful… unscramble the whole omelet… boil had to be pricked… take the heat… prick the boil… tuck this under the run… clammed up… chips fall*

Later meetings continue the anal imagery of flushing the rage "down the drain," to the point of actually openly admitting that the group mood now feels like the group has "been constipated for eight months and all of a sudden was able to take a crap is going to enjoy it:"

> *4/14: down the drain… crumble… blow… kid gloves… fishing net… clean breast… freezing… freezing… dog fight… fight… drag it out of me… pealing off… big bag… on the peg… heat on… sticky wickets… dead in the water… leaked… cold turkey… lay a glove on him… lay a glove… sew up… drag kicking and screaming… big fish… constipated for eight months and all of a sudden was able to take a crap is*

going to enjoy it... beat on the head and shoulders... bouncing... apple sauce... stink... spongy... sticky... wild man... mixed bag... wringer... flowing around and leaking... swallow... thrashing around... Siamese twins... 4/15: big fish... tie in... up to his navel... little fish... ebb tide... full tide

The anal violence seems to be well under way of being flushed out in such imagery above as the “big fish” which is “stinky” and “sticky,” the ”apple sauce,” the ”crap” which is going ”down the drain,” ”through the wringer” of the cleansing “tide,” en ding the “eight months’ constipation” (it has been just eight months since the formation of the first House Committee, Patman’s flanking and Currency Committee, which began investigating Watergate).

The next meeting, on April 14th, reflects the enormous decrease in rage and paranoid anxiety felt by the group after this purging. Despite the fact that publicly no changes have occurred in the Watergate situa-tion, this is the first meeting in the tapes where there is no fantasy language at all! The following two meetings after that have very little fantasy language (“snow job... splashed... feet to the fire... splashed... splashed... cut the cancer right off”), and then follows a second meeting, on April 16th, with no fantasy language at all. For the moment, the group-fantasy of those in the Oval Room is that the boil has been prick-ed. As in the Holsti and Norton study cited earlier, where the German “paranoia index” dropped sharply after the Kaiser decided to go to war, the construction of the group-delusional solution relieves the anxiety of the paranoid collapse phase.

Unfortunately, if the leader is to be the group scapegoat, if he is to be replaced by a new “strong” leader who can organize a new group-fantasy which can effectively bind the emotions of the nation, the sacrifice of lesser figures around the leader works only for a short time to remove the pressure. Once again, it is a Herblock car-toon which sums up what happens as one after another of those closest to the leader get pushed off the sacri-ficial cliff (Illustration 3).

That Nixon unconsciously helped push each of his associates off the cliff to ward off the day of his own demise is clear. He even admitted it himself, in a “Freudian slip,” while speaking on November 17, 1973 before the Associated Press Managing Editors Association, when he stated, regarding Haldeman and Ehrlichman: “I hold both men and others charged are guilty...,” which the Times reported with the note that “Mr. Nixon misspoke here-he meant the reverse.”(37) Even though the sacrifice of his friends was necessary, Nixon felt it was the only way to delay his own political death. In his Memoirs, he likens his decision to fire Haldeman and Ehrlichman to self-castration: “I felt as if I had cut off one arm and then the other. The amputation [was] neces-sary for survival... “(38)

Illustration 3-The Sacrificial Cliff
January 25, 1974

A Fantasy Analysis of the final weeks of the tapes which we have available show the return of group pressures after each substitute is sacrificed and renewed needs to “pull the plug,” hopefully without the leader himself getting “splashed,” hopefully without “pain,” but eventually knowing that even the leader would have to “throw in the sponge” and suffer a painful “death:”

4/16: cleanly. ..pulling punches.. hung.. .up the road.. drag it out.. cold turkey.. cold turkey.. pull the string.. tied it down.. .tie it down.. .deep six.. .deep six.. clean.. burning.. burn.. pain... scream out.. my tail.. .flushed.. .big fish.. splashed.. walk the plank . splashes.. .deep six.. trash.. blow.. .guts. . deep six.. .deep six... plugging a hold.. pulled the plug... full breast.. .egg on his face... bite the bullet... painful.. thrown in the sponge.. .ironed out... ironed out...quite a plate full.. .4/17: nibbled...dragged up...drag-ged out.. .save his neck.. come out.. .come out.. .come out.. .eaten alive.. leaked.. leaked.. .ass.. .in the soup.. .bomb shelter.. nibbled garbarge. . full court press.. draw the wagons up.. tying our hands.. big fish... small fish.. flying from flower to flower.. plant-ing his pollen.. .ass. . .ass.. leaks.. .eaten away.. .eaten away.. .cancer at the heart.. drastic surgery.. deep six.. baloney.. bark.. leaks... leaks and leaks.. leaks.. .down the tube... pulled the plug.. blast hell out of all of us.. .cried like a baby.. broke down.. broke down.. .cry blow.. leaks.. leaks.. leaks.. poison.. leaks.. leaks.. kicked him around.. .out of pocket.. .twist. . hang.. .frighten. . rack.. nailed... sack.. hurricane.. death.. .hurts. . cooked.. .cried...breaks...rape was inevitable...washes away...4/18: leaking...leaking...leaking... powder keg.. .come out.. .4/19: killed.. .dead. . kills.. kill.. kills... sheep to the wolves.. .panic.. .4/27: ass... kill.. kill.. .tear hell out of him.. dice.. big fish.. pres-sure.. .cut the Gordian knot... kill.. kill

same bag.. same bag.. clean.. .4/30: heart.. .trap

The operative term of the group as the end nears is, of course, the word “kill.” Once again, Herblock pictures it most graphically, effectively using the image of the hourglass to portray the evacuation of the shit-rage, the demise of the fantasy-leader and even the symbol of birth:

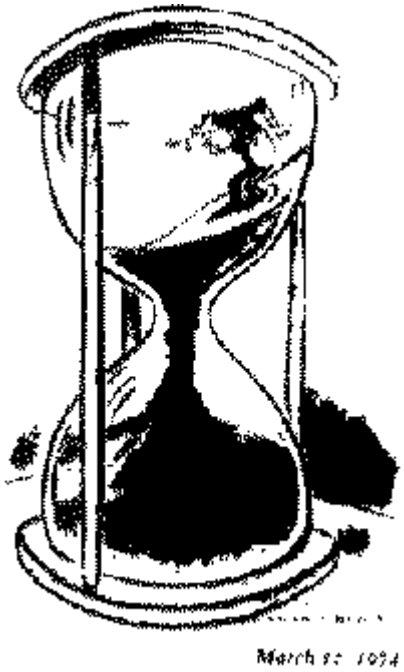

Illustration 4 – The Slide to Death
March 12, 1974

Thus the drama of the Nixon group-fantasy is over, the rages of the group have killed off the weak fantasy-leader, his sacrifice has brought the cleansing purge, the nation feels as if reborn, and a new, strong fantasy-leader steps in to tackle the job of organizing the group’s emotional conflicts.

It might at this point be argued that my choice of the Nixon period to illustrate the weakening and collapse of a group-fantasy leader is simply stacking the cards, since Nixon is the only president in American history to have been thrown out of office. What happens to strong leaders, like Eisenhower or Kennedy for instance, who have the confidence of the nation, and who are not personally prone to self-destructive acts? Surely they were not experienced by the nation as weakening and dying; surely the nation during the 1950s and early 60s did not ex-perience cycles of growing pollution, paranoid collapse, group-delusional action and sym-bolic rebirth. Furthermore, might it also be that somehow the Nixon period was particularly prone to these anal cleansing images which form the bulk of our evidence so far? For one thing, the Watergate affair concerns secrets, and the keeping of family secrets, according to the psychoanalyst Theodore Jacobs, always stimulates fantasies cen-tering around issues of anal control.(39) In order to answer these objections, in the next section of this paper I will give samples from my Fantasy

Analyses of the public documents of the Eisenhower and Kennedy years, and will follow the major stages of the three group-fantasy cycles which I found had occurred during this eleven-year span of American history.

THE THREE GROUP-FANTASY CYCLES OF THE EISENHOWER AND KENNEDY PRESIDENCIES

The presidential campaigns of both Eisenhower and Kennedy, like those of all presidential candidates, were filled with oedipal group-fantasies of how the "hopefuls" were busy "wooing" and eventually "winning the heart" of the national group. Even without getting into a detailed analysis of their campaign imagery, one can sense that there was something special about their elections, some "charismatic" leadership qualities due to the nation's grandiose expectations of them, which made them more idealized "husbands" to the maternal group than most. As traditional in American politics, the victorious candidate was most often shown in the media not as shaking the hand of his running mate nor of his campaign manager, but as hugging his wife. (The photo most often picked was taken from about three feet off the ground, the level of an oedipal five-year-old.) And, of course, their early weeks in office were characterized as a "love affair with the people," a "honeymoon period," full of hope and expectations. It is the group-as-mother who is the unseen audience and ultimate prize of all political action, and the winning of this group-mother by leader and opposition alike is the hidden agenda of daily politics.

The popularity of American presidents is, of course, carefully measured by the Gallup organization through nationwide polls asking about the nation's confidence in the presidency. The regular decline of the leader's popularity after his election, which is part of my psychogenic theory, is in fact found as a normal feature of every presidential term. The Gallup polls for the three terms examined in this section are shown in Illustration 4.1 have added a vertical axis in each term, representing what I found to be three similar turning-points, the military group-delusions which ended, in each case, a period of paranoid collapse: the Taiwan Crisis, the Lebanon Crisis and the Cuban Missile Crisis. As can be seen in the graphs, in each case the nation's confidence in the leader recovered for a time after these group-delusional actions were under-taken, then resumed their decline once more.

Although all three group-delusions involved military movements and risks of war, all three also managed to avoid open violence-as might have been suggested by the fact that Eisenhower and Kennedy were both later-born sons. As Irving Harris has shown,(40) the only American war led by a later-born son was the shortest and least bloody, the Spanish-

American, under McKinley. All other times, the nation chose a heroic parent-socialized first-born son rather than a more conciliatory peer-socialized later-born son to lead them in war. Although birth order is hardly a guarantee of war or peace, the evidence Harris gives is certainly statistically significant.

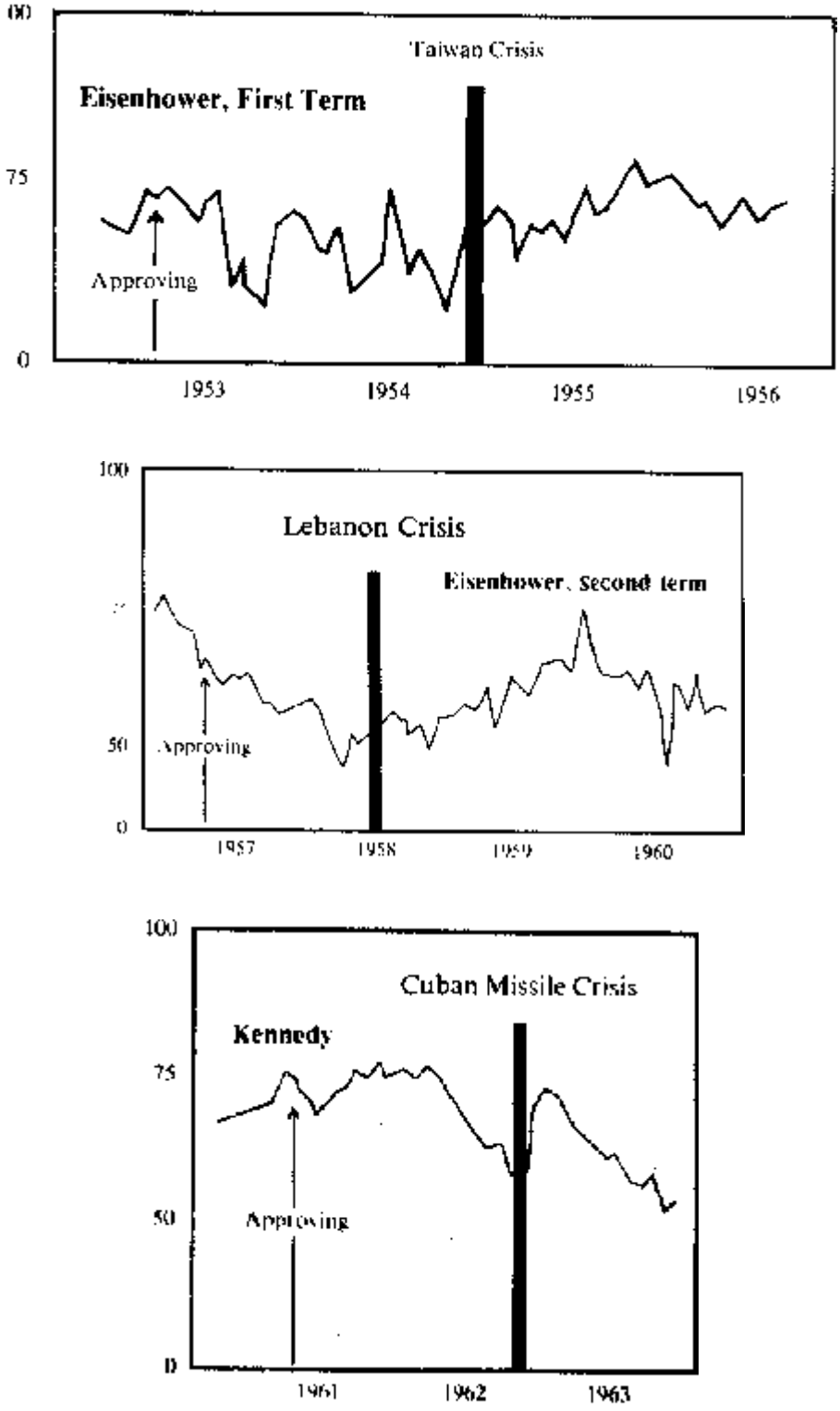

Illustration 5 – Decline of Confidence in the Presidency and Temporary Recovery After Group-Delusional Action

It is my intention in this section of the paper to illustrate through Fantasy Analyses of a selection of documents out of a much larger group I analyzed, how national group-fantasy pressures on Eisenhower and Kennedy produced these three crises as group-delusional solutions to recurring moods of collapse of confidence. Of all the Presidents whose public papers I have studied by Fantasy Analysis, Eisenhower is far and away the calmest in

his language. The ratio of fantasy content to total words in his speeches usually runs as low as one fantasy word per thousand, compared to a rate ten times higher for other presidents. His calmness bored reporters listening to him, but it also soothed the country and helped him to become the only elected president in half a century to avoid both war and very dangerous confrontations during his term. He was consciously aware of the effect of group-fantasy projections being "put into" him, often responding to the anxiety-filled questions of reporters at news conferences with such statements as: "the mere fact that some little incident arises is not going to disturb me. I have been scared by experts, in war and in peace, and I am not frightened about this."(41) His ability to go out and putt on the White House lawn in the middle of what others termed a crisis was a national joke, but was nevertheless his most mature leadership trait.

Eisenhower's landslide election victory helped him end the Korean war while remaining a "strong" leader during early 1953. Even when Russia acquired the H-bomb, in August, 1953 – probably the most important real" event of the 1950s-Eisenhower was able to stay relatively calm, answering anxious questions about this development at a news conference by saying that "You don't want to frighten anyone to death in this world... frightened people cannot make good decisions. So, therefore, you have to understand our own strength-the strength of the free world, the strength of America – at the very same time that you are weighing also our dangers and risks."(42) The full Fantasy Analysis of this critical news conference starts out with Eisenhower responding to the H-bomb news with a few "war.. death" references, but quickly returning to standard "cracking" stage imagery of "tensions" and "breaking":

9/30/53: heart... tension... war... war... war... death... death... leak... leak... leak... in the mill... tensions... broken... broken... broken... straining at the barrier... break(43)

By the beginning of 1954, despite his polls having dropped from 75% to 65% approval in the previous six weeks, Eisenhower continued his relatively calm response to growing Congressional pressure to get militarily involved in Indochina. When the French, in April, actually asked America to send help, Eisenhower startled everyone by saying this

was obviously impossible without a formal declaration of war by Congress!

Even when Dienbienphu fell in May, Eisenhower stressed that the rest of Indochina would nor fall "like dominoes." Admiral Radford responded to this by saying we should drop an A-bomb on Vietnam, and Newsweek announced that "the low point of the postwar era has now been reached for American leadership."(44) With such headlines as "Western Alliance **Cracking** Up, Statesmen Seem **Helpless**" and statements such as that the "Eisenhower Administration was walking cautiously, a slip could be politically fatal," the media kept pumping out images of coming collapse of the group-fantasy and of national con-fidence in the fantasy-leader. Attacks on Eisenhower's peaceful efforts to negotiate with the Russians grew in the country, and everyone watched McCarthy's "soft on communism" crusade with delegating fascination.

By the end of 1954, Eisenhower's popularity had reached its lowest point. Some Congressmen feared America might be in an "atomic stalemate with Communism," and a few Senators began advocating a military blockade of China as retaliation for their shelling of some tiny offshore islands. Eisenhower's December 2nd news conference, for the very first time, began to make use of full "paranoid collapse" imagery:

12/2/54: war... war... breaking down... destroying... insulting... anger... frustration... lash out... war.. war... war... exhilaration... war... war... anger... resentment... war... war... war... war... war... war... war... tough... love... shot down

Most of this fantasy language in this December 2nd news conference came out of a long "aside" which Eisenhower delivered to the newsmen, one which is well worth quoting in full for its astonishingly acute awareness of the origins of war fantasy in the national mood and its restitutional purpose:

For us there are two courses, and here I should like, in a way, to talk a little bit personally: in many ways the easy course for a President, for the administration, is to adopt a truculent, publicly bold, almost insulting attitude. A President experiences exactly the same resentments, the same anger, the same kind of sense of frustration almost, when things like this occur to other Americans, and his impulse is to lash out.

Now I want to make quite clear that when one accepts the responsibilities of public office, he can no longer give expression freely to such things; he has got to think of the results.

That would be the easy way for this reason: those actions lead toward war. Now, let us think of war for a second. When this Na-

tion goes to war, there occurs automatically a unification of our people. Traditionally, if we get into trouble that involves war, the Nation closes ranks behind the leader. The job to do becomes simply understood-it is to win the war. There is a real fervor developed throughout the Nation that you can feel everywhere you go. There is practically an exhilaration about the affair.

The great Lee said, "It is well that war is so horrible; if it were not so, we would grow too fond of it..." (45)

Because of this great awareness of the pressures toward going to war as a unifying purge, Eisenhower's solution to the paranoid collapse phase at the end of 1954 was a masterful one. He began by giving a special message to Congress asking for special war powers, thus satisfying the need for release of violent fantasy. But along with the public declaration of "our readiness to fight," and in conjunction with speeches by John Foster Dulles threatening China with the atomic bomb (Dulles told the National Security Council that "there is at least an even chance that the United States will have to go to war [and] we'll have to use atomic weapons"),(46) what Eisenhower actually did rather than just said was to evacuate the Tachen off-shore islands as China wanted! The group-delusion that America was finally "getting tough" with someone was pulled off by words and military bustle alone, and Eisenhower was able to displace the nation's hostility abroad while still being able to hope

that the Chinese would not respond in any way to the military maneuver. The day after both Eisenhower and Dulles threatened China with the atomic bomb, Dulles, the Cold War fanatic, dizzy with the success of the military maneuver, announced that the Chinese were "dizzy with success" from their course of "aggressive fanaticism," which he likened to that of Hitler, and that China was "more dangerous and provocative of war" than even the Soviets.(47) The media further amplified the fantasies of violence with headlines such as those in Newsweek announcing the "**Birth** of a Policy," "To **Battle Stations**" and "Ike's Thinking On **War**," and speaking of our possible "headlong **plunge** into world **catastrophe** "(48)

After the evacuation of the Tachens, the media kept expecting a Chinese retaliation for our violent fantasies ("war may be weeks away"), but all in fact remained quiet. Newsweek announced that the country had just "shivered," and Eisenhower's popularity rating climbed to new heights. Because the country had, in fantasy, returned to the "strong leader" stage, it no longer needed to delegate its paranoid rage, and McCarthy disappeared from media attention.

After Eisenhower's re-election at the end of 1956, his strength again declined, but when the Mideast blew up and the Russians sent troops into Eastern Europe, he was once again able to hold back American military

involvement because the fantasy language of the nation's media was still at a fairly stable level. When, for instance, China again bombed Quemoy and Matsu, the newsweeklies ran tiny articles each week on the event, hardly noticing an ' issue" once so urgent as to require the use of atomic threats. By mid-year of 1957, along with articles headlined "Ike's Popularity-Slipping?", the language of collapse and growing rage began again, only projected this time onto Russia, which Newsweek featured in a cover story on Khrushchev's "**Blowup** in the Kremlin," imagining a giant "**explosion**" and "**shakeup**" in Moscow.(49) The U.S., in turn, was pictured as being "In a Fighting Mood," and when Russia's sputnik was launched in October of 1957, American confidence in its "values" totally collapsed. We had "stepped into a new era" with the "Red **conquest**," and the country went on a masochistic binge about its "humiliating" defeat by the Russians in the "World War of **Science**."(50) The humiliation came from the projected critical superego, literally em-bodied in the Russian satellite; as the Portland Oregonian put it, "It is downright terrifying with [Sputnik] staring down at us."(51) "Not since World War II had there been such unity of purpose in the West,"(52) the media proclaimed hopefully, whistling in the dark, but after a few months passed at the beginning of 1958 questions about this "unity of purpose" began to rise, the press wondered about the "Mental **Challenge**: Are We Up to It?," and then retreated to its central preoccupation once again: "**Mad** at Ike?"(53)

By May, Eisenhower was so caught up in these continuous paranoid collapse messages that his language began to match that of the media. A Fantasy Analysis of his address at a dinner for the Republican National Committee on May 6, 1958, for instance, begins by evoking the image of an "evil force" which was "looming" before America:

5/6/58: menace... evil force... hostile... destruction... explosives... destroy... kill... deadly menace... tie the hands... disintegration... weakening... weakening... surge... forcing back... shot... war... war(54)

Since international events were in fact rather quiet at this time, a search for a group-delusional solution to the paranoid collapse began. Three weeks later, two minor incidents provided the triggers needed. The first was a scuffle in which demonstrators threatened Nixon during his visit to Venezuela, and Eisenhower rushed American troops to the Caribbean "in case the Venezuelan police can't protect him." The second and more important began with some routine street demonstrations in Lebanon against its pro-U.S. president. Americans reacted to the two incidents as though they had never heard of street protests before, and Newsweek headlined the two stories: "**Shock Waves**: The **Impact** of the Global **Crisis** on U.S."(55) The emotions released were so powerful they even in-

fected the adjoining pages: a routine Newsweek article on Alaska statehood was headlined "There's a **Heart-Quickening**, **Zero-Hour Feeling** All Over Alaska," and an article on some routine investigations in Congress was featured on the cover as "**Mania** in Washington."(56)

Within a week, Eisenhower channeled these "heart-quickening shock waves" into group-delusional military action: he marched American marines into then-sleepy Lebanon, an action which his official biographer, Peter Lyon, depicted as "considerably astonishing the sun-bathers and ice cream vendors on the peaceful beaches of that country."(57) America had "moved to the brink of war," according to the press, because "intervention was less risky than the calamity of inaction." A great relief was felt that "disaster has been averted with not a moment to spare."(58) Predictably, Eisenhower's polls rose again.

By the time John F. Kennedy took over as president, however, Eisenhower's popularity had turned down once more, for all of 1960, and Kennedy could be elected on the anti-Eisenhower program of "get-ting America moving again." By electing the macho-image Kennedy, America proclaimed it had had enough of Fiflies' peace attempts. If there were to be "New Frontiers" to conquer, America would have to find some "New Indians" to fight, and there was little question against whom America wanted to "get moving again." Much of the New Frontier imagery also reflected the underlying feelings of despair and loneliness contained in the imagery of the frontier-which is an isolated outpost only tenuously in touch with civilization-an apt symbol for some of America's uncivilized behavior to follow during the period. Thus the depressive Fifties gave way to the manic Sixties-a decade which produced a brush with the nuclear holocaust, America's longest war, and a manic doubling of personal income, the largest economic expansion in any country in any decade in world history. This alternation between depressive and manic periods in national group-fantasy, a phenomenon well-known to political scientists(59) (but so far having eluded rational explanation), was felt by the whole nation as soon as Kennedy was elected. Action was "in the air" from the very beginning of his term, and was reflected in the grandiosity of the messianic imagery which was projected upon him.

The group-fantasy imagery in the press and in Kennedy's press con-ferences moved rather more rapidly than usual toward the collapse stage, perhaps aided by the failure of the Cuban invasion (into which, however, Kennedy could not throw American forces, because group-fantasy was still too stable at the beginning of his term to release the necessary group rage). It is possible that the initial grandiose expectations about Kennedy

were really a defense against severe despair, so the quick disillusionment and collapse of confidence within a year should have been expected. In any case, by the end of August of his first year, when the Russians had

built the Berlin Wall, the fantasy language of the media was already moving into the paranoid collapse stage, and Kennedy responded by ordering reservists to active duty and by sending U.S. tanks down the Friedrichstrasse. The media announced that "we stand at the edge of war" once again. Cover cartoons in several newsweeklies suggested that the United Nations was collapsing, schoolchildren were reported as having nightmares about nuclear destruction, a "Great Debate" began about bomb shelters, and U.S. News began to feature regular articles on "War-The Chances Now."(60)

The paranoid collapse feelings of America were now projected onto the Russians, who were suddenly seen to be "pulled in all directions" by big "trouble in the Kremlin," and were pictured as full of "strain, in-decision, tension [and] uncertainty as to who is in charge."(61) At this point in the early months of 1962, the media image of Cuba was fairly benign. Russian troops and equipment were already on the island, it was acknowledged, but no one seemed to mind, and "A Look at Castro's Cuba From the Inside" showed only photos of happy Cubans and Russians in swimming pools.(62) Kennedy himself told Ben Bradlee that Russian troops and equipment in Cuba were of little interest to us, for they differed little from the presence of our own troops in Turkey:

> *The President said the presence of 17,000 Soviet troops in Cuba, 90 miles from the U.S., was one thing viewed by itself, but it was something else again when you knew there were 27,000 U.S. troops stationed in Turkey, right on the Soviet border, and they had been there some years. He warned me against me releasing this information. . it would be politically suicidal for him publicly to equate the two. "It isn't wise, politically, to understand Khrushchev's problems in quite this way," he said quietly.(63)*

Yet the internal group-fantasy feelings of collapse, rage and paranoid fears being experienced at this point could not be held objectless for long. Kennedy's confidence rating was plunging fast, and every new issue of U.S. News announced the complete "crack-up" of some enemy nation-China, Russia, East Germany, whatever-along with typical paranoid feelings of uncanniness about what it termed "The Khrushchev Mystery: What's Behind the Quiet Tones Now Underlying Talk from the Kremlin-The Growing Mystery of Khrushchev's Calm-Is he setting a trap, lying low?"(64)

These kind of paranoid suspicions could not continue to be repressed. Although nothing new was happening in Cuba or Russia, the Fantasy Analysis of Kennedy's news conference in July of 1962 reflected hidden language reporting the collapse quite clearly (even though the only thing he could refer to as "disastrous" was a vote on medicare):

7/23/62: danger... danger... plunges... disastrous... drain... drain... weakened... chaos... chaotic... dangerous... blast(65)

The feelings of chaos and rage could not be held in any longer: suddenly, Kennedy "discovered" that there were thousands of Russians in Cuba, and suddenly the 90 miles between the two nations seemed provocative. By the beginning of September, although the only "missiles" he knew to be in Cuba were the usual surface-to-air (SAM) defensive weapons, with a 25-mile range, he nevertheless warned Khrushchev not to put "offensive weapons" into Cuba and called up 150,000 additional reservists to active duty. The news media finally got the "psychotic insight" on where the delusional solution would be played out: although Cuba had been virtually absent from their pages up until then, they now ran cover articles on "**War** Over Cuba? **War** over Cuba, involving the U.S. with Russia, is **moving closer**, now that the Soviets have an advanced military base just off the coast of Florida."(66)

Since no offensive Russian missiles were in fact in Cuba at that time (a careful reconstruction of previously classified material has shown that the U.S. had no evidence or even suspicions of Russian offensive missiles at any time in September), the best the press could do was to refer to the possibility that missile-carrying Russian submarines might be in the area. Yet despite continuing negative reports from U-2 and other CIA observa-tions, the die had been cast, and America had now moved into a group-trance. On September 17th, a secret joint Committee on Foreign Relations and on the Armed Services met to discuss resolutions enabling the President to prevent by force the establishment of a military base by Russia in Cuba. A full Fantasy Analysis of this long meeting reveals the true mood of the country prior to the discovery of any Russian offensive missiles:

9/17/62: aggression... aggression... weaken... aggression... invasion... invasion... die... suffer... fears... buildup... blockade... blockade... war... invade... collapse... collapsed... collapse... fall... buildup... force... blockade... blockade... blockade... war... war... war... blockade... war... barbs... fire... burn... heart... aggression... war... fight... fight... holocaust... angry... heart... cover... danger... threat... danger... nose to nose... hot... hot... war... war... blockade... blockade... war... blockade... war... blockade... blockade... war... war... war.. .war... fear... fear... war... blockade... blockade... blockade... war... blockade... war... blockade... war... war... war... war... war... war... blockade... blockade... war... war... war... blockade... choke... frightened... war... war... war... fighting... shooting... dead... dead... war... chicken and egg(67)

A nationwide roundup of the opinions of the American people by U.S.

News was equally strong, and the only question seemingly unanswered was whether America should just blockade Cuba or invade the island without warning: "Invade and throw the Russians out.. We've got to do something... Right now is the time to lower the boom on this renegade and his Red cohorts. Blockade Cuba lock, stock and barrel.. use whatever means are at our disposal to clean out this flourishing nest of vipers.. .Cuba has become like a cancer. If Russians get killed-that's a risk they brought on themselves."(68)

It was not until a full month later, after a limited blockade had been put into effect, followed by demands from the media and much of Con-gress for full military blockade and/or invasion, that the very first discovery was made-on October 14, by a U-2 pilot-of a possible Rus-sian offensive missile base.(69) Finally, America had an "objective reason" for its group-delusion. Not that the new Russian missiles threatened to change the balance of power. Everyone from Kennedy to the military agreed that '(he challenge was solely psychological. As Eugene Rostow, former Under-Secretary of State, put it recently, "Why were we so excited by the Cuban missile crisis? . . . there are missiles on Soviet submarines. And missiles can reach the United States from the Soviet Union itself, and from bombers. But the Cuban episode is worth studying because we were ready to go then. There was a rage in the country and a sense of threat, and these were extremely dangerous."(70)

The "psychotic insight" that Cuban missiles were an insufferable threat to America which had to be removed immediately by military action rather than by diplomatic means required at least two major delusional elements as rationalizations, both of which required open lies by Kennedy to the American public. The first was the claim that America had to move militarily because negotiations might take time and the missiles might become operational, which would both be dangerous to American security and would make Kennedy's negotiation position weaker. This rationalization has been proven quite false by a little-known CIA report which was recently declassified, which showed that Kennedy knew as early as October 22nd that the missiles were already operational, and that he simply lied to the American public when he said otherwise.(71) There was no reason for the speed, no reason for the heart-quickening military confrontation at high seas with Soviet ships-none, that is, except group-delusional needs.

The second rationalization needed to sustain the delusion was that there existed no acceptable negotiable alternative to the game of "chicken" which the two countries played out as the ships approached each other and which necessarily risked a nuclear exchange. But there was in fact a perfectly acceptable alternative, which Khrushchev offered: that Russia would remove its Cuban missiles in exchange for America removing its Turkish missiles from the Russian border. Now American

Turkish missiles were acknowledged by the Administration to be totally useless, and Kennedy had actually suggested their unilateral removal months earlier, so this alternative was quite reasonable in any rational definition of American interest. Yet even before Khrushchev's offer, when Adlai Stevenson suggested this solution to the ExComm group on October 20th, he was thought to be a "coward" by many, an accusation which dogged him to the end of his days at the U.N.(72) In fact, any negotiated solution was "cowardice" if military humiliation of the delusional enemy was the goal. The Turkish missiles were of so little real importance to the ExComm group that at one point in their considerations many members came to support what one historian calls "a crazy scheme ... first disarm the missiles in Turkey and so inform the Soviets; then bomb the missile sites and invade Cuba."(73) The scenario of first solving the problem but then going ahead with the violent invasion anyway sure-ly reveals the delusional motivation for the entire affair!

The group-trance was actually so powerful that when Kennedy told America that Russia's offer to trade missiles was impossible to accept, the country as a whole simply accepted his statement without question, preferring

instead to risk tens of millions of lives. In fact, only 16 percent of the country opposed the military actions, even though three out of five Americans believed "some shooting" was inevitable and one out of five thought it would lead to World War III. The major responses to pollsters were opinions such as "It was long overdue" and "We've been pushed around long enough." This national mood made Kennedy extremely open about his military threats. Not only did he openly threaten invasion and mass a quarter of a million men and 180 ships at the tip of Florida to do so, but he also put 156 ICBM's at "ready for launch" and, according to the Air Force officer in charge of sending American messages at that time, sent the following communication to the Russians:

> *The message said the U.S. had 1300 nuclear weapons airborne-named Soviet cities which were targeted for the bombs. [General] Keegan states there was a Middle Eastern army officer visiting Nikita Khrushchev at his Black Sea dacha when Khrushchev got that message a few hours after its transmission. The officer said Khrushchev turned pale. He had four telephones on his desk and tried to pick them all up at once, calling Moscow. And that day the Russian ships turned back.(74)*

Kennedy's military "humiliation" of Khrushchev, which was to lead to the Russian leader's removal-and which Kennedy undertook rather than suffer a "humiliation" himself-occurred, however, over too brief a time period to be a fully satisfying erotic purge of American rage. Although exactly what constitutes an adequate purge of emotions is

unclear to me at this point, clearly the news media seemed to be saying it was all over too quickly, and wondering if America had really "won." U.S. News asked the disturbing question on everyone's mind: "Will It Now Be A World Without Real War? Suddenly the world seems quiet.. .Big questions: Why the quiet? What does it mean?"(75) Kennedy's confidence polls, which had jumped dramatically during the crisis, soon slid back to previous levels, and open attacks on him returned in full force. The lack of a full emotional purge remained. Nationwide media public opinion polls reported a "Big Puzzle: Strange Mood of America Today. Baffled and uncertain of what to believe.. .an odd mood... "(76) It is just this "strange mood" which leads me to speculate on whether Kennedy's assassination at the end of the year, linked as it was in Oswald's mind to Cuba, could in a sense be called a nationally delegated act, despite the fact that real evidence as to Oswald's motives will always be lacking.(77) Remembering the full-page ads that attacked Kennedy for be-ing soft on Cuba at the very time he was going to Dallas, and recalling his statement after the missile crisis that if he hadn't moved militarily he "would have been impeached," one cannot help but wonder how much American group-fantasy rage could have contributed to his death-and how such a fantasy could have been enacted "through" the confused mind of a sick assassin.

The next American group-delusion after Kennedy's assassination was, of course, the Vietnam War. As national confidence in Johnson began its inevitable decline during 1964, fears of "an impending collapse" were consistently projected onto "Khrushchev's Crumbling Empire,"(78) and cartoons began to appear(79) which were identical to the Herblock "collapse" cartoon, reproduced earlier in Illustration 1, of presidential doors collapsing

from outside pressures. Shortly after, the first American troops began fighting in Vietnam. Likewise, after Nixon took over the war, and also began to experience collapse messages from the country in 1969, he invented what he himself termed the "Madmen Theory" of "appearing irrational... with his finger on the nuclear button,"(80) and by invading Cambodia plunged America into yet another group-delusion. However, rather than at this point giving my month-by-month documentation for these two group-fantasy cycles leading to the Vietnam and Cambodian wars, since they repeat so many of the patterns of the military group-delusions I have already documented, I would like to examine the one instance in the past 25 years of an attempt by a president to use a peace treaty to resolve the collapse of confidence in himself. Although we have seen above how Eisenhower used the peaceful removal of troops from offshore Chinese islands to appear heroic and restore public confidence in himself, there was at least ostensible danger in doing so-it was, after all, a military maneuver. The only time during the

25-year old period we are here examining that a President succeeded for a time in restoring confidence in himself purely through peaceful efforts was in the case of Jimmy Carter and the Camp David Middle East summit meetings.

JIMMY CARTER: REBIRTH AT CAMP DAVID

It is difficult to recapture at the time of this writing (early 1979) the idealization and even messianic hopes which so many Americans felt upon the election of Jimmy Carter. In our book, Jimmy Carter and American Fantasy, John Rartman shows in his chapter on "Carter and the Utopian Group-Fantasy"(81) how the Democratic Convention was dominated by utopian imagery of fusion with an ideal mother, and with group-fantasies of millennial and messianic expectations of rebirth which only secondarily referred to Carter's personal religious history. Cartoons of Carter as a fetus inside a peanut, about to be born, as Christ walking on water, and other messianic references to him as a "savior" (J.C.) were widespread. The decay of this idealization is seen in the Gallup Poll on his approval ratings, which steadily declined until the mideast peace talks (see Illustration 6). The month-by-month story of this collapse and recovery pattern is a fascinating one.

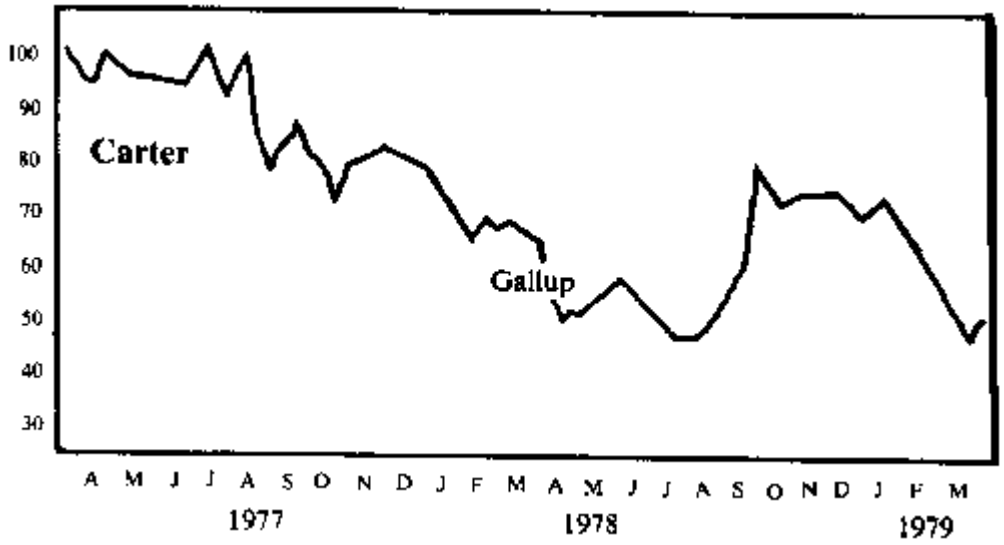

Illustration 6 – Gallup Poll Showing
Decline and Recovery of Confidence in Jimmy Carter

As can be seen in the graph, it was not until September of 1977 that the polls began to turn sharply downward. This is reflected in my Fantasy Analysis of the media and of Presidential press conferences, which began

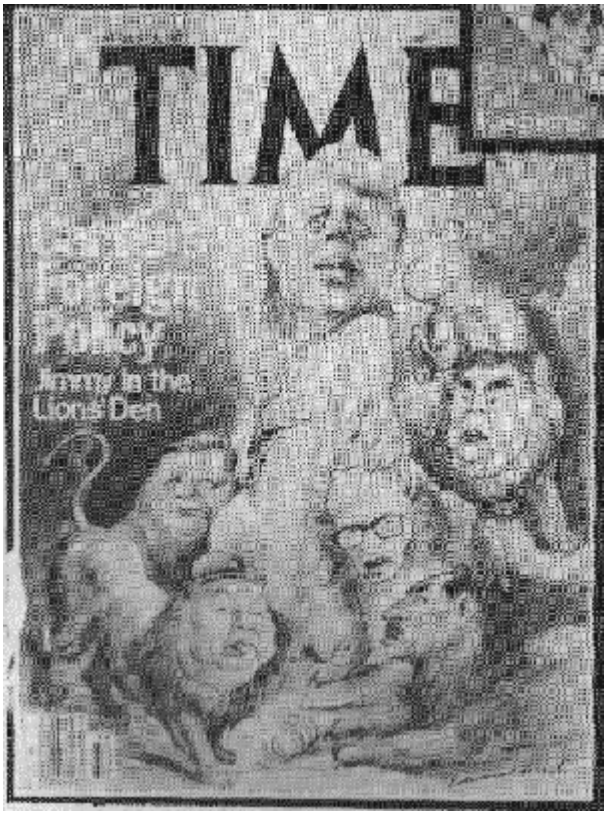

Illustration 7 – Jimmy Carter in "Strong" Stage

to show the first signs of collapse at this time. The crucial symbolic event announcing the stage was the Bert Lance Affair, a minor incident which for the time was used for group-fantasy purposes and which thoroughly

captured the rapt attention of the nation for the month of September. Since the central question of an overidealized leader is "Will he abandon us?," the Lance Affair was posed as an abandonment problem: Would Carter "abandon his closest friend" (proxy for the nation), and would Carter in turn be "deprived of his closest and most trusted confidant."(82) The drama was blown up into unbelievable proportions. Lance was pictured as a baby about to be abandoned, and though he was "a hulking man, [he] filled the witness chair as completely as Goldilocks in the baby Bear's rocker."(83) Soon the abandonment drama began to use the imagery of birth to express separation anxiety.

I make a habit of doing a Fantasy Analysis of the nightly television news coverage by recording the images that appear on the NBC Nightly News. (I always turn off the sound in order to do television Fantasy Analysis, and I ignore all images of people merely talking, recording only those scenes that directly reflect the body images that carry the fantasy content.) On September 21st, while Carter was still considering whether to "abandon" Lance, the nightly news opened with some solemn statement by Carter on the affair, and then moved to its group-fantasy meaning later in the show, in the "Section Three" portion, which is supposed to contain "lighter" content, but which I have usually found is used to convey hidden group-fantasy messages about the opening news event. On this particular day it showed a mother gorilla giving birth to a premature baby, and kept zooming the camera in on her as she picked up the baby, considered whether she should nurse it, and then put it down again. Wondering at the ease with which we all accept the notion that millions of television dollars are spent to take pictures of nursing gorillas which are then transmitted to tens of millions of people as "entertainment," I waited expectantly for the next day's decision by Carter. It came in the morning paper-Carter had dropped Lance, and was shown crying on the front page of The New York Times (up until now photos of Carter on the front page were always "strong"). Eager to see what the group-fantasy message would be, I turned on the NBC Nightly News, and again watched "Section Three." Sure enough, a long segment was devoted to separation-this time, the separation of two Siamese-twin babies who had been joined at the hip. The images clearly represented Carter and Lance as well as the relation of fantasy-leader and group. The cameras focused in on the nurse who showed us all how the babies were quiet when together but tearful when separated.

At this point, the beginning of "collapse" imagery appeared in the media. Both Newsweek and Time independently came out, the same week, with identical cover cartoons of a perfect collapse symbol: eggs smashing, with Bert Lance as Humpty Dumpty falling off a wall. The New York Review of Books described Carter's near-collapse" under the headline "CARTER LANCED." The Gallup Poll, taken before the decision on Lance, showed that 67 percent of the country thought that Lance should go as against only 21 percent who felt that he should stay, so the decision was certainly a popular one. Lance was, of course, both a symbol of the abandonment and a scapegoat for the rage deflected from the fantasy-leader. The cartoons showed him as a sacrificial victim, being

Illustration 8 – Jimmy Carter in "Cracking" Stage

pushed off a cliff (Illustration 9), in exactly the same way that Nixon had been showing pushing his associates off a cliff (Illustration 3)

Illustration 9 – Lance Pushed Off Sacrificial Cliff

Although the abandonment drama was demanded by the country, the sadness surrounding the whole incident was what remained after it was over. Joseph Icraft wondered why the Lance Affair was blown "way out of proportion," but couldn't figure out why it all seemed so sad. Most importantly, Carter's confidence polls started to plunge. As a Fantasy Analysis of the U.S. News article on "Carter's Woes" put it (under a cartoon of Carter drowning in a swamp):

11/7/77: bogged down... swamp... struggling... slump... eroded... damaged... grasped... flexed... deluge... floundering... in the dark... water

Under the headline "Cracks in the Senate Floor," the Washington Post said the "carefully structured facade of the Senate was shattered."(85) Evans and Novak, calling Carter "the political incompetent of 1977," said his "shattered" image left the presidency in a "dangerously weakened state,"(86) and the New Republic's TRB noticed that he "hadn't seen editorial writers and columnists so patronizing and condescending to a President since Harry Truman."(87) Carter himself began to use phrases like "the world economy may collapse" (if his energy legislation wasn't passed), and on November 8th gave a special television address on energy, the fantasy content of which was full of typical collapse stage imagery: "come to grips... final stage... pressures... sacrifice... crucial... crucial... drain... hurts... pushes... pressures... act."(88) U.S. News projectively announced a "Coming Crisis in Russia,"(89) and by the beginning of 1978 the media kept urging Carter to "launch an all-out attack" on unemployment, on inflation, on energy, on something or someone.

Carter's March 8, 1978 Presidential News Conference reflected this "collapse" stage imagery even more clearly, and transmitted the coun-try's cry for action to relieve the "tremendous pressure," as shown in the Fantasy Analysis of the press conference:

Q: deterioration... collapse?
A: deterioration.... rapidly increasing... rapidly increasing... deterioration
A: deadlock
Q: Dead?
Q: strains?
A: over-armed to the teeth... tensions... linked
Q: action... action?
A: act... act immediately... tremendous pressure... crisis

Images of the country and of Carter strangling predominated in cartoons and headlines, with Carter shown as being strangled by ape-like Com-

munists, strangled by dragons of various sorts marked "Inflation," and as having established a Department of Energy that had been "STRANGLED AT BIRTH."(90) To relieve this strangled feeling, the country kept asking Carter to get mad at someone, as in one columnist's article which asked – under the headline "If Only Poor Carter Would Get Mad" – that he be " 'born again' once more, this time as a tough, decisive President."(91)

The unreality and emotional dissonance of group-fantasy at this point deepened, as the unconscious group feelings of turmoil, chaos, rage and pollution were more and more experienced as a complete contrast to the actual condition of the country-which was at the highest levels of Gross National Product and personal income

in its history, with the lowest number of people below the poverty line, and with no war or internal riots. As the *Wall Street Journal* summed up the feeling of this moment:

> *We've all had the experience one time or another. Everything's fine at home, the family's healthy, the children are doing well at school, the job prospers. Yet we awake in the night with an uneasy feeling that something bad is about to happen. Psychologists call it "free floating anxiety"...(92)*

By the summer, with Carter's polls having dropped from 67 to 39 percent approval in one year, the lowest rating at this point in term since Truman, his need to find something heroic to accomplish was at its height But when a foreign affairs incident came along which might have been amenable to U.S. military involvement – – the Katangan invasion of Zaire – – Carter held back. The media called for immediate action, running cartoons of Carter punching Brezhnev in the face, and stating that we are on the verge of our most serious confrontations with the Soviets since the early 1970s when we had eyeball to eyeball crises over Berlin and the sneaky Soviet emplacement of offensive missiles in Cuba."(93) Yet Carter's language still stressed "constraint," as in his news conference in the midst of the Zaire events:

> *5/26/78: violence... killing... deadly attack... burden... constraint... constraints... constraints... constraints... constraints... hurting... heat up... blow... heart... hands are tied... ties hands... constraint(94)*

The question of why Carter did not move in some way militarily at this time is an important one. (In our book, Jimmy Carter and American Fantasy, I forecast that group-fantasy would reach extreme collapse stage at this time, and therefore it was likely that Carter might succumb

to unconscious national pressures to find some military confrontation.) The first point to note is that this minor attack in an obscure African squabble was not really a very adequate projective object for national rage. Carter attempted to make it appear that a substantial enemy, Cuba, was heavily involved, but the best he could do was to release a statement that "Cuba had known of the Katanga plans to invade and obviously had done nothing to restrain them from crossing the border" – at best, hardly a war – like non-act. Secondly, it appears possible, according to 1. F. Stone,(95), that Carter did in fact try to involve the U.S. militarily, but ran up against the Clark-Tunney amendment forbidding direct or in-direct involvement in Angola without express Congressional authorization. He then is reported to have approached both Senator Clark and Senator Birch Bayh, Chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee and tried to get sufficient approval so he could say he had cleared the intervention with Congress. Clark and Bayh both refused to go along, which may have been the source of Carter's continuous use of the fan-tasy terms "constraints... hands are tied... constraints" in his Zaire news conference quoted above. When the whole thing blew over as the thoroughly unimportant matter it really was, Carter then

gave a major speech, on June 7th, warning the Soviets they must "end confrontation tactics" or risk "graver" strains with America – a speech so obviously full of projections that even the Soviets found it "strange."(96)

In any case, the opportunity for heroic action slipped by and Carter's polls dropped to new lows. The country did not forgive Carter his lost moment; he was attacked on all sides for extreme weakness. As one commentator summed up the mood of the nation at the end of June:

CARTER, THE FLIP-FLOP PRESIDENT

> *President Carter is a weak president. Pinned on to the wall of the office of one of his advisers is a graphic illustration of his weakness, a chart on which his standing in the opinion polls is plotted against that of other presidents over an equivalent period of office. Sixteen months in the White House and he had established a new record, below Harry Truman and Jerry Ford.*
> *Few in Washington dispute the President's weakness. His cabinet officers and his aides know it to be a fact. On Capitol Hill party friend and foe alike take account of it. The pollsters measure it; the press, for the most part, revels in it; and the Russians, or so it is feared, take advantage of it.*

With no other foreign action in sight to use for projection, the only stage on which Carter could now perform his messianic role was that of the

Middle East peace negotiations. Although the major initiative throughout the negotiations was Sadat's, when the agreement was finally made, the American press treated it as a messianic triumph for Carter. Newsweek's cover had Carter with a giant grin and the headline "BORN AGAIN!";

Illustration 10 – Jimmy Carter's Premature Rebirth

Time had a similar picture of Carter, with his polls shown turning up, headlined "CARTER'S BREAKTHROUGH." The New Republic summed up the messianic feeling of the Camp David meeting: "Carter worked at Camp David, hour by hour, night and day, urging, cajoling, persuading. Punch-drunk reporters began to get a sense of

the thing. Yes, it is real. The Red Sea has parted. Jimmy Carter is leading them through... "(98) The country, too, was punch-drunk in the month following. Carter's Gallup poll jumped 11 points, Newsweek's George Will said "the summit's effect on Washington was like that of pure oxygen on dying embers, [like] a flare of euphoria," and Newsweek entitled their story on the summit "CAN THE MAGIC LAST?"(99)

The magic, of course, did not last, the fate of all magical solutions to emotional problems. The polls began to plummet again. Surprisingly, Carter found that a second peace triumph did nothing for him; the actual signing of the peace treaty in early 1979 was seen as negative, not positive-Joseph Kraft's column about the event was headlined, "Carter's Mideast Triumph Points Out U.S. Weakness."(100) Predictably, at this point of time in writing (March 1979), the fantasy language has returned to pre-Camp David collapse and rage levels, Carter's polls have dropped to 36 per cent, below the pre-Camp David point, editorials predict his "abdication," and cartoons such as the three shown in Illustration II picture Carter standing by helpless, as a giant-who represents our own gigantic rage, however labeled-screams uncontrollably.

The heroic peacekeeper role apparently provided only a momentary pause in the movement of group-fantasy. Writing now, in early 1979, I cannot predict how or when the current rage will be worked off. Perhaps Carter can find a relatively safe military intervention in Latin America, Africa or the Middle East. Or perhaps he will follow the path of Nixon, and somehow commit political suicide. By the time you read this, you may already know how the paranoid collapse of 1979 will be resolved and who will be the scapegoat for our national rage.

Illustration 11 Images of American Rage, Early 1979

THE EIGHTEEN MAJOR AMERICAN HISTORICAL GROUP-FANTASY CYCLES

History is like an extended psychoanalytic treatment. One can take the short view, as I have done so far in this essay, and follow the month-by-month fluctuations in group anxiety and rage, including all wars, confrontations and minor recoveries of confidence. Or one can take the long view, ignore all the non-violent confrontations and removals of leaders, and only look at the major wars and revolutions, the most important purification rituals, the violent group-delusions that provide enough of a purge of national rage to guarantee a peaceful breathing spell for at least a few years. In this final section of the paper, I will provide a brief over-view of the eighteen major group-fantasy cycles in American history since its founding, including a review of some of the major paranoid episodes which preceded each violent group-delusion.

The study of cycles of violence in the history of nations is one just beginning to be developed, but already many regularities are well established. The latest research into the periodic upswing in the level of national violence, that of Denton and Phillips(101), which is in turn based on original statistics covering the period 1480-1900 and collected by the pioneer of war studies, Quincy Wright, confirm previous country-by-country studies that there exists a 25-year cycle in major violence. The 17 major American wars shown in the chart (Illustration 9), covering a period of 365 years, produce an average 21-year cycle, somewhat more frequent than the world 25-year average. Periods of peace in America have lasted from a minimum of four years at the end of the 18th century to a maximum of 34 years at the beginning of our history as colonies. Still, on the average, once every 21 years, just as each now generation reaches fighting age, the young men of America have been thrown into the mouth of Moloch as sacrifices to the national need for group purification.

That major paranoid episodes precede wars and revolutions is a notion that is only now beginning to reach the edge of awareness among those historians who are opening their thinking to psychoanalytic influence. The ear-

liest of these historians, Richard Hofstadter, outlined over a decade ago what he termed "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," and he described how paranoid "movements of suspicious discontent... come in waves of different intensity" throughout much of American history.(102) Although Hofstadter only gave a few instances of these movements, and did not tie them in to war and revolution, his wry dissec-tion of the repetitive use of typical paranoid imagery in political life is a good starting point for the psychohistorian studying the subject.

But the most interesting recent development among American historians is the slow growth of awareness among traditional researchers of the paranoid dimensions within their own specialties. American historians, for instance, have long considered absurd the conspiratorial theories held by leaders of the American Revolution. It was not difficult for them to disprove empirically the colonies' notions that they were victims of a "constant, unremitted, uniform" British conspiracy – but historians who believed that the Revolutionary leaders were reasonable people tended to ignore such paranoid theories. When Bernard Bailyn wrote a series of books suggesting that historians should take these conspiracy theories seriously, that they were "real fears, real anxieties," and that much of colonial ideology was "morbid, pathological, paranoiac,"(103) he created a revolution of his own in American historiography. Historians such as Jack Greene, Richard Bushman and Gordon Wood tried to give rational reasons for the existence of these conspiracy theories, but the show was finally given away when a young historian, James Hutson,

published a recent article on "The American Revolution; The Triumph of a Delusion?":

> *Intellectual historians are constrained from admitting that ideas under their examination are pathological, for once they concede this, they risk losing control of their subject matter to the psychologist. [Also,] since the American nation is the product of the American Revolution, theories which discredit the revolution seem to impugn the American experience. Was the Revolution caused by a pandemic of persecutory delusions? Then, the United States was conceived, not in liberty, as Lincoln would have it, but in madness, an idea which strikes most American historians as more or less blasphemous.(104)*

Similarly, when another young historian, George Forgie, recently published his book Parricide in The House Divided: A Psychological Interpretation of Lincoln and His Age,(105) accurately depicting the American Civil War as a displaced fratricidal ritual in which the "good" brothers killed the "bad" brothers as scapegoats, he thought he had discovered something unique to the period, attributable to a special need to overthrow "Founding Fathers," rather than an instance of a group-fantasy dynamic generic to all of history. Even with this limitation, Forgie's book skillfully explains some of the psychodynamics behind both Northern and Southern conspiracy theories and Lincoln's own peculiar conspiracy theory, which was central to his political thought, and which Forgie calls "an object of puzzlement and even embarrassment to scholars, because it seems to have so little to do with the events it purported to explain."(106)

Although some historians may now be open to the concept that paranoid feelings may appear in history, they are a long way from the possibility that all wars and revolutions are preceded by-and in fact represent restitutional attempts to handle emotions produced by – paranoid periods. I will not attempt in this paper to present my year-by-year evidence for the major American group-fantasy cycles listed in Illustration 12, a task which I will have to defer to my next book, A Psychohistory of The West. What I can do here is to suggest some of the varieties of paranoid collapse episodes which have produced the seven-teen major American wars and revolutions.

The earliest paranoid collapse periods which concerned the American colonists were centered, of course, on English political and religious developments. They began with widespread fears of Papist conspiracies in the army and the Court, which fueled the London mob in 1640, and eventually led to the violence of the English Civil War in 1642. As men-

tioned earlier, apocalyptic millenarian doctrines were widespread both in England and the colonies at the time, and later such groups as the Fifth Monarchists were delegated to express paranoid fears of the impending disasters and upheavals expected to accompany the “shaking of Heaven and Earth,” following the execution of King Charles.(107) Even without using the tool of Fantasy Analysis, anyone reading the pre-Civil War pamphlets, speeches and sermons cannot fail to be impressed by the pervasiveness of paranoid collapse imagery, and American colonists shared the group-fantasies of their English brethren at each step. This British focus was the rule until American independence. The internal excitement produced by the Glorious Revolution of 1688 was worked off by the colonists by attacking Canada in what was termed King William’s War; the European War of the Spanish Succession at the turn of the century was acted out in America as Queen Anne’s War in the southern colonies; and so on.

Although the paranoid collapse fears of these earliest periods were connected to English political conditions, the long period of peace under George I and II from 1714-38 produced an enormous buildup of emo-tional tensions in the colonies. These climaxed in such a complete collapse of old values, that historians have called this period America’s First Great Awakening. Beginning with widespread personal conversion experiences in the 1720s, it expanded into massive revival meetings throughout the colonies by the 1730s, whereby a “collapse of all old values” and a “revolt against the fathers’ ways” led to “deep Fears of Approaching Death and Judgement,”(108) and the traumatic loss of self boundaries which are typical of all intense conversion experiences It is most interesting to note in examining the chart (Illustration 9), that all three of America’s Great Awakenings occurred at the end of long periods of peace: the First after 24 years of peace (1714-38) under the Georges, the Second after 30 years of peace (1815-45) beginning with Madison and Monroe, and the Third after 31 years of peace (1866-97) following the Civil War. All three included typical paranoid collapse group-fantasies, whether more centered in personal conversion experiences (First), perfec-tionist sinfulness and nationalist political action (Second), or social reformism (Third). Whether long periods of peace always precede na-tional Great Awakening movements is an interesting question for further comparative psychohistorical study, but certainly one can say that in America this seems to be the case.

The problem comes, of course, in defining what degree of emotional upheaval must be present to constitute an Awakening, since in my psychogenic theory of historical group-fantasies all paranoid collapse periods show evidence of "Awakening" fantasies, overt or hidden. Thus, when one historian studies the period prior to the French and Indian Wars, and finds overwhelming evidence for what he calls

ILLUSTRATION 12 –
THE 18 MAJOR AMERICAN GROUP – FANTASY CYCLES

Major Group Fantasy	Dates	Fantasy Leaders	Major Paranoid Episodes	Major Group Delusions	Date
Paternalistic Absolutism (Ambivalent Psychoclass)	(1) 1607 – 1641	James I. Charles	Papist Conspiracy Puritan millenialism	English Civil War	1642 – 1660
	(2) 1661 – 1675	Charles II.	West Indian Fear	King Philip's War Bacon's Rebellion	1675 – 1677
	(3) 1678 – 1689	Charles II. James II	Popish Plot	King William's War Salem witchhunt	1690 – 1697
	(4) 1698 – 1701	William &Mary	Franco phobia	Queen Anne's War	1702 – 1713
	(5) 1714 – 1738	George I. George II.	First Great Awaking	War of Jenkin's Ear King George's War	1739 – 1748
	(6) 1749 – 1753	George III.	Galic Peril	French & Indian War	1754 – 1763
Racist Nationalism (Intrusive Psychoclass)	(7) 1764 – 1774	George III.	Tax Phobia Boston Massacre Conspiracy beliefs	Revolution	1775 – 1783
	(8) 1784 – 1793	Washington	Excise tax phobia	Whiskey Rebellion	1794
	(9) 1795 – 1798	Adams	French invasion Fear, Alien and Sedition	Naval war with France	1799

			Acts		
	(10) 1800 – 1811	Jefferson Madison	Embargo Act Non-Intercourse Act	War of 1812	1812 – 1814
	(11) 1815 – 1845	Madison Adams Jackson Tyler Polk	Second Great Awaking Millenialism	Mexican War	1846 – 1848
	(12) 1849 – 1860	Taylor Filmore Pierce Buchanan	Revailism Slave uprising fear, Slaveholders' conspiracy, Abolitionism	Civil War	1861 – 1865
Erotic Materialism (Socializing Psychoclass)	(13) 1866 – 1897	Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Harrison, Cleveland, McKinley	Third Great Awaking Gold/Silver panic Populist conspiracy agitation	Spanish American War	1898
	(14)1899 – 1916	McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson	Submarine panic, Zimmerman note	World War I	1917 – 1918
	(15) 1919 – 1940	Harding, Coolidge, Roosevelt	Fear of Japanese	World War II	1941 – 1945
	(16) 1946 – 1949	Truman	Communist purges, Truman Doctrine	Korean War	1950 – 1953
	(17)1954 – 1964	Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson	Cuban phobia Kennedy assassination	Vietnam War	1965 – 1972

(18)1973 –	Nixon, Ford, Carter	

"American civil millennialism,"(109) he tries hard to separate these apocalyptic millennial group-fantasies from those of the First Great Awakening a decade earlier, which, he says, had "died out" by then. But paranoid collapse fantasies are not diseases which "die out" or "flare up"; they are periodic shared emotional states. When Americans imagined a "Gaelic peril" in the 1750s whereby, as John Mellen put it, their "land may be given to the beast, the inhabitants to the sword, the righteous to the fire of martyrdom, our wives to ravishment, and our sons and daughters to death and torture,"(110) they are voicing projected cyclical paranoid fantasies common to many periods of American history, even though couched here in the millennial language of the colonial period. Similarly, when the Stamp Act crisis came shortly after this, and historians conclude that "what is remarkable about the ministers' response both to the Stamp Act and to the attempt to create an American bishopric is their application of the compelling ideology of civil millennialism" from the 1750s, what they are really noticing is the similarity of paranoid collapse imagery in both periods, the grandiose apocalyptic sense of being God's elect living in the end times and fighting the Antichrist in a cosmic war between good and evil. Only the delusional object changed. What was earlier seen as the destruction of the Antichrist in fighting the French, became an apocalyptic fight against Satan's conspiracy against American liberties at the time of the Revolution.

As mentioned previously, traditional historians keep finding that the path of their investigations leads them toward a psychological explana-tion for these wars and revolutions, but they always stop short when faced with the evidence their research has uncovered. In the case of the American Revolution, Esmond Wright, leading historian of the period, concludes his study of the period(112) with the question "What then caused the American Revolution?", and concludes that it was not caused by taxes, nor by lack of Parliamentary representation-which few colonists wanted-nor by planter indebtedness, nor by colonial desires for a voice in decision-making, nor by any British policies on a whole range of issues. He admits that he is perplexed, and concludes that the Revolution "is due primarily not to 'causes' at all but to "executive weakness," not to tyranny but its opposite, collapse of authority: But governmental weakness and collapse is a description of a historical condition, not an explanation for it. It is only when James Hutson finally wonders if what he terms the "spread of paranoid delusional ideas" in the Revolution should not be called a "folie collective"(113) that anyone comes close to my own concept of historical group-fantasies.
Most of the remainder of the paranoid collapse episodes listed in the chart (Illustration 12) are thoroughly familiar to any student of American history. There is no need to again go over the paranoid content of the II-

luminati Conspiracy, the X-Y-Z Affair and the Alien and Sedition Acts prior to the undeclared naval war with France in 1799, the “war fever” prior to the War of 1812 – which at times seemed to be indifferent as to whether England or France should be attacked “for national glory”(114) – or the similar war fevers preceding the Mexican War of 1846 and the “splendid little war,” as John Hay termed it, with Spain in 1898. Likewise, by now enough has been written about the rhetoric of abolitionism, filled with feelings of personal sin and guilt, the collapse of feeling of national unity, the many paranoid conspiracy theories, and what Lincoln himself termed the need for “national blood atonement,”(115) to make one suspect that the American Civil War was a delusional purification crusade. Similarly, one might even speculate with psychohistorian Michael Paul Rogin on the scapegoating function of the violent subjection of the American Indian – especially under Andrew Jackson, who was obsessed by images of “infants butchered, mangled, murdered and torn to pieces” by lndians(116) – and the role of these scapegoats in “draining” paranoid violence during the long period of peace between the War of 1812 and the Mexican War.

But in the end it is the two World Wars in which America fought – particularly the Second World War-which seem most to challenge my theory of internal group-fantasy sources for wars and revolutions. Both wars seemed to be “good” American crusades to save European liberties, and our emotional investment in this image is so great that I am reluctant, in the space available here, to even begin to touch on the sensitive question of the group-fantasy sources for America’s entry. (My associate David Beisel is now engaged in precisely this task in his psychohistory of the origins of World War II.) So within the scope of this paper, I will only claim that the theory seems capable of application to most American wars, but that its full application to all wars must remain “non liquet” until further research has been done.

There is one further section of the chart in Illustration 12 which deserves mention before ending this essay on historical group-fantasies. In the first column, I have listed “Major Group-Fantasies” of each period in American history. These terms are explained further in Illustration 13. While, once again, I will have to defer full discussion of these broad historical categories until the appearance of my book A Psychohistory of the West, it seems useful at this point to outline the major ways group-fantasies have been organized in each historical period.

Until antiquity, infanticidal childrearing produced a schizoid personality, which regularly used primitive splitting and massive projection into gods, ghosts and magical objects. When they formed groups, their fantasies were centered around a system of Kinship Magic, against which infanticidal memories are constantly defended, through sacrificial rituals of various types, replaying and then undoing over and over again the

Illustration 13

HISTORICAL GROUP-FANTASIES

PSYCHOCLASS AND PERSONALITY TYPE	MAJOR GROUP – FANTASY	CENTRAL PURIFICATION RITUAL	GROUP ID PROJECTION	“MY SOUL WOULD BE QUIET IF ONLY EVERYONE COULD…”

Infanticidal (Schizoid)	Kinship Magic	Magical Sacrifice to ancestors relieves infanticidal fears	Into magical objects and ghosts	"...obey Family laws regulating sex andviolence."
Abandoning (Autistic)	Feudal Hierarchy	Feudal bonding and church ritual deny abandonment fears	Into your lord	"...be closely tied to his lord and his God."
Ambivalent (Depressive)	Paternalistic Absolutism	Obeisance to ideal paternal monarch defends against ambivalent mother.	Into ruling dynasties	"...obey a King who is a good father."
Intrusive (Compulsive)	Racist Nationalism	Control of national boundary and control of other races reverses intrusive parenting	Into other "races" and nations	"...keep all bad things out of our pure nation."
Socializing (Anxiety)	Erotic Materialism	Purchase of goods relieves castration anxieties	Into upper or lower economic classes	"...buy endless material goods."

death of the infant through symbolic sacrifice and rebirth. From antiquity through late medieval times, abandoning mode childhood produced a psychoclass of what I term autistic personalities-roughly equivalent to what contemporary psychoanalysts have come to call the "borderline" personalities-identified by their feelings of isolation, easy regression into and out of psychotic states, tenuous hold on reality, emotional clinging, helplessness in the absence of authority, lack of impulse controls and narcissistic grandiosity and overidealization. Because the medieval personalities use primitive splitting and projection less, they are not primarily magical, and they organize their historical group-fantasies around Ceudal Hierarchical rather than kinship structures. The feudal bond-or other personal bonds where the formal system of feudalism was less developed-is a way of undoing, through clinging, the abandonment of childhood, and most of the rituals of both Church and State revolve primarily around refusion fantasies, organized around clinging groups, both feudal and monastic. By the Renaissance, ambivalent mode parent-ing allowed enough consistency of caretaking to allow the growing child to heal the severe splitting of the mother into idealized (Mary) and evil (Eve) part-objects, and therefore allow people to feel, for the first time, real guilt toward a whole-object mother (Klein's achievement of the depressive position, the end of Mariolatry by Protestantism). This produces a depressive personality who, for the first time in history, really internalizes conflicts in his personal life, represses rather than projects thus making the Puritan the first modern man.

From here on, the task of the evolution of historical personality changes from that of internalizing projected parts of oneself to that of reducing intrapsychic conflict. The major group-fantasy style for this period is organized around Paternalistic Absolutism, as an absolutist king is first historically invented as an idealized father who will allow separation from the ambivalent mother, allow growth, and treat all children equally-on threat of being replaced by revolutionary action. By the eighteenth century, overcontrolling intrusive mode parenting and the invention of early toilet training could produce the anal-compulsive personality, which is less focused on idealized leaders (dynasties) than on group-boundaries (nations), so that only by this period do Racist Nationalist group-fantasies form. In these, the national boundary substitutes for the self-boundary, and racist fantasies of "group purity" attempt to undo early anal intrusiveness. Finally, socializing childhood of the kind now generally predominant in the West allows the various types of anxiety personalities to drop most concerns with racial purity and shift their group-fantasies to the economic sphere, so that class war-fare Organizes most social thinking (Erotic Materialism).

Even from this sketchy outline, one can begin to see how differing styles of personalities form different historical group-fantasies. All

groups, for instance, may displace oral fears into their historical group-fantasy, but the infanticidal psychoclass imagines the giant biting monster as a magical ghost, the abandoning psychoclass as Devil or witch, the ambivalent psychoclass as Antichrist, the intrusive psychoclass as Jew or Black, and the socializing psychoclass as Communist or Capitalist. Most of the cartoons seen in newspapers today label biting monsters "INFLATION," reflecting Erotic Materialism's central fantasy that what is making us all unhappy today is simply a vast shortage of goods.

With these admittedly brief observations on differing styles of historical group-fantasies through the ages, I will end this essay, the last in a series of seven written over the past decade, as attempts to outline a theoretically consistent and empirically verifiable psychogenic theory of history. It is my hope that with the conceptual tools I have fashioned, I can now complete my Psychohistory of the West, which details for each period in Western history all the available evidence on childhood, on historical personalities – including dreams and psychosexual development – and on major historical institutions and group-fantasies. Hopefully, I will be able to show convincingly how the latter emerged from the former. While historical personalities cover a wide range within any period, still it is no more difficult to write about the dynamics of the range of medieval personalities than it is for psychoanalysts to write on dynamics common to a range of borderline personalities (indeed, I believe the two are identical). And while major historical group-fantasies are not easy to decode, the task of unraveling the unconscious meaning of Christianity, of nationalism or capitalism, becomes a great deal easier to accomplish once one has gathered a mass of information on the child-hoods, dreams and love lives of the people who need these group-fantasies. But then, as with all of psychohistory, the most exciting tasks lie before us. With time, we may yet come to know consciously the historical group-fantasies we unconsciously share, communicate, and act upon together – a first step, one would think, in decreasing their delusional hold upon us.

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Chapter 7: The Fetal Origins of History

THE FETAL ORIGINS OF HISTORY

"The history of man for the nine months preceding his birth would, probably, be far more interesting and contain events of greater moment than all the three score and ten years that follow it."
– – Samuel Taylor Coleridge

I wish to present in this essay the evidence which has led me to the following three conclusions:

1. That mental life begins in the womb with a fetal drama which is remembered and elaborated upon by later childhood events,

2. That this fetal drama is the basis for the history and culture of each age, as modified by evolving childrearing styles, and

3. That the fetal drama is traumatic, so it must endlessly be repeated in cycles of dying and rebirth, as expressed in group-fantasies which even today continue to determine much of our national political life.

I will present my evidence for these three propositions in the following three major sections of this essay: the first by presenting obstetrical

evidence for the existence of fetal mental life, the second by surveying evidence on the form of the fetal drama in past historical periods, and the third by examining evidence on the form of the fetal drama in contemporary politics.

Before I proceed to this evidence, however, I would first like to summarize my previous writing on historical group-fantasies.

In five previous essays,(1) I examined evidence from historical material that a rebirth fantasy was shared by nations prior to deciding to go to war, that this group-fantasy derived from a desire to end a severe collapse of confidence in the nation and its leader, and that the leader often deflected the group's rage from himself to an "enemy," in order to restore national confidence. Beyond discovering that images of birth were always shared prior to the events which led to wars, I also found that there were four stages in the full political cycle which paralleled stages of fetal life. These four fetal stages I designated as follows:

FS1-STRONG: During the leader's first year, media fantasy language and cartoon body-images are full of group-fantasies of the great strength of the nation, and of the leader as grandiose, ruthless in defense of the group, and vitally necessary to its national life-blood. The leader, according to my evidence, is not primarily seen as an idealized parent, loved object, or superego figure, as most political theory assumes. Rather, he is more a "container" into which the group can evacuate their changing feelings, which he is expected to confirm and then discharge through actions which are fantasy- rather than reality-oriented. In other words, it is less important that the leader leads, loves or disciplines the group than that he is emotionally available to them and willing to embody their evolving fantasy needs. The group in this "strong" stage is felt to be safe in a "strong" womb-surround, so any external disorders which might occur are not seen as threatening enough to require a violent response.

FS2-CRACKING: The deification of the leader begins to fail, with an increase in scapegoating to deflect hostility from the leader. The group's boundaries are felt to be "cracking," with images of leaking water and crumbling walls predominating. The leader is seen as weakening and unable to control events. Complaints of being crowded, hungry and breathless multiply, and worries are increasingly voiced that collapse is imminent and enemies becoming more dangerous. This second stage also lasts about a year.

FS3-COLLAPSE: The group during this stage experiences extreme anxieties about its collapse of self-image and growing rage toward the

leader, who now seems impotent in ending the group's feeling of pollution, sinfulness and starvation. Group-fantasies of choking, falling, abandonment, disintegration, death and explosiveness proliferate in the media, feelings which the leader and certain delegate-groups are expected first to voice and then to take action to relieve. Free-floating paranoid fantasies of unnamed poisonous enemies multiply, as the group attempts to project its own rage outward and to account somehow for its inner feelings of turmoil. The "collapse" stage ends only after a "search for a humiliating other"(3)-an enemy who, in a moment of "group-psychotic insight," is identified as the concrete source of the group's distress. Because this search for a cooperative enemy takes time, this third stage can last from a few months to as long as two years.

F54-UPHEAVAL: The "group-psychotic insight" which identifies the delusional poisoner of the group can take one of several forms:

(1) Regicidal Solution-If the leader is self-destructive or if he fails to find an external enemy, the leader himself can be designated as the enemy, and a ritual slaying of a divine king is enacted, led by a new hero who purifies the group's polluted atmosphere through his sacrificial death. This regicidal ritual can be accomplished by assassination, revolution, impeachment, or even by a "landslide defeat" of the incumbent in an election.

(2) Martial Solution-If an external enemy can be located who will co-operate by humiliating the group, it then enters into a trance-like state of sado-masochistic enthrallment towards the enemy, whose totally evil nature makes every rage seem jus-tified and every sacrifice noble. Since the group's rage is now split off from the leader to the enemy, the leader's popularity is considerably enhanced. However, as this splitting is difficult to maintain, military action against the enemy by the now-heroic group leader appears imperative, in order to wipe out the hated "enemy," resolve the period of upheaval, clear up the pollution, and complete the rebirth which restores the group's strength and vitality.

(3) Suicidal Solution-Suicidal individuals often resolve internal ambivalences through a fantasy of a "Hidden Executioner" who helps them in their suicidal effort in killing the bad, polluted part of themselves so that the good purified part can be loved again.(4) Similarly, nations can provoke other nations to attack them, or can leave themselves defenseless and with-out allies, in suicidal group-fantasies designed to "burn out" the bad parts of the nation in order to "purify" it and give it a

"rebirth of national spirit." The "collapse" of France in the late 1930s is an example of such a suicidal solution. It is also true, of course, that all wars have their suicidal component in the death during combat of a portion of the nation's own population.

This psychogenic theory of recurring group-fantasy cycles was derived wholly from historical evidence, prior to my having examined obstetrical evidence for the possibility of a mental life prior to and during birth. In the next section, I will construct a fetal psychology based on contemporary obstetrical evidence and show its relation both to later childhood events and to adult individual and group psychology.

I. THE FETAL DRAMA

PREVIOUS THEORIES ON FETAL PSYCHOLOGY

Virtually all contemporary psychoanalytic theory denies the possibility of mental life before or during birth. The newborn is believed to be without memory, ego, objects or mental structure. As one psychoanalyst puts it, "psychoanalysis does not really ask, 'When did it begin?' Instead, it asks a rather different question, 'When after birth did it begin!' "(5) Even though Freud sometimes called birth "the primal anxiety," "the precursor to anxiety," and similar phrases,(6) he nevertheless firmly believed that mental life began only after birth, that "birth still has no psychic content," and that "birth is not experienced subjectively as a separation from the mother since the foetus, being a completely narcissistic creature, is totally unaware of her existence as an object."(7) His opinion has been echoed by almost every psychoanalyst since he pronounced it over fifty years ago. The only time he was said to have deviated from this view was once when he was heard to have wondered if an infant born by Caesarian section might have a different pattern of anxiety,(8) but he never admitted such a notion anywhere in print. Greenacre, in fact, concluded that Freud linked birth to anxiety only through a sort of collective unconscious, rather like a Jungian archetype. And since Freud angrily threw Rank out of the psychoanalytic movement for writing in 1923 that there was actual mental life during birth,(9) there have been powerful reasons for psychoanalysts to accept Freud's opinion uncritically. (10)

This is not to say that there are no articles on birth in the psychoanalytic literature. Indeed, since birth images are ubiquitous in clinical practice,

there are scores of full articles and hundreds of clinical illustrations of fetal material in the literature. Yet almost always the therapists consider all birth material as pure fantasy, having no basis in early experience. As this is the only clinical evidence which is not treated as a combination of actual experience and fantasy, the anxiety produced in therapists by the patient's birth fantasies is obviously enormous. This anxiety is not as evident when the fetal material is positive – that is, when it can be interpreted as representing comforting fantasies of "regression to the womb." But when the patient produces frightening material with overt fetal content, it is either ignored or interpreted on later oral, anal or phallic levels.

Thus, when Abraham reported a patient who had lifelong nightmares of a blood-sucking spider which came out of an egg to crush him, he interpreted the blood sucking as "a castration symbol."(11) Likewise, when Ralph Little's patient had nightmares of a horrifying spider which crushed him, along with images of being connected to his mother by an umbilical cord so that "blood would have to flow to her or to him with the result that only

one could live and the other die," he also called the spider a "castrating mother."(12) Rather than multiply examples, one can best judge just how much fetal content is overlooked all the time by therapists by reading a careful study by Calvin Hall of 590 unselected dreams, which showed that 370, or 60%, had overt images "from the fetal environment, of being born, and of returning to the womb."(13) Greenacre is surely on the right track when she wonders if "perhaps the struggle of birth is at once too terrifying and too inspiring for us to regard it readily with scientific dispassion."(14)

There are, however, a few pioneer psychoanalysts who have considered the possibility of a mental life at birth. Most, like Winnicott, were reluctantly convinced only after they had analyzed children who relived birth experiences in fantasy play in such concrete detail and with such emotional investment that the analyst felt they must have come from "memory traces of birth" rather than from later observation.(15) Yet even these few – including Greenacre, Winnicott, Melanie Klein, Karl Menninger, Roger Money-Kyrle, P.M. Ploye and others (16) – merely noted that birth material was present in dreams and fantasy life and asked whether others might not investigate whether mental life exists earlier than theory allows.

There are, however, a small group of psychologists, most of them psychoanalysts, who have seriously considered the possibility of the existence of mental life at birth: Otto Rank, Nandor Fodor, Francis Mott, Stanislav Grof, Elizabeth Fehr and other American rebirth therapists, Arnoldo Raskovsky and several other psychoanalysts in Argentina, and a group of psychotherapists who with Gustav Graber founded in Germany the International Society for the Study of Prenatal Psychology. All these therapists assume that mental life is present at birth, all emphasize the traumatic effects of the birth experience after what they consider as a com-

fortable uterine life, and most use only adult dreams and fantasies as evidence for their theory. I will briefly summarize their contributions to fetal psychology to date.

Otto Rank began his investigations into birth experiences in 1904, long before he had heard of Freud. The conclusions of his books, beginning with The Trauma of Birth in 1923 (17) – which caused Freud to say he was "through with him"-seem quite unexceptional today, emphasizing that the female genital is often a source of anxiety which must be overcome in order to experience sexual pleasure, and that this fact is often reflected in dreams and myth. Rank analyzed dreams, fantasies and myths quite soundly for their connections with separation anxiety from the mother, fears of being left alone in the dark, games of crawling into holes, and so on. He even touches on connections between rebirth rituals and other cultural and mythological material and birth experience-again, all in a straight-forward way which could easily be accepted today for publication in any psychoanalytic journal. The degree of Freud's own problems with the portrayal of the mother as the initial source of anxiety-problems which he only reluctantly overcame under the pressure of mainly female analysts later on-can be seen in his refusing to read more than the opening section of Rank's 1923 book, instead giving it to his patients to read and asking them to tell him their opinion of it. (18)

For the next quarter-century, Freud's anethema on birth material proved effective, and even so brilliant a psychoanalyst as Margaret Fries-whose forty-year "prenatal-to-parenthood" longitudinal studies showed basic per-

sonality patterns at birth that persisted and could accurately predict later development-nevertheless refrained from drawing any real conclusions from her results about prenatal mental life.(19)

Therefore, in 1949, a quarter century after Rank's work went out of print, when Nandor Fodor's book The Search for the Beloved: A Clinical Investigation of the Trauma of Birth and Prenatal Condition(20) was published in America, the therapeutic community was totally unprepared for what he said. That birth was traumatic and was remembered in dreams and fantasies, that birth was a source of the fear of death, that it lay at the base of nightmares of suffocation, claustrophobia and many other symptoms, all these conclusions were sensitively illustrated by Fodor with a wealth of clinical material-again, little of which would be considered startling today, although most therapists ignored his book at the time. Like Rank, Fodor assumed that "the physical environment within the womb is perfect" and that "after nine months of peaceful development, the human child is forced into a strange world by cataclysmic muscular convulsions which, like an earthquake, shake its abode to the very foundations."(21)

Like many of the later birth theorists, Fodor also believed in parapsychology, but his speculations on telepathy between the mother and fetus(22) could easily be separated from his clinical material on birth. Not so

with his follower, Francis J. Mott, an English psychologist who spent his entire life working on a system of fetal psychology. Mott's enormous output,(23) fearless speculations and unceasing devotions to the task of constructing a fetal psychology make his writings (if you can locate them in any library) a rich source of material, particularly his voluminous use of dreams and mythological material. But Mott's mystical task of connecting uterine life with an astral universal design of creation plus his often-stated avoidance of considering any obstetrical facts (as when he posits the ability of the fetus to "feel" the blood going out to the placenta, despite the fact that the umbilicus is without nerves), makes his vast body of work thoroughly unreliable.(24)

Stanislav Grof is a psychiatrist who began using LSD for psycho-therapeutic regression in 1956, in Czechoslovakia, and has conducted over 3,000 LSD therapy sessions in the past quarter century in Europe and the United States.(25) As he regularly found that patients relived their birth experiences, he posited four "Basic Perinatal Matrices" which he felt his patients regularly relived under LSD:

> ***BPM 1*** *(Primal Union With Mother): In the womb, fantasies of Paradise, unity with God or Nature, sacredness, "oceanic" ecstasy, etc.*
>
> ***BPM 2*** *(Antagonism With Mother): Derived from the onset of labor, when the cervix is still closed, feelings of being trapped, of futility, of crushing head pressures and cardiac distress, of unbearable suffering and hellish horrors, of being sucked into a whirlpool or swallowed by a terrifying monster, dragon, octopus, python, etc.*
>
> ***BPM 3*** *(Synergism With Mother): When the cervix opens and propulsion through the birth canal occurs, fantasies of titanic fights, of sadomasochistic orgies, of explosive discharges of atom bombs and volcanoes and*

of brutal rapes and suicidal self-destruction, all part of an overwhelmingly violent death-rebirth struggle.

BPM 4 *(Separation From Mother): Upon the termination of the birth struggle, after the first breath, feelings of liberation, salvation, love and forgiveness, along with fantasies of having been cleansed, unburdened and purged.*

Although Grof, too, soon moved off into the paranormal sphere (an occupational hazard connected with fetal psychology), his original clinical work on the ability of adults to re-experience (or fantasize-he made no attempt to confirm his evidence as memory) birth feelings is detailed and valuable. Grof's work is paralleled in many ways by the similar experience of various "rebirthers," who feel that re-experiencing one's birth was

therapeutic. Beginning with the "natal therapy" of Elizabeth Fehr, and including the "birth primaling" of Arthur Janov and others,(26) many techniques of regression in place of LSD have been used to experience the same birth feelings felt by Grof's patients. Without commenting one way or the other on the therapeutic efficiency of re-birthing techniques, and leaving open for the moment the relationship between fantasy and memory, it must be acknowledged that a vast body of psychological material on birth feelings has accumulated in the past two decades-material, however, which remains wholly unintegrated into the mainstream of psychological thought, psychoanalytic or otherwise.

What characterizes all this work are two main assumptions: [1] It is all birth-centered, with life in the womb presented as comfortable, birth as traumatic, and re-birthing as the overcoming of separation anxiety, and [2] It is constructed from adult clinical material, and rarely examines the obstetrical literature, despite the fact that most of the researchers are medical doctors. These two assumptions are generally continued in the recent published work of those South American psychoanalysts who center their work around Arnaldo Rascovsky,(27) as well as those who contribute to the regular conferences in Germany of the International Society for the Study of Prenatal Psychology-although because Rascovsky and some of the German group began as pediatricians, some obstetrical observations of prenatal life are occasionally used.

The results, therefore, of sixty years of work on fetal psychology have been to reinforce Freud's initial feeling that birth is the prototype for all later anxiety, under the assumption that before birth there is no ego, no objects and no mental structure, only symbiotic oneness with the mother, and that birth is the rude shock from which later separation anxiety derives. It will be my purpose to demonstrate (a) that this theory equating birth with separation anxiety is wrong, (b) that the theory has been constructed as a defense against evidence that the experience of the fetus in the womb is actually individual and often traumatic rather than symbiotic and only peaceful, and (c) that birth is in fact a liberation from traumatic experiences in the womb rather than only a "separation trauma." in order to present the evidence which led me to these conclusions, I now turn to the obstetrical evidence for the conditions of mental life in the womb and during birth.

OBSTETRICAL EVIDENCE ON THE CONDITIONS FOR FETAL MENTAL LIFE

It is only in recent decades that medical science has begun to be interested in the study of the fetus. One doctor who wondered why the early interest was so negative said maybe it was because the fetus was so "inconveniently

tucked away in a most inaccessible situation. This area of medicine offered little opportunity for discovery, and did not attract much talent. Why study a creature which was so passive, so dull, so small, and technically so difficult? . . . Perhaps the fact that it was to some degree replaceable also entered into consideration."(29) Since medical study of other "inaccessible" organs dates back for centuries, it is likely the last sentence, perhaps reflecting infanticidal thought, has been most important. Whatever the reason, in any case, recent advances in fetal knowledge have been so rapid that "a student could compare the literature of today with that of twenty years ago and conclude that two different species were under study."(30)

The results of recent studies have been all in one direction: to push earlier and earlier the onset of all developmental stages and sensory abilities of the fetus.(31) This is particularly so in the development of the brain, nervous system and sensory apparatus, which all begin in the very first month of life after conception. By the end of the second month after conception, the one-inch-long fetus is astonishingly well equipped with a beating heart, a circulatory system, a digestive tract, graceful arms and legs, facial features, ears, fingers and toes, and-the crucial center of all fetal nutrition and breathing-a pulsing umbilicus, literally a fifth limb, containing two arteries and one vein through which blood is pumped to and from its placenta, which lies next to the mother's circulatory system. It is the placenta which provides oxygen and nutrients and removes carbon dioxide and waste products from the blood of the fetus. By the end of the first trimester (the first three months), the nervous system and sensory apparatus is so well developed that the fetus responds to the stroking of its palm by a light hair by grasping, of its lips by sucking and of its eyelids by squinting.(32) Doctors who perform amniocentesis at this time to sample the amniotic fluid can sometimes see the fetus jump and show an increased heart rate if the needle should touch it. Sight is so well developed that the heart rate increases when a bright light is shown on the mother's abdomen, and when the doctor in-troduces a brightly lit fetoscope, the fetus often turns its head away from the light.(33) Taste is developed by the 14th week, and the fetus is from this time on sensitive to the condition of its amniotic fluid.(34)

Hearing is even better developed during the first trimester: fetal activity goes up and the fetal heart rate increases when a loud sound is made near the mother's abdomen, and many experiments have been made which produce true fetal learning from sound stimuli. These include one experiment in which Debussy was played to four fetuses in utero during times when the mother and fetus were tranquil, with the result that after birth these four infants (and not others) responded to Debussy played in the nursery as a tran-quilizer or pacifier-only one of many experiments in the literature which clearly demonstrate prenatal memory and in utero learning.(35)

Despite the amount of evidence that has accumulated on the ability of the fetus by the second trimester to feel, see, smell, taste, hear and remember

fetal events, the bulk of medical and psychological writings continue to repeat the older view of a blind, deaf, pain-insensitive fetus.(36) Often those who take this negative view prove it by reference to a 1933 study by Langworthy(37) that suggested that “incomplete myelinization of sensory tracts” prevents the fetus from receiving messages from its sensory organs-although it has long been known that full myelinization is not necessary for functioning (it only increases the rapidity of conduction), and that well-organized activity in the brain is possible long before nerve fibers become completely myelinated.(38) This “incomplete myelinization” argument continues to be used to deny the ability of the fetus and newborn to feel pain in many areas of medicine, from the use of aborted fetuses as subjects in painful medical experiments to the denial of anaesthesia during circumcision and surgery of the newborn.(39)

During the second trimester, then, the fetus is seeing, hearing, testing, feeling and learning from its environment, and true mental life has begun-a concession easily granted babies born several months prematurely but denied those of the same age still in the womb, as though visibility somehow conferred sensibility. What kind of environment is it, then, that provides the sensory input for the beginning of psychic life? From all that happens to it during the last two trimesters, what lesson does the fetus learn about its first world?

Liley captures the difference between the old and the new views of the environment of the womb when he says: “Perhaps nowhere’ does the notion of foetal life as a time of quiescence, of patient and blind development of structures in anticipation of a life and function to begin at birth, die harder than in the concept of the pregnant uterus as a dark and silent world… A pregnant abdomen is not silent, and the uterus and amniotic cavity… may be readily transilluminated with a torch in a darkened room.”(40) The womb is in fact a very noisy, very changing, very active place in which to live, full of events and emotions both pleasant and painful.

The fetus during the second trimester, while the amniotic sac is still rather roomy, now floats peacefully, now kicks vigorously, turns somersaults, hiccoughs, sighs, urinates, swallows and breathes amniotic fluid and urine, sucks its thumb, fingers and toes, grabs its umbilicus, gets excited at sudden noises, calms down when the mother talks quietly, and gets rocked back to sleep as she walks about. Fetal activity patterns are now well studied, particularly since the development of ultrasound techniques. The normal fetus rarely goes 10 minutes without some gross activity, either with fetal breathing spurts during REM-sleep periods or with other movements.(41) It moves in regular exercise patterns, and one observer said it could be seen in ultrasound pictures “rolling from side to side [with] extension and then flexion of the back and neck, turning of the head and neck [and] waving of the arms and kicking of the legs. ‘the feet were seen to flex and extend as the fetus kicked the side wall of the gestation sac. In one fetus the jaw was seen

to move up and down.”(42) The fetus in fact has quite regular activity cycles averaging about 45 minutes, cycles which later in the third trimester can be felt quite accurately by the mother.(43) These fetal patterns become coordinated to some extent with the activity cycles of the mother-evidence that the fetus is quite sensitive to a wide range of the mother’s activities and emotions .(44)

When the mother smokes a cigarette, the fetus smokes it too, and after the first few puffs its heart begins to beat faster, it feels a drop in oxygen (hypoxia) and an increase in carbon dioxide, and it stops moving and increases its fetal breathing rate to try to make up for the hypoxia-all responses which have a severe enough cumulative effect for heavy smokers to contribute to stillbirth, growth retardation, prematurity and later hyperactivity and behavioral problems.(46) When the mother takes a drink, the alcohol goes straight to the fetus, whose blood alcohol level quickly approaches that of the mother. Fetuses who drink alcohol daily end up growing slower, aborting more, are more often premature and have more physical abnormalities, mental retardation and hyperactivity – not to mention the extremely painful withdrawal symptoms associated with the fetal alcoholic syndrome.(46) The same principle holds, of course, for thousands of other drugs, including aspirin and caffeine, all of which go directly to the fetus across what used to be called "the placental barrier," and produce all kinds of harmful and painful effects, including hypoxia (low oxygen).(47) Equally important are various nutritional factors, with malnutrition among the poor (or among the well-to-do with poor eating habits) causing a wide range of harmful physical and behavioral defects.(48) So widespread, in fact, are all these uterine environmental hazards that few fetuses entirely escape harm from them. Even the medical director of Dow Chemical Corporation had to concede that of the "30 to 40 percent of all conceptions [which] usually end in spontaneous abortion, stillbirth, or live birth with congenital malformation, an undetermined number of these are probably the result of some environmental factors. "(49) Far from being a safe, cozy haven to which we all want to return, the womb is in fact a dangerous and often painful abode, where even today "more lives are lost during the nine gestational months than in the ensuing 50 years of postnatal life."(50)

But the fetus is not only in distress when the mother smokes, drinks or takes drugs. It is also affected both biologically and psychologically by the mother's fear, anger and depression. A large literature has been accumulating during the past three decades showing in considerable detail the many ways that the pregnant mother's emotions affect the physical and emotional development of the fetus.

It has long been known that laboratory animals fondled ten minutes a day during their pregnancy produce physically healthier and less neurotic offspring than those who did not get the fondling, and that mentally ill and depressed mothers give birth to many more undersized and behaviorally

disturbed babies than others.(51) Much more direct statistical evidence has recently shown that mothers who do not want to be pregnant, who feel hostility toward their fetuses, who are exceptionally anxious during pregnancy, or who are emotionally very immature all have lower weight babies with more mental retardation, more obstetrical problems and more behavioral nursery difficulties right after birth (as rated by independent observers) than those of control groups.(52) It is now often recognized that "maternal frights, fears, tensions, temper tantrums, frustrations, 'shocks,' 'stresses,' depressions and other mental states may harm the developing fetus."(53) The often lethal effects of maternal hostility toward the fetus are now so well accepted that habitual aborters are regularly and successfully treated by psychotherapy alone.(54)

The biological mechanisms for transmitting these maternal emotions to the fetus are many. When the mother feels anxiety, her tachycardia is followed within seconds by the fetus's tachycardia, and when she feels fear,

within 50 seconds the fetus can be made hypoxic through altered uterine blood conditions. Alterations in adrenalin, plasma epinephrine and norepinephrine levels, higher levels of hydroxycortico-steriods, hyperventilation and many other products of maternal anxiety are also known to directly affect the fetus. That these effects are painful to the fetus is no longer in doubt-ultrasound and other modern techniques often show the fetus in terrible distress, writhing and kicking in pain during hypoxia. One mother whose husband had just threatened her verbally with violence came into the prenatal study center with her fetus thrashing about and kicking so violently as to be painful to her, and with an elevated fetal heart rate which continued for many hours after. (57) The same wild thrashing and kicking of the fetus has also been seen in several mothers whose spouses have died suddenly.(58)

Marital discord, in fact, is one of the best documented emotional causes of fetal distress, being associated in several careful statistical studies with later child morbidity, physical illness, physical defects, severe behavioral disturbances, hyperactivity, aggressivity, and early school failure.(59) Indeed, maternal fright alone can be so severe that it can actually cause the death of the fetus immediately afterwards.(60) In fact, severe emotional distress within the family during the mother's pregnancy has been found by Dennis Stott to have been associated with damage to the fetus "with almost 100 percent certainty" in large samples in both Scotland and Canada.(61)

Although most of these studies have been generally ignored by medicine and psychology alike, some obstetricians have recently begun to draw the same conclusions as I have drawn regarding the womb as a place full of pain as well as tranquility. Albert Liley, while filming with x-rays what he termed "frantic" movements of the fetus during uterine contractions, concluded that they "were characteristic of a human being in severe pain, as the fetus threw its arms and legs about and appeared to actively resist each contrac-

tion with various contortions of its body."(62) If the uterus were not filled with fluid, says obstetrician Robert Goodlin, and if there were air in the womb, the fetus would be heard "crying in utero" much of the time. ln fact, he says, for "obstetricians using air amniograms, it is often necessary to caution the mother to assume the sitting or upright position (post air amniogram) for several hours after the amniogram so that the air will be kept away from the fetal larynx; otherwise, the annoyance for the [mother] of hearing her unborn fetus cry. It therefore seems not unreasonable to assume that fetuses are often as uncomfortable (enough to cry) in utero as extra utero [for] it is the intrapartum, not the newborn period, which is filled with pain and stress for the infant."(63)

The distress of the fetus is increasingly felt during its third trimester in the womb. As the fetus during this period increases its length from 13 to 20 inches and nearly triples its weight, it is more crowded, more affected by stress including hypoxia, moves less and dreams more,(64) and begins to exhibit a definite "personality" which the mother can now recognize as its own, as it gets upset and vigorously kicks her in response to certain of her actions or positions-for instance, if she is sleeping in a position uncomfortable to the fetus. The crucial problems for the fetus in this new cramped womb lies in its outgrowing the ability of its placenta to feed it, provide it with oxygen, and clean its blood of carbon dioxide and wastes. The placenta not only stops growing during this

period, it regresses in its efficiency, becoming tough and fibrous rather than spongy, as its cells and blood vessels degenerate and it becomes full of blood clots and calcified areas. As this happens, the effect on the fetus is to make it even more susceptible to hypoxia than previously.

Ever since the early research in the 1930s by Anselmino, Haselhorst, Bartels and others,(65) medical research has been puzzled by the low oxygen pressure of fetal blood, which continuously has such low oxygen levels that adults would black out in comparable conditions. This normal condition of low oxygen pressure was termed “Mt. Everest in utero, “with the suggestion that fetal development during the last trimester is analogous to a mountaineer climbing Mt. Everest and experiencing slowly decreasing oxygen levels as the fetus grew bigger and the placenta became less efficient. Although the discovery that this very low oxygen level is somewhat offset by an oxygen affinity of fetal red blood cells that is somewhat higher than adults, even so, it is now recognized by many researchers that this one factor is not enough to completely offset the growing insufficiency of oxygen supply to the brain cells. In fact, the late-term fetus is often “extremely hypoxic by adult standards.” As one obstetrical researcher puts it, “the foetus in utero may be subject to great 02 and C02 pressure changes” which produce frequent hypoxia, “the most frequent cause of brain damage in the perinatal period.”(66)

Recent medical literature is full of admissions of ignorance and calls for more research as to what is termed the “puzzling” ability of the fetus to live with such low oxygen levels and with such an “inefficient” placenta-the oxygen transfer efficiency of which Bartels calls the “worst” of all mammals.(67) Since “the asphyxiated fetus has no cerebral regulatory mechanism giving priority to the blood flow of the brain,”(68) and since the human fetal brain is many times the comparable size of other mammals of equal body weight, “the margin of safety of the fetal brain against hypoxia is probably smaller in man” than in other animals, so any reduction at all of the already very low oxygen level late in fetal life is felt as extremely stressful.(69)

Therefore, as the third trimester proceeds and birth approaches, as the placenta becomes less efficient and fetal needs much greater for oxygen, nutrition and the cleansing of its blood of carbon dioxide and wastes, the blood becomes more polluted, and every stress becomes magnified and is more painful to the fetus. At this low level of oxygen, even normal contractures” (“ractice contractions), which produce an increase in uterine pressure and a decrease in oxygen levels of up to 25%,(70) are painful to the fetus – as though the womb were giving it an hourly “squeeze” to get it used to the more violent contractions to come. fly two weeks prior to birth, the fetal oxygen level drops much further,(71) and the fetus’s need for oxygen becomes so critical that when Barcroft postponed artificially the birth of a rabbit fetus, it quickly killed the mother by robbing her of oxygen.

During labor itself, oxygenation is decreased even further below critical levels, and carbon dioxide in the blood rises. Saling found a level of oxygen in fetal scalp blood at the onset of labor of 23% and just before delivery of 12% (in adults, the central nervous system fails below 63%,(72) findings which have led even the most cautious of obstetricians to conclude that “hypoxia of a certain degree and duration is a normal phenomenon in every delivery.”(73) The effects on the fetus of this severe hypoxia are dramatic: normal fetal breathing stops, fetal heart rate accelerates, then decelerates, the fetus often thrashes about frantically in reaction to the pain of the

contractions and the hypoxia, and soon the fetus enters into its life-and-death struggle to liberate itself from its terrifying condition.(74)

The many obstacles often thrown in the path of both mother and child in this liberation struggle are well known: the medication that induces one labor in five today makes contractions stronger and longer and causes more hypoxia; pain-relieving drugs likewise have the effect of prolonging hypoxia; and so on. These effects are now so well studied that even mild hypoxia far short of any brain damage has been proved to have measurable negative personality consequences later in childhood.(75) Whether these modern dangers to the fetus are any worse than the practices of the past-the violent tossing and shaking of the mother, the hanging upside down, the belly pummeling, the vulva punching and the multilating rusty forcep – – is doubtful.(76) But, past or present, it cannot be doubted any

longer that the facts of biology plus the policies of man combine to make the struggle for liberation from the painful womb a dangerous battle indeed.

Yet it is a liberation struggle for all of that, and not at all a "separation anxiety" from a comfortable womb. Those thousands of patients of Grof, Janov and others reliving their births might remember it as a cataclysmic, titanic struggle-but that it was a struggle for freedom from a hellish womb none doubted. Nor can these images any longer be considered "just fantasies," induced by transference suggestions of the therapist For even though neither Grof nor Janov were careful about verification from their patients' actual birth records, there are in fact other researchers, including obstetricians, who have hypnotized people whose birth they had attended years before, and then compared the hypnotized person's recall of remembered birth details with actual hospital records and with their own and mother's reports, and found significant details under hypnosis which could only be explained as actual memories.(77) Indeed, every piece of evidence, both obstetrical and clinical, which is added to the growing literature of fetal life confirms the concrete reality of these memories of feelings of pain, fear and rage as the fetus struggles for liberation from the asphyxiating womb. What the psychological effects are of these obstetrical facts, what it means to begin one's mental life with a fetal drama full of both pleasure and pain, I shall consider in the next section of the paper.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FETAL LIFE: THE FETAL DRAMA

Contrary to the theory of "symbiotic oneness, "(78) the fetus in fact begins its mental life in active relationship with one vital object: its own placenta. Its dependence on the placenta for nutrition and constant cleansing of the blood is crucial to its existence, and, as we have seen, it responds to every decrease in placental functioning with visible anger, as shown by its thrashing movements and elevated heart rate. Over and over again during its early life in the womb, the fetus can be seen to experience cycles of peaceful activity, painful hypoxia, periods of thrashing about and then restored quiet periods as the placenta begins to pump newly-oxygenated bright red blood again. The placenta-umbilicus gestalt is the fetus's first object – as early as the second trimester the fetus has actually been filmed in endoscopic motion-pictures grabbing and holding its own umbilicus in a seeming effort to comfort itself when it is startled by the bright lights of the intrauterine camera.(79)

The pumping of polluted blood to the placenta, its processing by that organ, and the return of fresh new blood are such vital processes for fetal life that they becomes the physical prototypes for the later infantile mental mechanism of projection and introjection, whereby the baby fantasies the

mother as a “toilet” for its uncomfortable feelings-a placental “cleanser” who can process the baby’s emotions and “return” them in less dangerous form.(80) The nurturant placenta therefore slowly becomes the earliest object of fetal mental life, and the regular interruptions in this vital relationship produce the earliest feelings of anxiety in the fetus.

Slowly during the second and third trimesters the first structuring of fetal mental life takes place. When the blood coming from the placenta is bright red and full of nutrients and oxygen, it is felt to be coming from what I shall term a Nurturant Placenta and the fetus feels good, but when the blood becomes dark and polluted with carbon dioxide and wastes, it is imagined to be coming from a Poisonous Placenta, and the fetus feels bad and can be seen to kick out at the source of its pain. In the final months before birth, as the fetus outgrows the placenta, the womb gets more crowded and the blood more polluted, and the fetal drama steps up in intensity. I propose that just as the satisfying and grateful emotions associated with the Nurturant Placenta form a prototype for all later love relationships, so, too, the polluting-asphyxiating experiences produce an attitude of fear and rage toward the Poisonous Placenta, which is therefore the prototype for all later hate relationships-whether with the murderous mother, the castrating father, or ultimately, the punitive superego itself.

What I am proposing, then, is a basic model of fetal psychology wherein the fetal drama is the precursor for the oedipus complex, both having a cast of three, and both involving a relationship of the individual to a loved and to a feared object. That the fetus, like Oedipus, comes to feel it must actually battle with the Poisonous Placenta (Sphynx means “strangler” in Greek) to win back the Nurturant Placenta, I consider possible: repeated fetal experience, after all, teaches it that the outcome of its kicking the Poisonous Placenta is the restoration of the Nurturant Placenta. In any case, what is certain is that the fetal drama is set up long before birth, and the fetus learns that its good feelings are often interrupted by painful feelings which it is helpless to avert, and its once-peaceful womb slowly grows more crowded, less nurturant and more polluted, until it is finally liberated only by the battle which is the upheaval of birth itself.

It is one of the most basic principles of psychoanalysis that massive quantities of stimulation, particularly intensely painful experiences, result in a severe “trauma” for the individual, particularly when the ego is too immature to prevent itself from being overwhelmed by the affects. That fetal distress is traumatic can hardly be doubted, as the fetus has as yet none of the psychological defense mechanisms to handle massive anxiety and rage. Therefore, as psychoanalysts long ago found true of all traumatizations-from early enema-giving to wartime shocks or concentration camp experiences-the psyche then needs to endlessly re-experience the trauma in a specific “repetition compulsion” which, as Greenacre first pointed out, is similar to “imprinting” in lower animals.(81) As no psychic apparatus is as

open to trauma as that of the helpless fetus, no repetition compulsion is as strong as that which results from the "imprinting" of the fetal drama of repeated feelings of asphyxiation, blood pollution, and cleansing, climaxed by a cataclysmic battle and a liberation through a painful birth process. Although the form that this endlessly repeated death-and-rebirth fetal drama takes in later life is determined by the kind of childrearing which is experienced, the basic "imprinted" fetal drama can nevertheless always be discovered behind all the other overlays, pre-oedioal or oedipal.

The "imprinted" fetal drama, then, is the matrix into which is poured all later childhood experiences, as the child works over the basic questions posed by his experiences in the womb: Is the world hopelessly divided between nurturant and poisonous objects? Am I to be eternally helpless and dependent on the life-giving blood of others? Must all good feelings be interrupted by painful ones? Do I always have to battle for every pleasure? Will I have the support and room I need to grow? Can one ever really rely on another? Is entropy the law of my world, with everything doomed to get more crowded and polluted? Must I spend my life endlessly killing enemies?

The more loving and empathic the childrearing, the more the answers to these questions are positive and the more the stark elements of the fetal drama are modified. Every act of good childrearing contributes to the containing of the child's fears and mitigates the severity of the split between the idealized and poisonous primary object. On the contrary, every failure of parenting abandons the infant to the archaic fears and rages of the fetal drama and confirms its lesson that the world is full of dangerous objects, producing infantile fears which have seemed to psychoanalysts so exaggerated and unrealistic that they have posited inborn "death instincts" or "basic faults" to account for them.(82) The "death wish" and "basic fault" are real enough, and exist at birth-not because of genetic instinctual inheritance, but rather because of the very real frightening experiences of fetal life.

Thus the fetal psychology I propose has the same structure as that which Freud posited for psychoanalytic theory: that our lifelong search for love, pleasure and independence is opposed by an internal punitive agency, the superego. The superego, however, begins neither with the internal representation of the oedipal castrating father nor of the pre-oedipal devouring mother but with the image of the fetal Poisonous Placenta. All therapy-historical as well as individual-consists of reducing the severity of this frustrating internal agency, so that adult life can be based on the love and pleasure intrinsic to it rather than on the fear, hatred and dependencies of fetal and childhood life.(83) The better the childrearing, the less life will be dominated by the blood-sucking poisonous monsters imprinted during the fetal drama, and the less that processes of idealization, splitting, rage and passivity will impede one's search for love and happiness.

THE FETAL DRAMA AS THE BASIS FOR HISTORICAL GROUP-FANTASIES

The addition of the fetal dimension to psychology will, I believe, have an important effect on psychotherapy. In the example earlier cited, psychoanalyst Lester Little only approximately understands his patient's repeated dreams of being a baby connected by a umbilicus to a blood-sucking spider when he thinks in terms of a "cas-

trating mother."(84) My task in this essay, however, is to discuss the foundations for history and culture, not therapy. For the psychohistorian and psychoanalytic anthropologist, understanding the fetal dimensions of group life is a critical task, for their empirical material is permeated with overt imagery of the fetal drama. The ubiquity of fetal imagery of pollution fears, blood ties, nurturant and monstrous beings, rebirth rituals and cataclysmic upheavals in the group life of mankind from primitive religions to modern politics is simply too massive to ignore.

This is not just because individuals regress to fetal levels more easily in groups, but rather because individuals form groups in order to repeat and overcome the fetal drama. First one joins a group in order to be able to reestablish contact with this deepest part of one's self, and then one plays roles in the group in order to act out the various stages of the fetal drama. These group-fantasy tasks take precedence, and are the essence of all historical group formations. Only a small portion of group energy is therefore available for reality tasks rather than fantasy needs – a proportion which can be quickly estimated by comparing the total amount of fantasy-oriented religious and military activities of any group with its communal productive activities. Thus, Bion has defined a group accurately as "an aggregation of individuals all in the same state of regression,"(85) and I would only add that this state is a regression to the earliest memories of all: those of the fetal drama.

As previously mentioned, the elements of the fetal drama are modified by the events of childhood, with each uncaring act reinforcing the split between the Nurturant and the Poisonous Placenta and each loving act tending to heal that split and allow the child to mitigate the severity of its internal objects. Since mature, loving childrearing is a late historical achievement, the least modified version of the fetal drama can be found among early primitive and archaic groups who are still in the infanticidal mode of childrearing. In the next major section of this paper, I will examine in detail the evidence that early primitive and archaic groups acted out the fetal drama in such direct form that every minute of their waking and sleeping lives was dominated by concrete fetal imagery of hellish wombs, Poisonous Placentas, polluted blood and rebirth battles. But before I begin this de-

tailed empirical examination, an overview of the major fetal elements in group life of every historical period will prove useful.

Being emotionally part of a group may be defined as sharing a fantasy of being in a womb, connected to others by umbilicuses, that is, literally by "blood ties," organizing one's group role around fetal symbols, and acting out cycles of the fetal drama of growing pollution and purifying rebirth through a battle with a poisonous monster. Successive cycles of this group-fantasy of rebirth are then said to be the group's "history." Initiation into group life is always by means of a rebirth ordeal which establishes the shared fantasy and determines one's role within the fetal drama. Once one "becomes part of the group" by drinking the symbolic placental blood, every element of group-fantasy life acquires the halo of feral symbolism, spoken of as "the sacred," "the numinous," or "the charismatic." As Rudolf Otto first discovered and Mircea Eliade has since thoroughly documented,(86) one knows one is in the presence of the sacred by the feeling of awe and terror before an object which has the presence of mystery and overwhelming power, something "wholly other" (ganz andere) which is not really hu-

man but is intimately connected to one's essential self-a perfect description of the placenta. You can perhaps recapture this fetal feeling of awe before the original sacred object by trying to identify with the feelings of the fetus clinging to the placenta in Illustration 1. The umbilicus-placenta was once yours, a vital, pulsing "fifth limb" which you had even before you had arms or legs, and which you still feel exists-a "phantom placenta," rather like the "phantom limb" feeling that is often experienced by people who have had a limb cut off. If your empathy can carry you this far, you will perhaps then be able to recapture the aura of the placental prototype of every God "from whom all blessings flow" and every Leader "from whom all power flows." That Gods and Kings should be placentas seems, of course, even more bizarre than it once seemed that they should be parents. Yet if you examine the traits of sacredness and charisma dispassionately, you will see that divinity carries far more placental than parental qualities: self-sufficient, arbitrary, hidden, mysterious, omnipotent, unap-proachable, unknowable, asexual-all these are not qualities of any living parent but rather of a living all-powerful "thing" on which one wholly depends but whose arbitrary actions one cannot affect and with which one has constant silent exchanges.

Because all groups share this fantasy that their gods and leaders are placentas needed to pump life-giving blood into and to cleanse their own bad blood of pollution, all group space becomes "sacred" space, and the first act of every group is to establish this womb-surround by "founding" it, by designating a specific womb-hole or navel-stone (omphalos) or central umblical-post (axis mundi) that is the center of the womb, the place where sacrifices and other elements of the fetal drama are performed.(87)

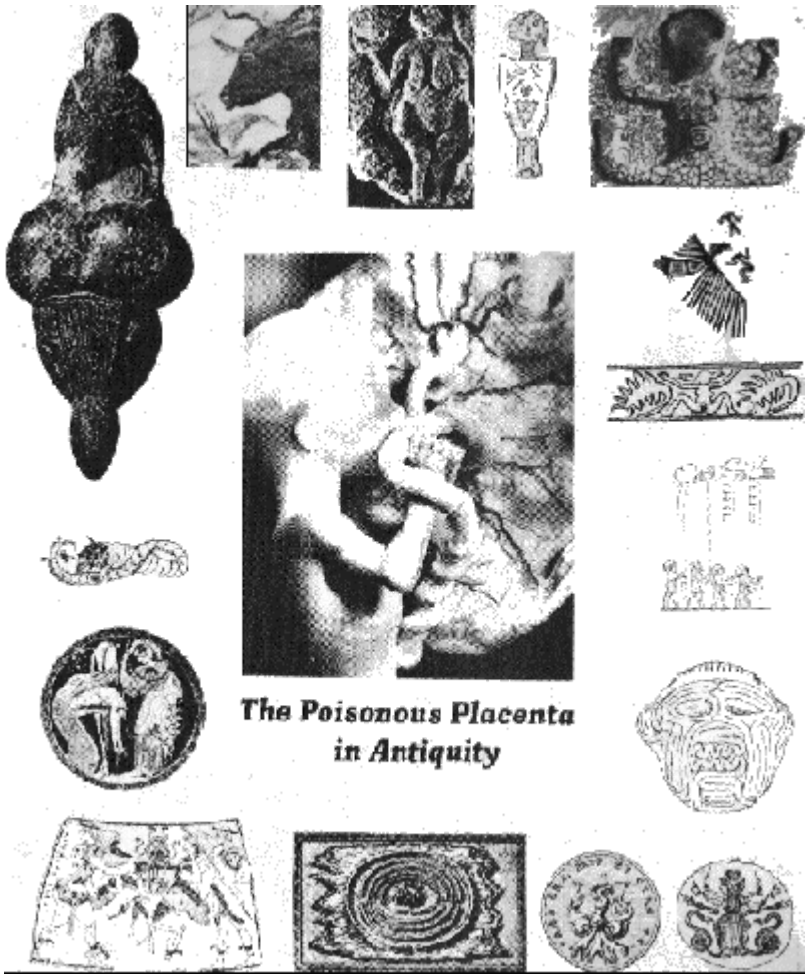


Illustration 1 -The Poisonous Placenta in Antiquity
Clockwise from upper left corner: Back view of female statuette from Lespugue; Painted bull and placental sign from Lascaux; Bas relief of female with horn from Laussel; Earthmother votive with pubic triangle and swastika from Hissarlik; Leopard Goddess in childbirth from Catal Huyuk; Vulture Goddess with headless men from Catal Huyuk; Cylinder Seal with placental symbok from Ur; King's Placenta on Standard, Narmer's Palette, Egypt; Hum-baba/Huwawa mask, guardian of the cedar felled by Gilgamesh; Hecate and Scylla, Engraved gems, Rome; Italian dragon in its Labyrinth; Perseus slaying the Gorgon, with Hermes; Jason spewed up by the dragon; Danish Midgard serpent.

Every sacred tent, every temple, every church, every throne is believed to be at the very center of the universe and to be connected by an umbilical cosmic pillar leading upwards to the center of Heaven (Nurturant Placenta) and downwards to the Great Serpent of the Underworld (Poisonous Placenta).

The placenta has many guises, most either emphasizing its tree-like bran-ching, with the umbilicus as the trunk, or else its snake-like qualities, often symbolized as a many-headed snake or octopus (see Illustrations 1 and 2). Sometimes the umbilicus is represented separately (see Illustration 3), taking the form of a flagpole, connecting rope, or snake. These symbols repeat themselves with few variations in every primitive and ar-

chaic religion, in historical religions, and in past and contemporary political symbols, and unless one understands these basic fetal symbols there is simply no way to explain much of what happens in the world.

The placenta as Cosmic Tree,(88) connecting the group to Heaven by its branches and to Hell by its roots, is found in most religious and political systems, whether taking the form of a sacred tree (Nordic Yggdrasil), a sacred pole (Hebrew Asherah), a sacred cross (Christian Holy Cross) or a sacred flagpole (Roman vexilloid or Celtic sacred wood). The Cosmic Tree is of course the Tree of Life which stands "at the golden Navel of the Earth" where "before birth, the souls of little children perch like little birds on the branches."89 Often the blood of the placental prototype leaves clear traces on the Cosmic Tree or pole, whether actually – as in the ritual of anointing the sacred pole with actual human blood as primitive tribes often do – or mythically – as in the many myths of bleeding sacred trees – or symbolically – as in the blood of Christ on the Holy Cross. But whatever the form, the placental tree or pole is so crucial to group life that when it is lost the entire group becomes disoriented, as in the case where one primitive tribe broke their sacred pole they simply laid down and waited for death,(90)or as in the stories of Christian crusaders who were lost without their cross or troops who quit battle when they lost their flag.

Sometimes the uterine site of this central tree or pole is termed a Sacred Mountain, as in the Mount of Lands of Mesopotamian beliefs, the Paradise that contains the Tree of Life, Mount Tabor (tabbur = navel) at the center of Palestine, or Golgotha where Christ's Cross was located.(91) In fact, every ancient city also shared this fetal symbolism, since it was usually believed to have been situated exactly in the center of the earth, surrounded by water, and since it contained a temple, ziggurat or pyramid which was the navel of the universe and the place of birth or rebirth of every fetal savior of the group, be he shaman, pharoab, Adam, Zarathustra or Christ. As Hebrew tradition puts it: "The Most Holy One created the world like an embryo. As the embryo grows from the navel, so God began to create the world by the navel . . . the rock of Jerusalem . . . is called the Foundation Stone of the

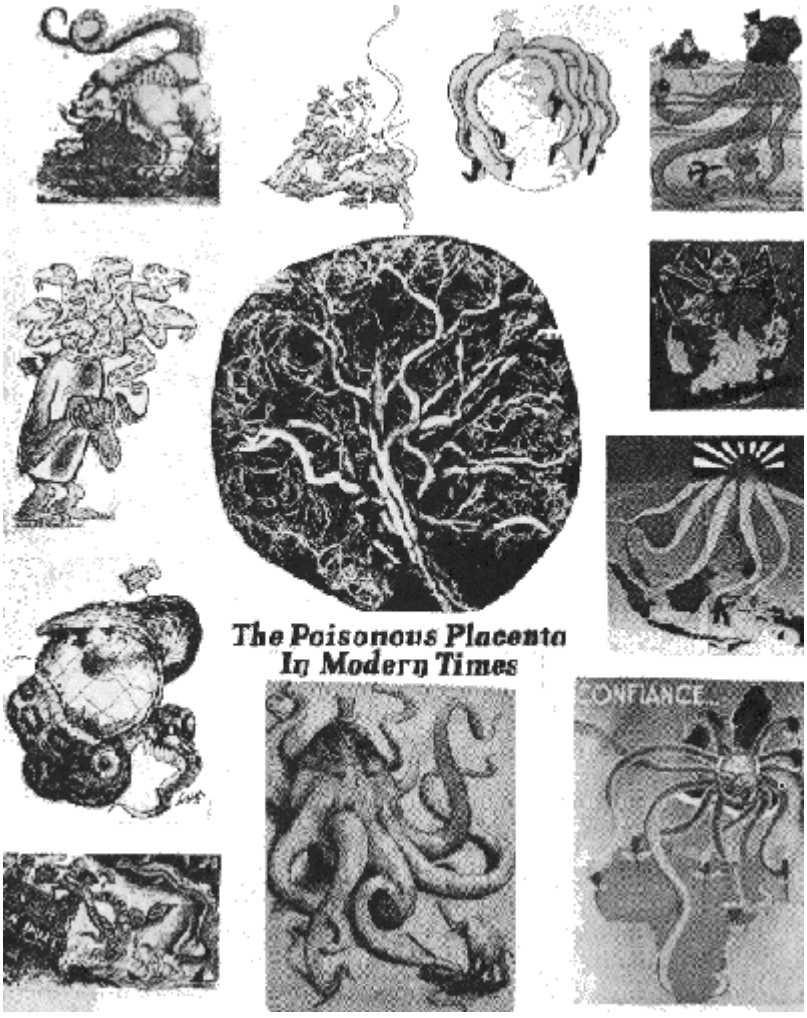


Illustration 2-The Poisonous Placenta in Modern Times
Clockwise from upper left corner: God of war; 17th century; Great Beast of the Apocalypse; Two of Churchill as octopus; Bolshevism as spider; Japan as octopus; Churchill as octopus; American government as octopus; Carter grabbed by octopus; German serpent swallowing world; MIR V atomic bomb as many-headed serpent.

Earth, that is, the navel of the Earth, because it is from there that the whole Earth unfolded. "(92)

The drama of the suffering fetus, then, is the deepest level of meaning of all ritual, religious or political, in all primitive, archaic or historical groups, no matter how many elements are present from later life. Once one begins to recognize the limited cast, the standard stage settings, and the ritual script of the fetal drama, what once seemed like endless cultural invention in history and ethnology quickly reduces itself to a few ritual group-fantasies endlessly repeated at different evolutionary levels, according to the childrearing modes reached by the group. The five basic elements of this fetal drama are (1) The Poisonous Placenta, (2) The Suffering Fetus, (3) The Growing Pollution, (4) The Nurturant Umbilicus, and (5) The Cosmic Battle.

***(1) The Poisonous Placenta**: Ultimately every god and every leader is a Poisonous Placenta, for even those which appear in beneficent guise betray their awful aspects in the fear and awe with which they are regarded. This is easier to see in primitive and archaic groups, for there either monstrous gods are directly worshipped or else the good gods turn into monsters with what to the modern mind appears to be perplexing ease. (Sudden shifts from nurturant to asphyxiating conditions are, of course, repetitions of the actual experience of the fetus of alternating good and bad conditions.) The basic form of the Poisonous Placenta in group-fantasy is the serpent or dragon, a poisonous marine monster (water symbolizing the amniotic fluid) with many snake-like heads (representing the umbilicus and the placental network-see Illustration 2). In this form you can instantly recognize Tiamat, Rahab, Behemoth, Humbaba, Apophis, Hydra, Gorgon, Typhon and the thousands of other divine monsters in antiquity, including all those serpents openly worshiped by primitive and archaic man. Since the serpent "plays a larger part in religious myth" than any other animal, and can "occur even in the myths of lands where there are no snakes,"(93) its fetal origins are evident. The serpentine monsters in Illustrations 1 and 2 are just a few I have selected from a bewildering variety of thousands represented in past art and present cartoons, from the poisonous dragons of antiquity and the biblical seven-headed beast of the Apocalypse to the octopus-like choking enemies" of modern times. The serpent betrays its origin as Poisonous Placenta in its every aspect: in its birth from an egg, in its home in holes or in water, in its role as guardian of the Tree of Life, in its life-giving blood out of which mankind is produced, in its poisonous sting and its ferocious opposition to the mythic hero.(94) Once this basic pattern becomes familiar, it is then not too difficult to see the elements of the Poisonous Placenta behind every malevolent group-fantasy figure in history, behind every poisoning sorcerer, every dangerous menstruating woman, every blood-sucking witch or blood-poisoning Jew, every Red Commie who ever threatened our "national life-blood."*

***(2) The Suffering Fetus**: The hero of all group-fantasy, all myth, all ritual is, of course, ourselves, as the suffering fetus. We deify and identify with all those who are fated to face suffering and death, from Marduk to Tammuz, from Osiris to Christ, from Caesar to Napoleon, from Jeanne d'Arc to Piaf. It is essential that the hero of our fetal drama be basically as innocent as we ourselves felt in the womb, as innocent as the newborn thrown into the mouth of Moloch, as the innocent Tammuz who was flogged until bloody in Hell or as the sinless Christ suffering on the Cross.(95) Yet, as in the womb, the traumatic ritual of suffering and rebirth must be repeated over and over again, whether in yearly New Year's suffering and rebirth rituals in archaic groups or in the yearly Easter rituals of suffering, death and resurrection in Christian groups. Because all important events in life may stir up superego retribution, every major life event therefore precipitates a suffering-and-rebirth ritual: birth, puberty, marriage, death. Sometimes only a portion of the fetal drama is enacted, as in baptism or circumcision after birth, which repeat the experiences of the amniotic water, the cleansing saving of the baby from the devil, or the cutting of the umbilicus-penis and the establishing of the blood covenant with God. Sometimes the entire fetal drama is repeated, as in initiation ceremonies at puberty where a full suffering, death and rebirth ritual is enacted. But what is most important is that all major group events require a repetition of the fetal drama: at the end of each year, at every spring planting, at harvest time, at carnival time, before battles, at coronations. In fact, many archaic societies not only regularly renewed the potency of their kings and cleansed the group through yearly death-and-rebirth rituals, as Frazer endlessly documented is his study of "Dying and Reviving Gods," some, like the Egyptian, required their lead-*

ers to go through a rebirth drama every morning of every day for fear the world would otherwise sink into irredeemable pollution. Christianity, of course, was able to accomplish this cleansing of the group through once-a-week Masses with similar death-and-rebirth con-tent, and modern nations accomplish their cleansing through elections every few years.

***(3) The Growing Pollution**: The only experience in life which corresponds to the group's basic conviction that the world is forever in danger of being swamped by blood pollution is that of fetal life. The central terror which underlies all group life, from primitive taboo to modern political paranoia, is that of pollution. All social order is upheld, no matter how irrational it may be, to prevent the imminent danger of pollution of group life by a transgressor. Every ritual, every "sacrificial crisis," is performed to cleanse the pollution from the group. (96) The two opposite poles of holiness and impurity have a single placental source; the word "sacred" (sacer) originally meant both holy and defiled in Latin.(97) The menstrual blood of women is the most universally taboo substance on earth because it is equated with*

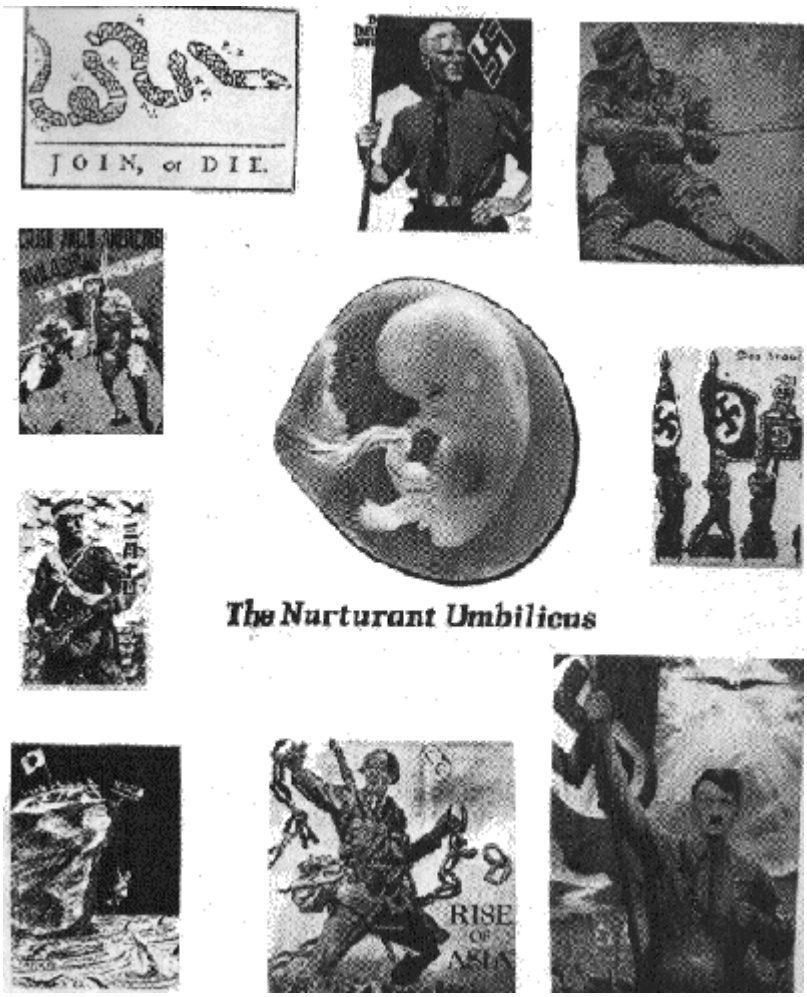


Illustration 3-The Nurturant Umbilicus in History
Clockwise from upper left: American colonies flag; Hitler posters in four versions; Japanese posters in four versions.

polluted blood, and the image of the wildly menstruating "placental" woman is a central subject of myth of many primitive cultures. Indeed, menstrual blood is often itself personified by primitives; since it might have gone to "make a fetus," they say, it must now be dangerous to humans.(98) Menstruating women are believed to be a danger to the whole community: they ruin camp sites, pollute whole forests, decrease herds, rob men of their virility, poison wine, cause crop failure and invite all kinds of group disasters. Yet menstrual blood is at bottom life-giving, too, powerful and sacred; incest between mother and son, the primal personal taboo, is ultimately the powerful wish to return to the original placental source of life.

The clearest example of the group-fantasy of pollution can be found in New Year's rituals the world over. The buildup of polluting blood reaches its visible climax as the sun dips the lowest on the horizon and the days grow shortest. As Eliade puts it, the community acts out this polluted state of the group through "the extinction of fires, the return of the souls of the dead, social confusion of the type exemplified by the Saturnalia, erotic license, orgies, and so on, symbolized the retrogression of the cosmos into chaos. On the last day of the year the universe was dissolved in the primordial waters. The marine monster Tiamat – symbol of darkness, of the formless, the non-manifested – revived and once again threatened. The world that had existed for a whole year really disappeared. Since Tiamat was again present, the cosmos was annulled; and Marduk was obliged to create it once again, after having once again conquered Tiamat."(99) It is this fetal drama of growing pollution, return of the placental beast, and ritual purification and rebirth through violence which we continue to repeat today in group-fantasy cycles of several years in length, only in the political rather than in the religious sphere, as I described in my four-stage model at the very beginning of this essay.

***(4) The Nurturant Umbilicus**: As I noted earlier, the fetus has been seen in uterine motion pictures grabbing its own umbilicus when in distress. In Illustration 3, you can see a number of political posters, each showing someone grabbing a pole, rope, chain or other object coming out of their midsection. These are a selection from hundreds of posters I have collected. 100 The single most common political symbol portrayed by nations about to go to war was someone grabbing a pole at his midsection, an image which constituted over one third of all political posters I could find.*

Most of the time, of course, this pole is a flagpole, and the image of a leader holding a long flagpole (umbilicus) with a waving (amniotic water) flag (placenta) colored red (arterial blood), blue (venous blood) or green (Tree of Life) is always a comforting group symbol. One traces the path of one's arterial blood from one's heart to the placental flag each time one "pledges allegiance," by putting one's hand first on one's heart and then pointing it toward the flag. A strong breeze which makes the flags flutter and seem alive stirs our blood, but a lack of wind makes the flag "fall

dead." This condition is so frightening that baseball announcers ominously comment before games that "the flags are dead in left field," and the American flag which was planted on the moon had to have wire put in it

to show it waving, even in that airless space. Early flags and standards most often had placental beasts, serpents or dragons on them, and — as I will describe in detail in the next section — the very earliest flag was the actual king's placenta, complete with hanging umbilicus (see pictures of it on the right-hand side of Illustration 1). In brief, every connecting cord, pole or ladder symbolizes the Nurturant Umbilicus, from the rope or ladder which the shaman used to ascend to Heaven to the Rainbow Snake of primitive lore, Noah's and Jonah's rainbows, Jacob's and Mohammed's ladders to Heaven and so on.(101)

***(5) The Cosmic Battle**: The growing pollution of the group always ends in a cosmic battle between the heroic Suffering Fetus and the serpentine Poisonous Placenta. All the struggles of birth are poured into this cataclysmic battle, all the crushing head pressures, the deluge loosed upon the world by the breaking of the waters, the feelings of being torn apart limb from limb, the feelings of asphyxiation – plus, of course, all the sadistic and masochistic fantasies added from later childhood. Every element of the rebirth drama during primitive initiation, from the noise of the drums and the roar of the whirled bull-roarers to the cruelty of all initiatory ordeals, reproduces this fetal battle.(102) Each of the birth struggle elements are so well imprinted in our very bones that when Salk was doing his experiment of playing a normal adult heartbeat at 80 beats a minute for newborn babies – which he found was so soothing to them that they cried less and gained weight more – and he tried moving it up to 120 beats a minute (the rate of the mother's heartbeat when in labor), the babies became so agitated he had to stop the experiment. A similar effect can be seen in contrasting the soothing effect of most music, played at around 80 beats per minute, and the blood-stirring effects of military music at 120 beats per minute-which, when combined with the effects of fluttering placental flags on umbilical poles being marched down the long, narrow uterine passageway of the street, makes the military marching band one of the most powerful rebirth devices ever invented.*

The cosmic battle between the suffering hero and the placental monster is a central subject of myth in every culture area of the world, and is replayed in symbolic form, in mock combat or in real battles, during important ritual occasions. The many-headed placental serpent is fought by Gilgamesh and Marduk, Osiris and Thor, Zeus and Herakles, Pharoah and Ra – – even Adam got thrown out of Paradise by a serpent, although the battle itself was later edited out.(104) This battle is not only mythically enacted during ritual, it is the sacrifice itself, even when not played out concretely. The basic cleansing ritual of every primitive and archaic group is the

sacrifice of the beast, and this beast always symbolizes the Poisonous Placenta killed in the feral drama.

The prototypical sacrificial ritual is described by Hubert and Mauss in their classic book, Sacrifice, as follows. The sacrificer is first shaved and purified of pollution, then dressed in an animal's skin. "This is a solemn moment when the new creature stirs within him. He has become a foetus. His head is veiled and he is made to clench his fists, for the embryo in its bag has its fists clenched. He is made to walk around the hearth just as the foetus moves within the womb." Then he kills the Sacrificial beast, and either actually or symbolically eats its body and drinks its blood, pours it on the altar or smears it on himself. (105) The beast is first dressed in all sorts of placental symbols, from crowns with womb-circles and tree-of-life branches to costumes full of

umbilical ribbons. During the killing the sacrificer becomes "merged . . . fused together" with the placental beast, and the killing itself "is a crime, a kind of sacrilege . . . the death of the animal was lamented, one wept for it as one would weep for a relative. Its pardon was asked before it was struck down . . . the knife was condemned and thrown into the sea."(106)

Every time, then, that man does something which stirs his punitive archaic superego – at bottom, his Poisonous Placenta – every time he goes on a hunt, builds a house, plants a crop or goes to war, he sacrifices, that is, he becomes a fetus and is reborn through the killing of the placental beast. And every time the group itself becomes full of pollution, it imagines that its leader has become the hated placental beast, and it must either kill him in a regicidal or revolutionary act or else find a scapegoat upon which this sacrificial violence can be displaced. Without knowledge of the symbols of the fetal drama, this basic human cultural pattern is quite unintelligible. But once armed with the Rosetta Stone of fetal psychology, it becomes possible, as in the next sections of this essay, to understand from the empirical evidence left to us from each historical period in the past what evolutionary form the fetal drama has taken, beginning with the earliest Paleolithic cultures and continuing right down to the political life of today.

II. THE FETAL DRAMA BY PSYCHOGENIC MODE

In this section, I will examine the major group-fantasies of each historical period in order to demonstrate the forms of the fetal drama as modified by the evolution of parent-child relations. (107)

THE INFANTICIDAL MODE: SADISTIC PHASE

In 1962, archaeologist Alexander Marshack, wondering whether Paleolithic man could have been able to record "time-factored" sequences, examined a bone marked with a series of previously unexplained notches and hypothesized that they represented the days of the phases of the moon. Over the next decade, he examined thousands of such bones microscopically, and published his results in a book, The Roots of Civilization, which, along with Andre' Leroi-Gourhan's work on prehistoric art, has revolutionized modern views of prehistoric man.(108)

Yet as convincing as Marshack's investigations are, several unexplained patterns appear in his empirical evidence which require a revision in his explanatory scheme, and which will serve as a useful introduction to the group-fantasies of Paleolithic man. These unexplained patterns are:

> *1. Although Marshack's bones all show evidence of patterns with phases similar to those of the moon, they are oddly erratic, some cycles having as few as 25 days and others as many as 35. Since lunar cycles are not in fact erratic but occur every 29.5 days, Marshack tries to account for this anomaly with speculations about cloudy nights and uncertainties of when to count the beginnings of the*

moon's waxing and waning. Yet even aside from the improbability that Paleolithic man for 10,000 years was obsessed with a system the rules of which were haphazardly defined, a real empirical difficulty arises from this kind of explanation. For even if the counting rules were imprecise, the system should be self-correcting. As Marshack himself notes, "If he is off by one day here or there in his notation he will always be corrected by the next series of lunar phases . . . . The method is, therefore, self-correcting over a number of months."(109) Yet the majority of Marshack 's multiple-month examples do not add up to a correct total, a fact he simply ignores. Most add up to less than the correct lunar total. For instance, the Blanchard bone he analyzes most fully has 69+63 +40 172 marks, which he compares to a six-month lunar total of 29.5×6 = 177 and concludes it is about the same "plus or minus a few."(110) But 172 is a full 5 days less than 177, giving six "lunar" periods of 28.7 rather than 29.5 days.

2 The motivation he gives for engraving thousands of bones with a major religious system comprised of slightly inaccurate lunar notches seems improbable. One bone with a standard cycle should be all one needs if the purpose is to measure seasons, as Marshack

thinks, not many variations with thousands of patterns.

3. Most of the bones are painted red, which Marshack parenthetically says may have something to do with "death, blood, birth and renewal," but does not otherwise seriously connect to his lunar theory.

4. Although the moon itself was never portrayed on the bones, many bones were either engraved with rutting animals, pregnant mares or vaginal symbols, or were actually made in the shape of the female torso. Sex therefore seemed to have some part in the "lunar" notation. Marshack at one point near the end of his book asks the reader "Is the image related to the lunar cycle via the story of birth, death, and rebirth and by comparisons between the lunar and the menstrual cycles?" but he never goes back to examine his initial lunar theory in light of this possibility.

As may be obvious by now, I believe the bone markings are actually for keeping track of menstrual periods, not lunar cycles, and that this explanation accounts for all the anomalies described above. Menstrual periods, not lunar, are variable, average 28 days rather than 29.5 days, and are not "self-correcting" over successive periods. The red ochre on the bones symbolizes menstrual blood, and the associated sexual scenes are connected with the timing of sexual intercourse to avoid the woman's menstrual period. Sexual, not lunar, scenes were engraved on the bones because the woman's unreliable sexual cycle is what has to be figured out, not the lunar cycle. Although this does not completely rule out lunar connections, since as we shall see many groups believed the moon was physically connected to the womb, the central focus of this system is in fact sexual and menstrual, not lunar.

What significance might the image of the menstruating woman have for Paleolithic man? Since so little prehistoric evidence remains, I will turn to contemporary hunting and gathering tribes to examine their group-fantasies before returning to our prehistoric evidence and, with awareness of possible differences between the two, see if they do not have some useful parallels.

As the best-documented hunting and gathering groups are the Australian aborigines, I will analyze them in some detail and only briefly touch on other hunting cultures to extend the patterns found among Australian tribes. To begin with, the childhood of Australian aborigines, like that of all contemporary hunter-gatherers, (112) is in the infanticidal mode. That is, they not only kill a large proportion of their newborn without remorse, but also treat those they do bring up with a combination of severe neglect, physical and emotional abuse, and symbiotic clinging. To begin with, many Australian tribes until recently ate their children, not from food hunger but

from object hunger, so poorly differentiated were they from others. Some ate the fetus itself, procuring abortions for this purpose by pressing the pregnant mother's abdomen and pulling the fetus out by the head.(113) Others ate every second child, out of what they called "baby hunger," forcing their other children to share in the feast.(114) (That the anthropologist who described these habits concluded that parental cannibalism of children "doesn't seem to have affected the personality development" and that these are really "good mothers [who] eat their own children"(115) is more a commentary on the quality of anthropological research than on aboriginal reality.)

The most trustworthy field study of aboriginal childrearing, that of Arthur Hippler, concludes that mothers are "neglectful" of the child, with "routinely brutal" abuse of very young infants varying with "overt neglect" and the use of the breast as a control device.(116) Empathy is so absent that he states "I never observed a single adult Yolngu caretaker of any age or sex walking a toddler around, showing him the world, explaining things to him and empathizing with his needs. While categorical statements are most risky, I am most certain of this." He further says that every movement toward independence by the growing child is experienced by the mother as abandonment of her by the child, and since the world is regularly portrayed as "dangerous and hostile, full of demons," little individuation can take place. The growing child is then routinely sexually stimulated by both parents, beaten up and sexually abused by older children, and terrified by others in the group, so that it is not surprising that the result is an adult who employs magical thinking, psychologically as well as technologically very primitive.

Because of this infanticidal childrearing, the original terrifying fetal experience is little modified, only reinforced by equally terrifying parenting. Because the parent is virtually as infantile and needy as the newborn, the adult superego of every individual is as punitive and persecutory as that of psychotics in modern society. Like all hunters, the mind of the aborigine is characterized by massive splitting and projection rather than repression, by the use of the archaic defense mechanisms of grandiosity and omnipotence, by uncertain self-object boundaries, by a confusion of sexual zones and a predominance of rape fantasies, and by an adult life

full of paranoid fantasies which require continuous undoing rituals to ward off omnipresent persecutory anxiety.

The group life of hunting tribes like the aborigines is a world filled with womb-furniture, and takes place in a dimension the aborigines call "the Dreaming," where every real tree, hole and rock has a "sacred" mythical meaning, that is, a fetal role. Most of life is a literal nightmare-indeed, one careful study(117) shows that during rituals they literally are in a waking dream state. Every possible occasion for pleasure provokes the sadistic in-

fanticidal superego and requires a propitiation. Birth, puberty, marriage, hunting, in fact, all potentially happy occasions stir up retribution by the unmodified Poisonous Placenta and require a concrete playing out of the full fetal drama of death and rebirth.

The initiation drama follows the pattern of all primitives, only with extremely concrete fetal symbols.(118) The central figure of aboriginal ritual is the Poisonous Placenta, represented in one form by a dangerous but sexually exciting, copiously-menstruating woman called an alknarintja. Not only is she pictured as wildly menstruating, but she is also said to be smeared with blood and to own a magic bull-roarer (tiurunga), a wooden disk marked with placental circles and loops and called the "double" or shade" of the boy being reborn. The bull-roarer is actually called a "placenta" by some tribes and "inside the womb" by others, and is the central religious object given the reborn initiate. The purpose of the initiation ritual is (a) to fight the monstrous Poisonous Placenta – represented by the bull-roarer, which is supposed to swallow the initiate – and then (b) to be reunited with the placenta – the reborn initiate is given his bull-roarer at the end of the ceremony. All the objects of the fetal drama are present during the rebirth ritual. The umbilicus is represented by a ceremonial pole stuck in a hole into which the men pour some of their own blood. The womb is a circular trench with a placental Serpent engraved on its walls and into which the initiate is thrown and buried. The Poisonous Placenta is the bull-roarer, later attached to the umbilical pole, which is whirled about and made to emit a terrible noise to frighten the initiate. The death struggle of birth includes many painful ordeals, such as radical subincision (cutting through the underside of the penis into the urethra.) The amount of real blood in the ceremony is considerable. The blood from the subincision wound – called the boy's "vagina" – is collected and smeared on him to symbolize his birth, and the men of the tribe open their own veins to provide additional blood – which is often drunk by the initiate, symbolizing in the most concrete way the flow of placental blood to the fetus-initiate. This magical placental blood from the subincision wound is at other times also used by the tribe as a fertility device since it has the ability to cause animals as well as humans to be reborn and thus can increase the supply of food for the group.

Even this brief description illustrates the roles of the placenta and its blood in primitive ritual, as well as the crucial role of the menstruating placental woman in myth and ceremony, far beyond her role in sexual taboo. In fact, the very origin of the word "taboo" is from tupua, which is Polynesian for "menstruation," and in every primitive culture known the menstrual taboo is connected with the very foundations of group life. "Greater

than the fear of death, dishonor, or dismemberment has been the primitive man's respect for menstrual blood. The measures he has taken to avoid this mysterious substance have affected his meal times, his

bed times, and his hunting season; and primitive woman, unable to separate herself from her blood, knew that upon her tabooed state depended the safety of the entire society."(119)

Since the blood of the Poisonous Placenta was visible as menstrual blood, it literally had mana, it was sacer – – that is, it was both dangerous and desired. And since all kinship ties are "blood ties" connecting members of the clan, the initiation rite which makes one a member of the clan is a literal sharing of the placental blood-that is, a concrete connecting of the initiate to a group-fantasy of a shared placenta. Every new member of any group enacts this group-fantasy of being connected to a common placenta, whether by drinking placental blood, by pledging allegiance to a placental flag or by other symbolic devices. The menstruating woman, therefore, is the Poisonous Placenta, and in every group ever formed the bloody woman can be found to be a central object of group-fantasy. What is, therefore, concretely true of the Australian aborigine is true in fantasy of all other groups, even today. It will be my task in the remainder of this essay to give the empirical evidence for this seemingly strange concept.

I shall begin by returning to Marshack's Paleolithic bones, which mark phases of the menstrual cycle. Whether these were used as "counters" for menstrual cycles or as part of rituals with "story-telling" functions is secondary: they were menstrual, that is, placental, in essence. They may even have been used at times as bull-roarers, for many contain holes which might have allowed them to be swung on strings-similar to the so-called "baguettes" and other Paleolithic batons which Maringer says had the same "loops, circles and spirals . . . like the batons of the Australian aborigines."(120) In fact, it is only when the placental key is furnished that Paleolithic objects and ritual begin to make sense. The widespread "vulva discs" with various vulval symbols marked on them are also Poisonous Placentas-used in ritual similar to the use of the bull-roarer-as are the great number of vulva-symbols found everywhere in cave drawings. (121) So, too, are the familiar "Venus" statues, which not only are painted blood-red but are almost all abdomen, without feet or face, and, as can be seen in Illustration 1, are sometimes even overtly shown menstruating at the back of the statue.

The notion that these grotesque blood-red statues are Venuses, "love-goddesses, or that they have anything to do with the increase in real human fertility, is a purely defensive concept on the part of moderns. In the first place, they are identical in every detail to the copiously-menstruating alknarintja and similar figures in other hunting tribes, from their red color to their frightening lack of a face and treatment of the braided hair. In the second place, they cannot have anything to do with human fertility because contemporary hunting tribes are highly infanticidal, and parents rarely

want to keep more than one baby at a time to carry around. That Paleolithic parents were equally infanticidal is certain: not only because prehistoric fossils show a highly unbalanced sex ratio, revealing differential fe-

male infanticide,(122) but also because they have left considerable evidence that they were ritual cannibals, eating their children's brains. (123) In fact, one of the most common confusions of all anthropological and early archaic research is the ascribing of "human fertility" motivations to elements which are in fact part of the fetal drama: every symbolic vagina or womb or "mother" figure is not a wish to have more babies; it is a wish to be a fetus. It is true that this fetal drama often gets linked up to the "fertility" of the herd or of the earth, but this is an adult overlay, not an infantile wish. And it in any case does not apply to human babies.

The Paleolithic menstruating Poisonous Placenta figure can be seen most clearly in the famous great bas relief from Laussel (see Illustration 1), painted all over blood-red, holding her menstrual-blood horn, crescent-shaped like the moon, with thirteen marks on it for the thirteen menstrual periods of the year. McCully says of this figure: "Like later goddesses in mother-earth cults, she was not meant to be loved, but served and placated . . . by the sacrifice of human infants. . . . Her right hand holds a bison horn. Its position gives it the appearance of the crescent moon (which, like a woman's fertility, shows cyclic sequence), while it serves as a container for blood. A blood-filled horn symbolizes the highest fertility in Cretan bull cults. Her left hand sinks into her abdomen, the fecund zone of great significance in fertility ritual."(124) I would only add that it is rebirth not birth, and fetal not "fertility ritual," which are here portrayed. The right hand holding the dreaded menstrual blood container and the left hand in the abdomen are clues to what the blood container really represents.

If we turn to the work on prehistoric art by Leroi-Gourhan, we will find these placental symbols repeated everywhere in a few guises. Leroi-Gourhan's central finding is that the animals and symbols in cave art are all chosen and arranged according to a widely-shared symbolic system, with "female" animals and signs central, and "male" animals and signs peripheral. All bison, for instance, were "female" symbols in cave art, and many drawings were found showing bison and women in identical poses, as though one changed into the other. (125) This beast-woman figure is in fact the Poisonous Placenta, and the subsidiary "male" symbols are the fetus. The drama that is portrayed deep in the womb of the dim cave is the same fetal scene that is dramatized on the stage of all dim cathedrals: the battle with the Poisonous Placenta-beast and the death and rebirth of the fetus-hunter.

This can best be seen in the famous composition from the cave of Lascaux (Illustration 4).

Illustration 4-Scene from Cave of Lascaux

Marshack describes this scene as depicting "a naked bird-headed man with an erect phallus lying or falling before a wounded bison with its entrails spilling. There is a spear in the bison, a bird on the stick and an oddly branched form," usually called a "spear-thrower."(126) If you will look carefully at the scene, however, you will note several obvious errors in this explanation. First, the "spear" is not in the bison at all-it is superimposed on it, with its "point" facing away from the bison, certainly odd if a spear-scene was meant. In fact, the "spear" is not a spear at all. Paleolithic spears are poles with small stones at their very end-this is a long line with a branch line at some distance from the end. Neither is the "spear-thrower" like any one ever seen in the Paleolithic. Spear-throwers are short sticks with a slight notch at the end, while this is again a branched symbol, very much like the so-called "spear" itself. Both, in fact, are versions of the standard placental symbol of a branch from the "Tree of Life," mentioned above, and so often drawn near beasts in cave art (see Illustration 1). The bird-headed man is, of course, a shaman, not a hunter at all, and his shaman's umbilical stick is shown next to him, with its bird on the top exactly as it is found in so many contemporary shamanistic groups. The shaman has an erect penis here just as he does in primitive myth, because he has been reborn, revitalized. The "entrails" are probably not entrails at all, since it is a shamanistic rebirth ritual not a hunting scene; the lines are menstrual blood, as they are on the "Venus" figurines. The scene is in fact

the complete fetal drama, and contains every one of the five elements we previously described: (1) Poisonous Placenta (woman-beast with "branch of life" signs), (2) Suffering Fetus (dying shaman), (3) Pollution (menstrual blood), (4) Nurturant Umbilicus (bird-headed shaman-stick) and (5) Cosmic Battle (the whole composition, the opposition between dangerous beast and shaman.)

Leroi-Gorhan also divides all the abstract signs of prehistoric art into female and male. The central female sign is easily recognized, as it is usually either vulval (triangle, oval, rectangle) or what he calls a "wound" sign. (127) But the "male" signs are not really phallic, if we think of this as spears or other possible symbols-they are usually dots or short strokes. Now in psychoanalytic symbolism, dots or short strokes associated with a triangle represents babies in the womb. I believe this is so also in Paleolithic art. The similarities can be best brought out by comparing a child's drawing with a typical cave drawing.

In Illustration 5 we see to the left two Paleolithic "female" vulval signs, accompanied by many dots below them. To the right is a drawing by a young boy, Richard, who was a patient of Melanie Klein's. The drawing shows a red "nasty octopus" (the entire circle) with a little fish below it and to the left. This "bad octopus," the boy said, was in a "blazing fury" and "very hungry" for the fish "babies" in the water, which he, Richard, had to "make alive" again.(128) Richard's graphic description of the fetal drama, like his repeated drawings of the red "bad octopus" and its watery battle

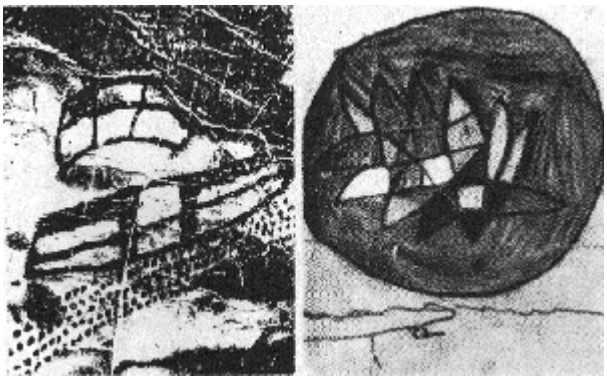


Illustration 5-Paleolithic Signs and Child's Drawing

with the fish-babies, parallels the similar drama shown in the cave drawings. In fact, as anyone who has taught art to little children can confirm, the placenta, often termed a "sun" or a "mandala" by teachers, is the first object drawn by most children.(129) It usually looks very much like Richard's "octopus" or the Paleolithic "vulval" signs-a memory, I believe, of the real placenta in both instances.

The Paleolithic cave, then, is a womb-sanctuary wherein the fetal drama is depicted. Leroi-Gourhan sums up his research by saying, "What constituted for Paleolithic men the special heart and core of the caves is clearly the panels in the central part, dominated by animals from the female category and female signs, supplemented by animals from the male category and male signs. The entrance to the sanctuary, usually a narrow part of the cave, is decorated with male symbols, either animals or signs; the back of the cave, often a narrow tunnel, is decorated with the same signs... "(130) That is, the central large cavities contain the placentas and the narrow tunnels at each end contain the fetuses being born. It is not surprising, therefore, to find heel-prints of youth in the mud as though young people had been dancing in the caves, such as the fifty heel-prints in Le Tuc d'Audoubert, near two modeled bison, a discovery which Abbe Breuil said "evokes the thought of some initiation ceremony."(131)

This equation between dangerous beast and Poisonous Placenta which is depicted in cave art can be extended to the entire life style of all hunting and gathering groups, past or present. One of the curious discoveries of recent ethnography is how easy it is simply to gather the food necessary for life in a few hours a day. Jack Harlan, a specialist in early farming, went out himself to one of the "vast seas of primitive wild wheats" still growing in Near Eastern mountain areas, and, using a 9,000-year-old sickle blade, harvested grain so quickly that "a family group.. could easily harvest wild cereals over a three-week span or more and, without ever working very hard, could gather more grain than a family could possibly consume in a year."(132)

Contemporary gathering groups can do equally well: "far from being on a starvation level.. they get all the calories they need without even working very hard. Even the Bushmen on the relatively desolate Kalahari region, when subjected to an input-output analysis, appeared to get 2,100 calories a day with less than three days' worth of foraging per week. Presumably, hunter-gatherers in lusher environments in prehistoric times did even better."(133) When a contemporary gatherer is shown how to farm, he usually laughs at the notion, like the Bushman who said, "Why should we plant, when there are so many mongongo nuts in the world?"(134)

The question which leaps to mind, of course, is "Why, then, hunt?" Hunting, it turns out, is actually a group-fantasy activity, for it is often highly uneconomical, requiring more calories in the chase than are returned in the capture. To put it another way, hunting, like war, is the group-

fantasy men do while women gather the food which supports these religious activities. "Kill the Beast" is mainly a game played for fetal and not for caloric motives, whether it is acted out in a cave or in a forest. "Animal Guardian" worship, which historians of religion now agree was the original religion of hunter-gatherer groups,(135) with its worship of an "animal-soul" which rules over the species and the forest, is displaced worship of a placental beast which nourishes, threatens, kills and gives birth to all living beings – the group itself very much included – whether it is represented as a bear-spirit or as a Mistress of the Animals. As Eliade points out, killing this sacred animal is a ritual each time it is done – the soul of the animal is respected and ritually addressed, the bones, especially the skull and long bones, have special rituals connected with them, part of the animal is often offered to the god, its blood is handled ritually, and so on.

The ritually – preserved skull and long bones of the sacred placental animal – and of human beings-have in fact been found as far back as Choukoutien (400,000 B.C.), and deserve closer attention before we leave the Paleolithic. The most widespread Paleolithic ritual on which evidence remains to us is headhunting. Many skulls have been found which show clear evidence at the base of decapitation and mutilation for the purpose of extracting and eating the brain.(136) The skull was then saved, either by putting a circle of skulls in a special area of the cave, or by surrounding the skull with a circle of stones. Many of these skulls were of sacrificed children, and most were covered with red ochre.(137) As bear skulls, too, have been found in similar states, the collecting and ritual eating of the brain from both human and animal skulls was an important early ritual, with many elements identical to those of the skull cults of contemporary primitives such as the Ainus, the Tungus and the headhunting tribes of New Guinea.(138) These skull cults all are centered on sacrifice to a placental beast-spirit or Mistress of Beasts in ceremonies that stress that the soul of the beast or human resides in the brain. The saving of the skull is believed to give protection to the tribe from all kinds of disasters, including retribution for hunting.

That the skulls, too, might represent Poisonous Placentas seems a strange notion, but in fact turns out to be true, as can be seen from the details of the ritual. Among the headhunting Asmat, for instance, the headhunting raid is a prelude to the initiation rebirthing ritual, and the blood from the cut-off head is smeared on the initiate, exactly as is the blood from the subincised penis of the Australian aborigine.(139) The head is obvi-

ously a symbolic placenta. It is roasted, a hole is cut in its base, and the brains are removed and eaten, reflecting the oral sadism of their infanticidal childrearing. The skull is then painted red and placed between the spread legs or on the groin of the initiate-he is then considered reborn, and crawls around like a newborn baby. Other placental symbols connected

with the skull-cult are many, from the name of the mythical first headhunter ("Man with Wound") to the pre-headhunting ceremony, where the "men sit around the stone disk which the ancestor-mother had worn on her abdomen... moving their bellies toward the disk while sighing," like a pregnant woman in labor.

It is less surprising to find all these symbolic "placental disks" among primitives, whether called abdomen-disks or bull-roarers, when it is first understood that the real placenta itself which is born after the baby, is saved and handled ritually by most primitive tribes. The baby's placenta is called its "double," "soul," "brother" or "secret helper," and is either ritually buried in a special spot or placed in a tree or on top of a pole, which then becomes a Tree of Life. Sometimes it is sacrificed to, and sometimes either it or the umbilical stump are preserved as a potent magic charm, be-ing hung around the neck or waist of the child or kept in special placenta baskets. In some tribes, the umbilical stump is saved and called a "personal serpent" which, being a bridge to the womb, would if propitiated bring its owner much wealth. Sometimes the newborn's placenta is even eaten by the adults present. In fact, placentophagy is still practiced in various countries, and has even been revived recently among many health food addicts in California. (140)

The clearest example of the connections between placenta beliefs, concepts of the "soul," and group-fantasy can be seen in the rituals of the Baganda.(141) Here the placenta is called a "spirit-child" and is placed in a plantain tree, which is then eaten by the grandparent so the child's spirit will remain in the clan. In the child's naming ceremony, the umbilicus is floated in milk (if it does not float, the child is disowned by the clan), and is then preserved by the owner. The King's placenta, called his "double," is considered to have lethal power, and is always carefully dried and preserved, complete with umbilicus, sealed in a pot, and placed on a special throne in a sacred house it occupies all for itself. This Royal Placenta is worshipped by the tribe; it is addressed as "King" by the people, a medium is on hand to give them the Placenta s messages," and human sacrifices are made to it Every new moon, the Royal Placenta is smeared with butter and exposed to the moon to give it new strength. A celebration of seven days is then begun, followed, it is said, as the moon wanes, by the menstrual periods of all the women. It is, in fact, the Royal Placenta which has the real power or mana of the group, for when the old king dies, it is only upon being given the old king's Royal Placenta that the new king is considered to own the royal power. (Indeed, the placental power of the "double" is so deeply felt by the Baganda that another "twin," their own shadow, is believed to be equally vulnerable, dangerous to step on, lethal to see on a wall, and poisonous if allowed to fall upon any food. Many primitives share this fear of the shadow "double.")

The universal meaning of circumcision ceremonies becomes clearer when compared to the ritual treatment of the placenta. Behind the obvious oedipal meaning of a circumcision ceremony which mutilates the child's penis lies the fetal meaning in the similarity between the cutting of the um-bilicus after birth and the cutting off of the foreskin during rebirth. Both the foreskin and the placenta are often called "doubles," both are often eaten, and both are often put in trees or are saved by the group. In the present-day Jewish bris, the moyel (circumcisor) gives the infant a yarmulka (placental disk) as compensation for his cut-off foreskin, along with some blood-red wine – exactly as the aborigine gets a bull-roarer disk and some real blood to drink in exchange for his foreskin. In fact, the Australian aborigines actually color the cut-off foreskin red, and either place it in a bag for the boy to keep or put it on the totem tree (Tree of Life) to make the totem animal reproduce. Thus the foreskin, the placenta, the "double," the bull-roarer and the menstrual blood all are symbolical as the placental "Red Serpent" which the aborigine says "controls the heart and blood of man [and] his totem place [and] is the source of men's blood supp-ly "(142)

When aborigines are reborn in initiation rites and drink quarts of human blood for days at a time, they are being literally "tied in" to the blood of the totem clan, and are also being reunited with their own placentas. An indication that this ceremony is not just symbolic "castration" is seen in those primitive tribes which often initiate women (upon their first menstrual period) by dressing them in a red robe and making them drink red water, as though they too were drinking sacred (placental) menstrual blood to unite them to the group.(143) In fact, one Australian tribe, the Bardi, experiences this placental memory so concretely that they save their actual placentas, like the Baganda, also call them their "double," believe they live in their arm blood, and dream that their placentas visit them at night and give them advice. (144)

Thus it can be seen that each element of the group-fantasy life of hunting and gathering groups is a reliving of the fetal drama in its most concrete form. When a shaman describes his dangerous journey to reach the Great Sea Goddess who has caused the group's pollutions, he reexperiences his own birth as directly as does a patient of Grof's under LSD, from the periodic uterine contractions to the passage through the pelvic bone and down through the birth canal. As one shaman describes the experience to the anthropologist:

> *The earth opens up under the shaman, but often only to close up again; he has to struggle for a long time with hidden forces, ere he can cry at last 'Now the way is open'... he is on his way to the ruler of the sea beasts... one hears only sighing and groaning... as if the spirits*

> *were down under water... [He] will encounter many dangers in his flight down to the bottom of the sea, the most dreaded are three large rolling stones... he has to pass between them, and take care not to be crushed by these stones... a way opens... a road down through the earth... He almost glides as if falling through a tube so fitted to his body that he can check his progress by pressing against the sides...(145)*

I have termed this unmodified version of the fetal drama the "sadistic" phase of the infanticidal mode because it is primarily acted out through rituals symbolizing the sadistic killing of the dangerous placenta-beast, including the whole hunting lifestyle itself. In the next section, I will give the second evolutionary level of the fetal drama, the "sado-masochistic" phase, where the placental beast becomes the "Great Mother" and the fetus becomes her "Dying Son."

INFANTICIDAL MODE: SADO-MASOCHISTIC PHASE

The invention of agriculture and then of civilized urban life which marks the Neolithic is an achievement based on the evolution of childrearing. This evolution consisted of an increase in attention, consistency and identifica-tion by the parent with the child. Hunting groups can be distinguished from farming and urban groups by the shift from the impassive mother-who can handle her infanticidal wishes only by either merging with the child or by complete emotional withdrawal – to the mother-father unit, which is able to massively project their unconscious into the child, identify with it, and then severely discipline and shape it. The mark of early civilizations is, paradoxically, connected with the invention of severe physical punishment in obedience training. Even with contemporary groups, the higher the level of culture, the more consistant the child training for "obedience, self-reliance and independence."(146) Although psychological anthropologists have assumed the opposite causal direction – as though agriculture somehow magically elicited the kind of parenting which was necessary to invent and support itself – the evolution of childrearing in fact came first, and the cultural changes followed.

The theme of the second phase of the infanticidal childrearing mode is summed up in the well-known saying from Proverbs 13, 24: "He that spareth the rod, hateth his son: But he that loveth him, chasteneth him betimes." A hunting level parent cannot achieve the stability to consistently physically discipline the child – at most, he or she can strike out impulsively, but disciplinary beating practices are not found among hunters. Controlled beating with instruments designed for the purpose is an advance in the parents' ability to identify with the child – that is, as the Bible says, in

the ability to "love" the child. When one finds in the code of Hammurabi the punishments "If a son strikes his father, they shall cut off his fingers," and "If a son has said to his mother, 'You are not my mother,' one shall brand his forehead," or when one discovers in ancient Mesopotamian narratives the continuous floggings with canes given children at school who speak without permission, one knows civilized childrearing has begun.(147) The Egyptian teacher who said "The ear of the boy is on his back-he listens when he is beaten," and the schoolboy who thanked his teacher for "taming his limbs" by tying him to the block for three months(148) are both receiving the kind of consistent attention, however brutal, which the primitive hunter simply cannot achieve. So, too, such inventions as tight swaddling-evidence for which I have found at least as early as the second millenium B.C. – is a "moulding and controlling" device which hunters do not use because they do not cathect the child enough to want to control it.

This is not to say that early civilizations are not infanticidal: newborn infants could be found piled on the dung-heaps of every city, and massive infant sacrifice proliferated in every early civilization, as I have elsewhere detailed. (149) But the sacrifice of the newborn, usually the firstborn, was itself an advance in ability to identify, since hunters only see their children as fully human when they reach puberty, at which time they go through the fetal initiation ordeal. But early civilizations put newborn babies through the rebirth ordeal, sacrificing their best-loved (most identified with, masochistically) first child to the Poisonous-Placenta god, "passing through the fire of Moloch" with wild cheers, as in Carthage, or being eaten by holy crocodiles, as in Egypt, while, Plutarch says, their mothers felt "proud" of them.(150)

The evolution from the sadistic schizoid personality of the hunter to the more disciplined and therefore more internalized sado-masochistic personality of early civilizations can already be seen prior to the invention of agriculture, in the Mesolithic. For instance, in Mesolithic art such as that of Spain, drawings proliferate of life-like human beings in some relationship to each other, as compared with the placental beasts and bizarre figurines or stick-figure drawings of men of the Paleolithic.(151) Likewise, many cultural advances which showed a decrease in persecutory elements and an increase in ego control were in fact achieved in the Mesolithic, prior to the invention of agriculture: the first containers, such as pottery and nets; the first cemeteries; the first round houses and permanent villages; the first organized religion centering on man, woman and child; etc.(152) Since the womb, and the mother, were no longer seen as places of horror full of destruction, womb-houses and womb-containers could be invented and used without openly sadistic fantasies breaking out. Only when people could achieve this new level of consistency in childrearing could they settle down more permanently instead of always having to move on, endlessly avoiding their fantasized buildup of blood pollution through abandonment of every

campsite, endlessly searching out and killing the placental beast. Once settled in villages in the Mesolithic, once pottery and houses were invented out of the safer womb, then agriculture invented itself as wild grain seeds grew in the refuse-heaps of the villages. As Hawkes puts it, "Plants sought man out as much as he sought them out, because of their specific manurial requirements"(153) – that is, wild weeds themselves evolved into replantable varieties as soon as psychological conditions allowed people to settle down in more permanent villages. This theory is similar to the one which the psychoanalyst Melanie Klein speculated might be true when she wrote: "Could then the ferocity of early man's attacks on the mother's body be responsible for the intellectual inhibitions? And could the reason why agriculture was the first invention… be that it was women not men who did the inventing, who could investigate the effects of seeds and cross-breeding… and therefore only women who had not destroyed the mother so badly that they could not 'know' her body (ground, as agriculture, or basket, as pottery, etc.)."(154)

Agriculture, the domestication of cattle, and the invention of cattle-drawn ploughs could only occur when man achieved enough reduction of his sadism to stop hunting the placental beast and instead settle down and "save the beast" in a resurrection-centered cattle-cult and "save the baby seed" in a fertility-centered crop-cult, both based on fetal drama rituals.(155) This decrease in the sadistic version of the fetal drama is also at the base of the shift from the purely kinship organization (all are connected directly to the same invisi-

ble sacred placenta) to a more hierarchical, class organiza-tion (divine leader is the placenta, as well as the fetus.) One of the reasons I term this phase the "sado-masochistic" is that the ability to organized and be subordinate and masochistic is an advance over the primitive's com-munity of sadistic equals. It takes trust and a considerable decrease in sadism to have a leader, be he king, priest or even slaveowner, and the growth of differences in both wealth and "power" requires the ability of the subjugated individual to project good and bad parts of himself into another. The severe stratification of all archaic civilizations – often including the outright slave status of the majority – is caused by the ability of this majority to use masochistic obedience as a psychic control mechanism, not by any increase in "power" by a minority. Hunters are simply too sadistic to use masochistic obedience as a defense and too persecutory to trust a leader.

With this increase in masochistic defenses and in obedience training in childhood, archaic civilizations could achieve all the advances dependent on group organization, such as irrigation farming, defense of the group, etc.,(156) and were able to begin to develop the ego control mechanisms required to outlaw private vengeance and slowly achieve the group's jurisdiction over crime. These advances were dependent on psychological, not economic, progress-there being no good economic reason why hunting

groups cannot have kings, priests, slave classes or criminal laws. The only writer who understands the crucial importance of psychic primacy to any theory of the evolution of early civilization is the psychoanalytic sociologist, Eli Sagan,(157) whose work on ancient Greece and on early complex societies brilliantly elaborates much of what I will only briefly be able to touch upon here.

The central figure of archaic group-fantasy, the so-called "Great Mother," is the Poisonous Placenta, only now with a combination of placental and human attributes: "she who fashions all things [and] gave birth to monster serpents, sharp of tooth and fang, filled with poison in-stead of blood, ferocious, terrible and crowned with fear-inspiring glory."(158) The fetal hero cleans out the group's blood-pollution and achieves his own rebirth by defeating the placental serpent-goddess. The classic form of the battle, repeated in hundreds of variations for other groups, was the Babylonian epic of the fight between Tiamut and her off-spring, Marduk. That these battles often have partial oedipal themes is quite true, for Marduk claims supremacy over his father as the price for slaying Tiamut. Yet the oedipal reference (159) is only cursorily mentioned, a subplot to the main fetal drama of the fury of the poisonous female serpent whose heart is pierced and arteries cut by the brave hero.

This group pollution and rebirth through the battle with the placental serpent by the Marduks, Gilgameshes and Zeuses of archaic times is, moreover, played out in central group rituals which represent the pollution-rebirth struggle by public processions and mock battles, such as the Sumerian New Year's festivals in which the Great Serpent who threatens to reduce the world to chaos is annually defeated. These rituals form the matrix for every archaic group activity. As Halpern says, "culture is the work of the hero, the mother-killer,"(160) and agriculture itself, as Eliade puts it, is the "'product of a murder" in all archaic myth (161) – which is why food is sacred and rebirth rituals necessary for planting, so the placental Tree of Life may be annually renewed. These rebirth rituals could be seen even before farming was invented, as in the images of the

horrible vulture-goddesses or leopard goddesses of pre-agricultural Catal Huyuk or Halicar, which give birth to animal or human babies (see Illustration 1.) Both the goddess and her bull-child only slowly and uncertainly assumed human form as childrearing evolved further. These paintings on the walls of Catal Huyuk which show the vulture goddess attacking headless men are beautifully counter pointed by molded bas-reliefs on adjoining walls of women's breasts, each with a vulture's beak protruding from red-painted nipples.

As the bull-baby who was born of the goddess slowly turned into the youth-god who had to die and be resurrected in an annual descent into the underworld, sado-masochistic fetal myths and rituals multiplied, featuring

the devotion (extending often to self-castration) of the young fetal god and his priests to the bloodthirsty serpent-goddess.(163) The blood of the sacrifice, like the placental blood in primitive initiatory rites, was real and plentiful. Blood was" 'sprinkled' on the worshipper, and on the new priest at the time of his consecration. It is 'sprinkled' before the sanctuary, around the altar, on the altar, at the base of the altar, on the side of the altar, on the horns of the 'mercy seat,' and sprinkled or poured on the burning sacrifice."(164) In initiatory rituals, blood was also used quite lavishly, as Prudentius described in the Taurobolium:

> *A trench was dug, over which was erected a platform of planks with perforations and gaps. Upon the platform the sacrificial bull was slaughtered, whose blood dripped through upon the initiate in the trench. He exposed his head and all his garments to be saturated with the blood; then he turned round and held up his neck that the blood might trickle upon his lips, ears, eyes, and nostrils; he moistened his tongue with the blood, which he then drank as a sacramental act. Greeted by the spectators, he came forth from this bloody baptism believing that he was purified from his sin and "born again for eternity."(165)*

That the fetal drama was also concretely played out by killing live human babies and youth is now beyond doubt, for human sacrifice has been found all over the ancient world, right down to the child sacrifice "into the mouth of Moloch" of Judaic and Carthaginian historical times.(166) But the majority of the time group stress was successfully contained within ritual group-fantasy, including for the first time organized war, and the fetal drama could be played out in sado-masochistic rituals which put equal stress on the death and suffering of the fetus and the death of and reuniting with the placenta. The replaying of the fetal drama could in fact defeat real death itself, as when the scattered parts of Osiris' body were reassembled they were made whole by being wrapped in a cow's skin, called a "meshkent" or "placenta." In fact, the usual Egyptian tomb ritual involves the rebirth of the dead man or woman by wrapping him or her in a "meshkent" skin and waving a wand in the shape of a placenta over him, while addressing his ka amulet as "my heart, my mother, my heart whereby I came into being."(167) At the great Egyptian Sed festival, the pharaoh himself cleanses the group's pollution by curling up "like a fetus," wrapped in an animal skin, and coming forth to cry "the

pharaoh has renewed his births!" During this festival, the pharaoh leads a huge procession, proceded by his actual placenta stuck on the top of a long pole, complete with

189

dangling umbilical cord (see Illustration 6) – the concrete prototype of all flags and standards to follow. Just as with the Baganda and other primitives previously mentioned, the pharaoh's placenta was thought to be his "double," his ka, his "helper," his "twin" who would help him in battle.(168) Separate pyramids were even built for the pharaoh's placenta. In fact, the placental ka or double of every Egyptian was believed to accompany him everywhere, and it was the goal of each of the 500 million Egyptians who were mummified "to rejoin their kas," their placentas, in after-

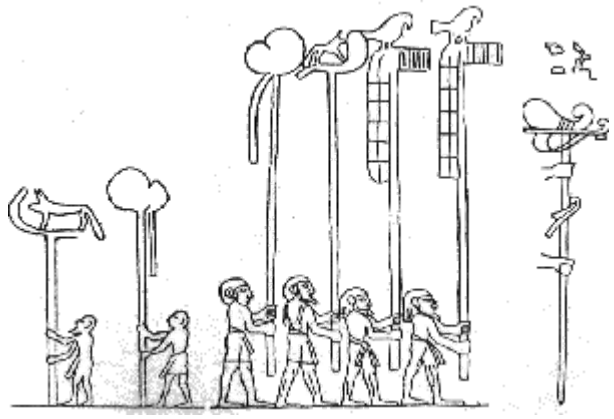


Illustration 6-Egyptian Standards of The Pharoah's Placenta

life. This placenta twin, whether as the Egyptian ka, the Babylonian "in-dwelling god," the Iranian fravishi or the Roman genius, is the original "soul" of all mankind, the original "guardian spirit," and wooden models of actual placentas or else statues of kas are found in most Egyptian tombs.(169) All flags and banners are therefore sacred, placental, whether they are made of actual placentas, of rags dipped in the enemy's blood or of images in the shape of reptilian dragons,(170) for, as Grafton Smith puts it, the "sanctity of the flag is due to the fact that originally it was supposed to be functionally active as the life-giving powers of the king, and the celestial source of all life represented by the king's placenta."(171)

290

The symbol of the placenta, either as swastika (see the public area of the Hissarlik statue in Illustration 1), as the pharaoh's standard (Illustration 6), or as a simple circle within a crescent moon, contains the power of man. The ka is often equated by the Egyptians with the "heart" of man, and each Egyptian wore a "heart scarab" amulet with a message to his ka on the back. The Sumerian symbol for the placenta, the lugal, was their symbol for "great man" or "king."(172) Both goddesses and kings were often represented by concrete placental images. In Egypt, for instance, where the main goddess Isis was represented in processions as a gold uterus,(173) the symbols of divinity of the pharoahs were the placental serpent on their forehead, the ankh (life symbol, derived from uterus), or the sceptre (branch from placental Tree of Life) which they carry in their hands.(174) Those serving the pharoah were often called "guardians of the placenta of the pharoah,"

and the standard with the Royal Placenta appears associated with his kingship from the earliest royal monuments to the end of Egyptian history.(175) In royal birth scenes, two babies are often shown, one representing the pharoah himself, the other his ka, or twin, his placenta born after him, in order to represent the source of his power or vital force.

It should not be thought that all these placenta-images were mere "symbols" of kingship. They were the power itself in concrete form. As Frankfort puts it, the "large class of objects consisting of some sacred sym-bol in a bracket at the top of a pole from which streamers hang down . . . are true fetishes, replete with power [and] very closely related to the king: the falcon, the ibis, the wolf, and the Royal Placenta."(176) During the King's coronation, hymns were addressed directly to the Red Cobra-Crown itself, which contained the Isis-god, and the king, first stating that he had "come from her," ritually addressed the placental crown as follows:

> *O Red Crown, O Inu, O Great One*
> *O Magician, O Fiery Snake!*
> *Let there be terror of me like the terror of thee*
> *Let there be fear of me like the fear of thee*
> *Let there be love of me like the love of thee.*
> *Let me rule, a leader of the living.(177)*

Thus do all leaders derive their power from being "crowned," like a newborn "crowns," in a rebirth ceremony that confers upon them the blood-power of the worshipped placenta. From this moment on, the leader is literally a man-god, a fetus with the power of the placenta. As fetus, he undergoes the suffering and rebirth roles in the fetal drama in all its forms, in daily rebirthing of the sun, in annual festivals, in the birth ordeal of war. As divine placenta, holder of all placental fetishes-crown, scepter, robe, banner, flag-he is worshipped as the source of all blood-power "flowing" to the people, he sustains all life. These two roles-fetal and placental-

are often confused by moderns, but never by the people of archaic times. As Fraser and others have documented, when the group gets too polluted, the king often has to die-but it is the placental-king who must die so the fetus-king can be reborn: "Le roi placental est mort; vive le roi foetal." More often, of course, when the group imagines itself polluted, the king can consult some entrails or go off to sleep in a temple and dream an alter-native method of cleansing the group, such as hallucinating a god's com-mand to rebuild part of the temple or conduct a war of some sort.(178) But whatever the delusional solution to the group-fantasy of pollution, it is as representative of the placenta that every leader holds his divinity, his charisma, his "power."

As childrearing slowly improved during antiquity, overt placental representation in god and leader began to be supplanted by more phallic im-agery. Poisonous serpentine goddesses were replaced by more overtly phallic male gods, snake cults associated with mothers by phallic snake cults associated with fathers,(179) schizoid polytheism by more integrated monotheism, and religious purgation festivals by ethical systems and

tragic drama. Many authors, from Briffault to Reik, Patai and Lederer, have documented the evolution of Judaism, for instance, from the rebirth rituals associated with blood-thirsty serpent-goddesses to those of monistic Yahweh worship.(180) But the supplanting of the sacrificial religious style was dependent upon the transformation of the infanticidal mode of childrearing into that of the "abandoning mode," a development which was to transform the sado-masochistic fetal drama of the ancient world into the new masochistic version of Christianity.

THE ABANDONING AND AMBIVALENT MODES: TRIUMPHANT MASOCHISM

The world of antiquity was filled with the cries of newborn babies dying in the fields and roads, where they had been exposed by their parents to be eaten by packs of hungry dogs. But as the Christian era approached, some Greek and Roman cities began to restrict somewhat the right of parents to kill their newborn, some requiring that the approval of five neighbors be obtained before killing them, some restricting the infanticide of firstborn males, and one, Thebes, according to Aelian, even making infanticide illegal altogether.(181) Those who had evolved beyond infanticidal childrearing formed the earliest Christian communities; as the Epistle to Diognetus observes:

> *Christians are not different from other men in their accent or in their clothing: they follow local customs of eating and living. They marry like everybody else, they have children, but they do not practice the exposure of new-born babes.(182)*

It was this ability to reduce the overt acting out of infanticidal wishes which was the accomplishment of the abandoning and ambivalent childrearing modes of the Christian era, substituting instead the sending of unwanted children to relations, to other families (fosterage) or to monasteries or nunneries (oblation). Christian parents were able to achieve closer, more consistent, more delegating relationship with their children, reducing the necessity for archaic splitting and massive projection into the growing child. As a result, rather than the "schizoid" personalities of the infanticidal mode, the Christian era produced what is now called "borderline" and "narcissistic" personalities, whose central anxiety was about abandonment, not death. Where the Egyptian prepared his whole life for dying, the Christian lived more in fear of "God's turning his face away from him." And rather than living, like the ancients, in a world of psychotic dream furniture, full of split-off internal objects, medieval man moved into and out of psychotic breaks precipitated mainly by threats of abandonment. It is against these fears of abandonment which the major in-stitutions of feudalism and monastic life were constructed, both "clinging groups with severely hierarchical organizations full of sublimated homosexual submission rituals.

Because of the decrease in splitting in the Christian personality, boundaries between self and object could now be somewhat better established, so that even though desires for merging, with God and lord alike, were

still paramount, at least a "personality" or cohesive self-image could be established for the first time in history, unlike the fragmented ego centers of antiquity, which didn't even have a word for an organized self.

In fact, it was the ability to form a grandiose self and an idealized parental image which was the main historical accomplishment of those Christians who were able to go beyond infanticidal childrearing. For only by being able to fantasize an idealized, caring parent (Christ), can the Christian solution of triumphant masochism be realized, for only in the presence of an imaginary caring parent can one dramatize one's masochistic sufferings and self-denials.(183) An archaic Egyptian would have considered the saying "the meek shall inherit the earth" unintelligible, for meekness and self-denial could have been expected to bring no pity from a sadistic serpent-goddess. The masochistic display of all those ascetic saints, of all those holy men fasting in the desert or scourging themselves with chains, of Christ himself hanging on the placental Holy Cross, required the presence of an observing parent whose pity could be counted upon.(184)

All the elements of the fetal drama continued to be present in the Christian group-fantasy, but each were transformed by the historical achievement of the masochistic personality. Christ, of course, was the Suffering Fetus, the fish, the sacrificial lamb whose birth ordeal and death on the Placental Cross (Tree of Life) and liberation from the tomb (womb) were the central fantasies of Christian ritual. (Peter makes the birth imagery concrete by asking to be crucified upside down, like a baby being born, saying while he was hanging on his cross upside down that "the form in which you now see me hanging is the representation of that man who first came to birth.")(185) So, too, the Eucharist repeated the cleansing of sin by the eating of the body and drinking of the blood of the god. But what a difference the Christian solution was from the sacrificial group-fantasy which dominated former times. The Placental Beast did not have to die, so it could be merged with the fetus, and the Son, who has accepted his death and homosexual surrender in an ecstatic identification with God, could be equal to God for the first time in history. No wonder when Paul put forth this new formula he was considered blasphemous. All one need do, he said, is repress one's aggression and sexuality, passively submit, incorporate the masochistic suffering Son on the Cross, and God will be compassionate, not infanticidal, and will help one triumph over all others, even over death itself. God as Poisonous Placenta now only required Christ to die once; man, by mystical union with his infanticidal death and rebirth, could live forever.

The degree to which the Christ-fetus was God was, of course, the subject of much controversy by Gnostic groups and others, for he had always to remain both mortal and divine for the Christian formula to work. Never-theless, there was an enormous difference in Christ's divinity from that of the pharoah's. While the pharoah could only wear the placental Red Crown and receive messages from the Gods, Christ himself had the powerful placental blood in him, so it could be drunk directly from him by the worshipper without the necessity of killing a sacrificial beast. Further, Christ needed to be killed and reborn historically, only once, not daily, and could sit at God's right hand as an equal, because he accepted God's sacrifice of himself in a triumphant masochistic surrender.

Once this masochistic solution to the fetal drama is recognized, the rest of the symbolism of Christianity becomes more intelligible. For instance, the strange concept of the Trinity, especially the identity of the Holy

Ghost, is easier to understand when it is remembered that all "spirits," like Egyptian "kas," are placentas, and the Holy Ghost, the "spirit by which Christ was made incarnate in Mary," is the placenta too, as Hippolytus reveals in the following passage:

> *Grant Paradise . . . to be the womb; and this is a true assumption the Scripture will teach, when it utters the words, "I am he who forms thee in thy mother's womb." … If, however, God forms man in his*

> *mother's womb – that is, in Paradise – as I have affirmed, let Paradise be the womb, and Edem the placenta, "a river flowing forth with Edem, for the purpose of irrigating Paradise," meaning by this the navel. This navel, he says, is separated into four principles; for on either side of the navel are situated two arteries, channels of spirit, and two veins, channels of blood. [When] the caul in which the fetus is enveloped grows into the fetus that is being formed in the vicinity of the . . . navel – these two veins through which the blood flows, and is conveyed from Edem, the placenta . . . nourish the fetus . . . And in this way the spirit, making its way through the ventricles to the heart, produces a movement of the fetus.(186)*

Once this placental origin of the Holy Ghost is recognized, much of the imagery of Christian ritual becomes clarified. One is baptized "with the Holy Ghost" in a cleansing and rebirth ceremony which is almost identical to the annual purification festivals of archaic groups, for baptism, as John Chrysostom says, "represents death and burial, life and resurrection when we plunge our head into water as into a tomb, the old man is immersed, wholly buried; when we come out of the water, the new man appears at that moment."(187) And when liturgy says it is through "the will of the Holy Ghost" that Jesus lived "in three earthly dwellings: in the womb of the flesh, in the womb of the baptismal water, and in the somber caverns of the underworld,"(188) the hidden placenta is evoked in its original abode.

Yet it was the Holy Cross, more than the Holy Ghost, which inherited the placental imagery of antiquity. The Bible actually speaks of Christ being "hanged on a tree" (Acts 5, 30) and taken "down from the tree" (Acts 13, 29), and it was not until the fifth century that the Holy Cross rather than a Tree of Life was pictured. Even then, the Cross was often drawn in the form of an Egyptian placental ankh (as a cross with a circle on top) or had the pagan Tree of Life imposed upon its center-indeed, Byzantine liturgy still calls the Holy Cross "the tree of life planted on Calvary."(189) But no matter how represented, the placental Cross dominated Christian ritual, whether it was placed in homes for adoration while holding a string of umbilical rosary beads, or on the sacrificial altar of the basilica or cathedral-the very navel of the world, the Celestial Jerusalem where, under dim, womb-like vaults dominated by the placental disk of the glowing Rose Window the fetal drama of the sacrifice and rebirth of Christ is acted out.

It goes without saying that it requires far greater self control and instinctual renunciation – and therefore more parental care and discipline – to live a Christian life even relatively cleansed and free from sin – that is, sex-less and aggressiveless – than to live the impulse-filled, periodically cleansed life of ancient man. Therefore the masochistic ideal of Christian

asceticism is attained by few on earth, even among the clergy. Yet masochistic, homosexual surrender to Christ, priest and lord for the purposes of absorbing their phallic power could be the life-style of every man. The pattern which was set in childhood was reinforced in adolescence. Roving gangs of "youths" were common in medieval times, which practiced homosexual submission to the older among them, and which also practiced nightly collective raping attacks on unprotected women. These homosexual raping gangs would "force 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, often in the presence of two or three terrified witnesses. Sometimes they would 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. "(190) The youth, which included sons of leaders of the community, would rarely be fined, while the victims of the brutal rape attacks were considered disgraced, were thrown out by their husbands, and were often forced into prostitution. Historians have found cities where these gangs constituted the majority of the city's youth and where gang rape made up 80 percent of all sexual assaults, and have concluded that violent gang rape actually "constituted a veritable rite of initiation or virilization" for much of medieval youth.

This triumphant absorption of phallic power through masochistic homosexual submission to a grandiose leader gives the medieval period its characteristic mixture of submissive piety and psychopathic violence. When priest and king both ordered, when the phallic absorption was at its height, all of Europe could march off to Palestine on a Holy Crusade, under placental banners of crosses and serpents, and sacrifice some Moslems or Jews, receiving a cleansing of one's sins as a reward. This cleansing is often experienced as coming from a divine heart, usually shown as drinking the blood spouting from the vaginal wounds of Jesus, or, later, from the wound of the placental Sacred Heart of Jesus, pictured as glowing with life and divine love.

During the late medieval period, as the abandoning mode of childrearing began to evolve into the ambivalent mode and previously normal persecutory schizoid lifestyles became unacceptable, overt paranoid episodes began to be increasingly termed "insanity" and "madness" rather than being integrated into normal religious ritual activities.(191) For instance, the catatonic who "believed that he is lying in his coffin, thinking himself a dead man," who previously might have been integrated into an Egyptian mortuary ritual, now was diagnosed by physicians as a "melancholic."(192) The "holy man" of early Christianity who constantly wounded himself now was usually simply termed "mad." The reason that scholars have found that "paranoid schizophrenia [was] the major form of insanity during these several centuries"(193) was because the most advanced psychoclasses, brought up by adults who were beyond the infanticidal

parenting mode, now shared group-fantasies and constructed group rituals which no longer were designed to handle the defensive needs of schizoid personalities. This less advanced schizoid psychoclass, stripped of its group defenses, would often be forced to "fall ill" with idiosyncratic paranoid symptoms similar to those which in antiquity would have been shared by all in the group. This is just one illustration of the general principle that each historical period robs their less advanced psychoclasses of group defenses, and drives into "insanity" people who previously were considered "normal" because they could use group defenses to prevent regression.

This same principle of psychoclass conflict is the cause of the much-discussed abrupt rise and fall of witch-hunting in the sixteenth and seven-teenth centuries. The accusations against witches were actually identical to the fetal fears about the Poisonous Placenta which have been discussed in this essay. For witches only did exactly what all monstrous goddesses and menstruating women always did; as the infamous 1488 Bull of Pope Inno-cent VIII states, they "have slain infants yet in the mother's womb, as also the offspring of cattle, have blasted the produce of the earth, the grapes of the vine, the fruits of trees [and] hinder men from performing the sexual act and women from conceiving. "(194) That Satan, whom witches were ac-cused of consorting with, was also the Poisonous Placenta can be seen from his beastial horns, red color and serpentine umbilical tail. And that Christianity, like every group-fantasy, was engaged in a never-ending struggle against the placental Satan was hardly new to these centuries. What was new in the Reformation was advances in childrearing among a minority which produced a psychoclass conflict powerful enough to "turn the world upside down" and strip the European psyche of many of its most basic defensive group-fantasies and rituals. This collapse of the Christian group-fantasy in the sixteenth century by a more advanced psychoclass plunged the less advanced psychoclasses into terrible anxieties about repressed wishes previously bound by medieval Christian beliefs and rituals. As psychohistorian William Saffady puts it: "The abandonment of religious ceremonies . . . would produce, they implied, a danger in personality of a Christian man, transforming him into a beast" who might even break out into a mass incestual and patricidal acts once traditional ritual was dropped or changed. (195) For instance, once transubstantiation (the concrete reality of the eating of Christ's body and drinking of his blood during the Eucharist) began to be questioned, the oral cannibalistic desires released from this group-fantasy then had to be projected into the "cannibalistic" witch, who was believed to eat babies at nocturnal meetings which parodied the Eucharist.(196) So, too, many group-fantasy defenses-against fetal, oral, anal, or phallic material-which were removed from Christian ritual and belief by the minority, then led to terrible anxieties and regressive behavior in the majority.

Thus what Trevor-Roper calls "the general crisis of the seventeenth century,"(197) from its religious and political wars to its persecution of witches, is the result of severe psychoclass conflict. New childrearing modes by a minority produced modern personality types which changed traditional group-fantasies, threatening the majority of less-advanced psychoclasses with being overwhelmed by fears and wishes which could now only be projected into heretics, revolutionaries and witches. It was not until the invention of a new group-fantasy, "national sovereignty" – a new "womb-surround" which could bind the conflicts of the personality – that the religious wars and witch-hunts of the early modern period could be ended. Proof that the group-fantasy of na-

tionalism – which of course most groups today still share – is based on a modern version of the fetal drama will be the task of the remainder of this essay.

INTRUSIVE AND SOCIALIZING MODES: MODERN NATIONALISM AS A FETAL DRAMA

The establishment of the intrusive mode of childrearing, with its closer, more consistent parenting based mainly on psychological rather than physical control devices, enabled early modern men and women to achieve for the first time what Melanie Klein has termed "the depressive position,"(198) a reduction of persecution and splitting sufficient to allow the individual to unite good and bad parental images and to begin to handle guilt and reparative feelings. This new personality could then begin to in-vent modern science in the intellectual sphere, the industrial revolution in the technological sphere and married love in the personal sphere.

Each of the advances of the modern personality, however, was only accomplished by evolving out of a matrix of fetal fantasy in which it had previously been embedded. We have seen how early religious systems contained fetal fantasies of a geographical system centered on an umbilical cen-tral world axis (axis mundi) or navel (omphalos), complete with megalithic astronomical sighting systems and serpentine geodetic forces. (199) It was out of such fetal fantasy, full of mythological struggles with world dragons and death-and-rebirth solar imagery, which the first astronomers had to construct their early scientific systems. So, too, the first chemists had to invent their science out of a long tradition of alchemy, which was everywhere composed of elements of the fetal drama. The alchemist "saw alchemical vessels as wombs [where] the foetus grows" from such elements as "Dragon's Blood," and after nine months gives birth to a "Royal Child" sitting in a Tree of Life, a "Philosopher's Stone" which was born from lower metals in the alchemist's vessel.(200) Early scientists such as Newton and Boyle were certain they saw such images present and such fetal dramas going on in their labs, and it took several centuries before the distinction between alchemy and chemistry was made clear.

Modern politics, too, was invented out of a matrix of earlier fetal symbolism. As the locus of the fantasy of placental power began to shift from the monarch to the "nation," early modern political theorists invented an "intencio populi [which] is the center of the mystical body of the realm . . . the heart from which is transmitted into the . . . members of the body as its nourishing blood stream the political provision for the well-being of the people."(201) This mystical central heart, this new placenta which nourishes each person of the realm, this corpus mysticum of the embryo, as Fortescue termed it, might be located either in the leader or in a small representative group, but it represented the realm, and sustained and controlled the realm through its nourishing blood.

It is when the placental imagery began to be shifted from the monarch as holder of power to the "nation" that the modern group-fantasy of na-tionalism could be born, with its emphasis on contiguous national boundaries, racial purity, and mystical participation of each citizen in the national fetal drama – especially war. The leaders of the nation periodically consult this mystical central "heart of the realm," exactly as did the pharoah when he went off to a temple to dream the placental god's message, only now it was known as "the

will of the people." This "nation's will" which is consulted (when, say, Congress meets on whether to go to war over the Gulf of Tonkin "Crisis") involves the same fantasy as the pharoah's consulting "the will of the gods" in his dream-temple; it is deter-mining the condition of the group-fantasy as to how polluted the group feels, how much collapse of ego boundaries the group is experiencing, and how much rage it is feeling against its "central heart." As we will see in the final section of this essay, the leaders of modern nations very often go off to a symbolic dream-temple to consult their placental god when choosing an enemy at the end of each "collapse" stage (FS3).

The evidence for the four-stage fetal cycle in modern national politics is contained in my previous work on group-fantasy, as summarized in the opening pages of this essay. Because the majority of people in modern nations were raised in the intrusive and socializing modes, the nationalist group-fantasy within which we enact the fetal drama today consists of the worship of a "national will," as interpreted by elected leaders, inevitable growing pollution of this "national life-blood," a collapse of national will, and a sacrificial battle against a bestial enemy, often another nation, to cleanse the national bloodstream and accomplish the rebirth of national vitality. Americans today, like Paleolithic men 15,000 years ago, still worship a Poisonous Placenta in the form of a dangerous Great Bear, filling our magazines with its pictures and devoting much of our energies to its killing – only now it is a Russian bear which we are hunting. We elect leaders and hope they have the power to hold off the dangerous beast – which is why America has never gone to war in the first year of any president's

term.(202) But the growing pollution of national life-blood is irresistible, the collapse of group defenses inevitable, and national sacrifice and rebirth painful. As Hitler said to an aide on the eve of his invasion of Poland, as they both watched the red glow of the northern lights, "This looks like lots of blood. This time things won't go without force."(203)

Since all our "greatest" leaders – from Caesar and Napolean to Churchill and Roosevelt – were sacrificial priests with the blood of millions on their hands, we must take very seriously this central ritual, as seriously as, say, the Aztecs took their periodic ritual sacrifice of youth to their god. When our magazines show an America bristling with atomic missiles pointed at a Russian bear, a psychohistorian must learn to take the image as an accurate rendering of what current American group-fantasy feels like. For an examination of the most recent sacrificial crisis in American group-fantasy, I will now turn to an examination of the group-fantasies and events surrounding the Carter presidency and the so-called Iranian "Crisis."

III. THE FETAL DRAMA IN AMERICAN GROUP-FANTASY

It is my strong belief that psychohistory is a science, and that it is the task of a psychohistorian to form testable hypotheses and make clear predictions based on these hypotheses, so that by disproving portions of them new theory can be formulated. Accordingly, after I first proposed the four-stage model of historical group-fantasies, I made a series of predictions at the beginning of Jimmy Carter's presidency about the future events which would take place if the theory were correct.(203) These predictions were:

1. That by 1979 American confidence in Carter would collapse,
2. That this collapse would be accompanied by powerful group-fantasy images of both Carter and the nation disintegrating, strangling and dying,
3. That the nation would by the end of 1979 ask Carter to find a "humiliating other" upon which their rage could be projected,
4. That this new enemy would likely be located in the Middle East, and
5. That Carter would be encouraged to "get tough" with this enemy, and would respond with military action which would be likely to lead to war.

The remainder of this essay will be devoted to showing that the first four of these predictions were proved correct, with what was called the Iranian "Crisis" actually being a well-motivated solution to the "collapse" stage, and that the fifth prediction was partly correct and partly wrong, since U.S. military action in Iran was "aborted" short of war. But before moving to

an examination of these events, I first want to note the reaction of readers to my first efforts at psychohistorical prediction, as a revealing lesson in the powerful anxieties aroused by our new science.

I have long been used to the outrage of most of the scholarly profession in reaction to my psychohistorical work, and have often tried to ascertain the reasons behind this reaction. But my brief 20-page article in our Jimmy Carter and American Fantasy book – probably because it was the first time I had written about current group-fantasies – produced a storm of rage beyond anything I had yet experienced. Reviewers seemed particularly incensed about any claims to scientific methodology. Garry Wills, in an article headlined "PSYCHOHISTORY IS BUNK," called me a "snake-oil salesman of our 'scientific age,' " a person who had a "Mickey deMause method" which might drive the readers "bonkers."(205) Others deplored my "outrageous" nerve in making predictions,(206) my "determinist" methods,(207) my "insolence of a science major,"(208) and my pretentions at writing what the Wall Street Journal termed "science fiction."(209) Publishers Weekly called me a "feeble oracle,"(210) the New York Post said I was a "revisionist" who wrote "gobbledygook,"(212) and The Atlanta Constitution thought my predictions "psychobabble . . . pure trash . . . gunk . . . hogwash."(212)

My fellow psychohistorians proved even more upset at my attempt to make predictions: The Psychohistory Review termed them all only my own excited fantasies;("213) Peter Loewenberg told a reporter my predictions were "irresponsible sensationalism" since "both history and psychoanalysis deal [only] with postdiction, with reconstructing casuality in the past;"(214) John Fitzpatrick said that "psychohistorians don't have the ability to make very discrete predictions about what a president will do; "(215) another psychohistorian told a reporter "I don't like to air all psychohistory's dirty linen in public, but deMause's insistence on the 'scientific' nature of his evidence has caused a lot of rancor;"(216) Robert Coles told Newsweek "Some people mark up walls with ugly words, other people do psychohistory;"(217) The Chronicle of Higher Education termed my work "a can-

cer that is metastasizing through the whole body of the historical profession;"(218) and John Demos said "somehow we have got to apply some brakes" to this kind of psychohistory.(219)

That "applying some brakes" to my "cancerous" writing in fact implied action as well as words soon became apparent, as scholarly journals refused to review the book, scholarly associations turned down my membership ap-plication "because of the controversial nature of your work,"(220) graduate students using my theories were denied their doctoral degrees because of their association with me,(221) undergraduates were told to drop their work for my journal or else they would be refused entry into graduate school,(222) and one of my co-authors of the Carter book was threatened with the loss of his tenured professorship in connection with his association with the book.(223)

Obviously what happens when psychohistorical interpretations are made about current rather than past group-fantasies is that the group which shares the fantasies responds in the same way as does a patient when his psychoanalyst makes a premature interpretation – with deep feelings of humiliation and rage. The infantile content I wrote about could not have come from the group-fantasies they believed in-so it must be coming from my own infantile "excited fantasies," and I myself must be infantile, a childish "Mickey deMause" who publishes his fantasies in a journal which is "an adult comic book."(223) As Bion once put it, groups do not appreciate the investigation of "the characteristics of the deity whose cult is at the time flourishing."(225) The only favorable response the Carter book received was in Germany;(226) in America, psychohistorians are more acceptable when they write about Hitler and the Germans.

THE COLLAPSE STAGE OF CARTER'S GROUP-FANTASY

The collapse stage of Jimmy Carter's presidency took place during the year 1979. America, the richest and freest nation in history, at the peak of its prosperity with the largest Gross National Product and the smallest number of people under the poverty line in its history, with no war or internal turmoil for the first time in decades, began to share a group-fantasy of total collapse of its potency. After a brief rise in Carter's confidence polls following his success at the Camp David Middle Fast peace negotiations (for a Fantasy Analysis of which see my "Historical Group-Fantasies").(227) American confidence in him rapidly declined throughout the first eight months of the year. Time magazine's "State of the Nation" poll in April was headlined "The Trouble Is Serious;" reporters began asking Carter at news conferences why he was "exhibiting weakness and impotency;" George Will in Newsweek said Carter was now on "a downward crumbling path [as] America's decline accelerates;" the Washington Star headlined America's "SLIPPING TOWARD IMPOTENCE ACROSS THE GLOBE;" the New York Times one day carried two articles, the first ask-ing Carter to resign as "the weakest and most incompetent president since Martin Van Buren" and the second by a psychiatrist saying that Carter needed psychiatric treatment; and a nationwide poll for the "most out-standing incompetent" in history elected Carter hands down.(228) Speculations about Carter's sanity multiplied; one day, when Carter simply delayed a speech he was to give to the press, "the unexplained cancellation caused world-wide speculation that Carter had gone bonkers," and his appointments secretary had to assure newsmen that "Carter was sane and in charge and knew what he was doing."(229)

Cartoons during that period showing Carter falling, disintegrating or dy-

mg (see Illustration 7), feelings which we both wished upon him and shared ourselves, since ultimately it was the American people who were sharing the group-fantasy of collapse and disintegration. But the group rage at having a placental leader who was failing, weak and strangling soon

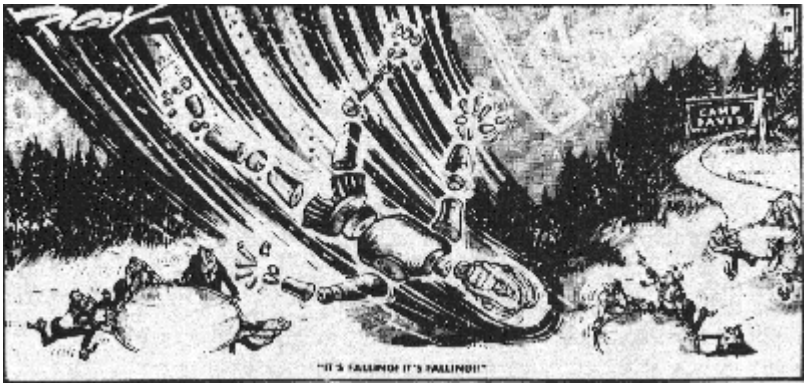


Illustration 7 – Carter Falling and Disintegrating

began to be shown in cartoons of placental octopuses strangling Carter or ourselves (Illustration 8) – suddenly the Poisonous Placenta appeared

Illustration 8 – Carter Being Strangled by a Poisonous Placenta

everywhere in cartoons, strangling us, as OPEC, as inflation, as governmental red tape, as junk mail, all cutting off our oxygen. (These two car-toons are typical of over 400 showing strangulation, falling and disintegration in my files for these months, whereas I could only find a dozen, all showing milder "falling" feelings, from earlier months.) Death wishes toward the placental leader proliferated. Carter began being called "a terminal political case," "among the political 'walking dead,' "and "buried politically,"(230) and one major newspaper even featured the following in-terview with a labor leader as their front page lead:

"Is there any way the President can redeem himself
in your eyes?"
"Yes, there's one way he can do it."
"What's that?"
"Die."(231)

Since America imagined it both depended on its leader for life-giving blood and wanted him to die, the enormous ambivalence during the summer of 1979 began to make people feel like they were in danger of going mad. In an article headlined "THE SUMMER MADNESS," James Reston announced that "Washington was having a nervous breakdown," several magazines that summer ran front cover headlines simply entitled "SUMMER MADNESS," and Rosalynn Carter was sent on a cross-country speaking tour, according to one newspaper, "to defend her hus-band's mental … health."(232)

Carter did what every placental leader must do when faced with a group going mad with feelings of collapse, pollution and disintegration: he went "up on a mountaintop" to a dream temple (Camp David) and consulted with the gods as to how to end the pollution. He himself was so polluted, he was taboo – like a menstruating woman, he was so dangerous he had to be isolated. For two weeks a parade of advisors and others visited him on the mountain, and when he came down he pronounced his discovery: we were going through a "crisis of confidence … that strikes at the very heart, soul and spirit of our national will and is threatening to destroy the social and political fabric of America."

The diagnosis was perfect: the "national heart" was indeed stricken and dying. But what sacrifice could possibly satisfy the monstrous polluting Poisonous Placenta? Carter first tried what Time termed a little "bloodletting… a temple cleansing…Three days down from his meditations at Camp David, Jimmy Carter embarked last week on a purge as complete and bloody as any in recent Presidential history – an upheaval that swept away nearly half his Cabinet in 24 hours."(233) The bloody sacrifice was dismissed by the gods, the people, as insufficient: it was termed "like rearranging the chairs on the Titanic."(234) The ship of state continued to sink

in its polluted waters, and Carter's polls fell to the lowest figure for any president in American history. What was to be done?

It should be remembered that at some level every group and every leader knows that finding an external enemy to blame will relieve feelings of group pollution and weakness and will unify the group. After all, psychohistory merely makes conscious what is unconsciously shared and communicated all the time by historical groups. Despite Carter's sincere election promises to end American reliance on military solutions to its problems, despite his appointing the nonmilitant Cyrus Vance as Secretary of State, he nevertheless acknowledged the eventual probability that he would be asked to "get tough" with some enemy by appointing as his foreign policy advisor the well-known hawk Zbigniew Brzezinski, who, according to what one White Rouse advisor told

Newsweek, seemed well aware of the necessary solution to the collapse of confidence in Carter: "At a meeting with Congressional staffers last year, he [Brezezinski] agreed with the suggestion. . . that a 'small war' might be useful to prove the President's toughness. "(235)

Accordingly, during the fall of 1979, Brzezinski and Carter suddenly rediscovered a brigade of Russian troops in Cuba. Admist a storm of furious protest and calls for action in Congress, Carter proclaimed a new Cuban "Crisis," asked the nation to "remain calm," and announced that "I will not be satisfied with maintenance of the status quo."(236) Yet, short of shooting Russians, it soon became obvious that there was no sacrificial scapegoat in Cuba this time, and so the "search for the humiliating other" went on.

THE GROUP-PSYCHOTIC INSIGHT: SACRIFICING HOSTAGES IN IRAN

A nation's foreign policy is primarily conducted for the purpose of keeping enough pots boiling around the world to enable its leader to find a sacrificial crisis on foreign soil when the nation needs one. Although no really useful enemy which could play the role of bestial Poisonous Placenta was available during the fall of 1979, there was one pot that had been boiling hot during the previous months which might provide the needed group-psychotic insight" and act as the humiliating enemy which was responsible for America's feelings of pollution and strangulation: Iran. Since the beginning of the year, Iranian revolutionaries had been grabbing Americans in Teheran, tearing down flags, and chanting "Death to the Americans" in mass rallies which periodically would attack American installations and personnel.(237) Despite continuous pleas by Americans in Iran to remove personnel and equipment to safety, to tighten security (as had been done effectively in Afghanistan), and to take other prudent

measures against possible attack by the revolutionaries, despite clear warnings from the American military of the possible consequences (one American general asked "How many Americans will have to die before we do anything?)"(238) Washington refused all actions but one. This one action proved symbolic of the sacrificial nature of leaving the Americans defenseless. After 100,000 Iranians attacked the American compound on May 25th and tore down the American flag, precautions were quickly taken to protect the flag, by covering the flagpole with pig grease and putting a barrier 20 feet from its top to discourage climbers.(239) The unconscious message was clear: protect the placental flag, protect "national honor," sacrifice the personnel.

But the Iranians did not get the message clearly enough for them to take decisive action. Something obviously had to be done overtly by American leadership to produce the sacrificial victims. For months, the obvious provocation which could move the Iranians against the Americans in Teheran was at hand: the ousted Shah of Iran had been asking to enter the U.S. Despite efforts by Henry Kissinger, David Rockefeller and others to "save our national honor" and let the Shah in, clear reports from U.S. advisors and from the C.I.A. stated strongly that "if the Shah were admitted to the United States, the American Embassy would be taken and it would be a threat to American lives."(240) Over and over again as mobs attacked them, American Embassy officials asked for substantially more guards and stronger protection; there were continually refused. By August, as the Brzezinski group pushing for the admittance of the Shah grew larger, a Top Secret message

was sent from Iran to Washington saying: "The danger of hostages being taken in Tehran will persist. We should make no move toward admitting the Shah until we have obtained and tested more effective guard force from the embassy."(241) Still no substantial new guards were provided and no personnel removed. The sacrifice was being prepared: if the Embassy were attacked, and Americans killed, America would have its bestial enemy, and the group-fantasy crisis could be solved through military invasion.

There was one remaining difficulty to resolve: both Carter and Lance stubbornly opposed letting the Shah in. Once, in late summer, when Brzezinski and Mondale pressed Carter to let him in, Carter blew up: "Blank the Shah! [Carter used the word "Blank" in retelling the event.] I'm not going to welcome him here when he has other places to go where he'll be safe."(242) This resistance by Carter to the group-fantasy demands to "get tough" and "save national honor" by letting in the Shah came from personal strengths and a determination not to involve America in war risks for trivial reasons. It was Carter's personal strength which I had obviously misjudged in making the last of the five predictions which I had made earlier-primarily, I think, due to the sketchiness of our information on his childhood and personality, so that I had assumed he would react more like

Lyndon Johnson or Richard Nixon than like Dwight Eisenhower to col-lapse anxieties.(243) In addition, I should have invented a quantified "Rage Index" of the comparative violence contained in group-fantasy during col-lapse stages, so that the strength of the pressures toward violent action could have been more accurately forecast. In any case, Carter remained strong (for which he was called "weak"), and continued to refuse to admit the Shah.

Yet the fact remained that the commands of the "national will" poured into the White House from all over America: "Get tough, find us an enemy, we can't stand the strangulation, we can't stand hating you so much!" The group around Carter had no choice: they had to lie to him to get his consent. Despite consistent medical advice to Carter's staff that the Shah was in no immediate medical danger and that his medical problems could be easily taken care of elsewhere,(244) Carter was told that the Shah was "at the point of death" and that he needed treatment which could only be obtained in New York. Carter, according to the report of one person present, asked, "When the Iranians take our people in Teheran hostage, what will you advise me then?"(245) and, according to another, that we "would likely be faced with a situation where a group of fanatics grab Americans."(246) Despite these clear dangers, Carter agreed to let the Shah in. There was only one crucial condition, one important omission, which accompanied his decision, and this was obviously Carter's main contribu-tion to the cave-in to group-fantasy: the Americans in Teheran must remain unprotected. As the New York Times reporter put it, "One option that, curiously, was never seriously examined was the evacuation of embassy per-sonnel prior to admitting the Shah. "(247) The next day, the Shah had his gall bladder removed in New York, and nine days later, exactly as predicted by everyone, Iranian revolutionaries took the Americans hostage.

"UPHEAVAL" STAGE F54: THE IRANIAN "CRISIS"

As should be obvious by now, what was called the Iranian "Crisis" was not an external crisis at all, but in fact the wished – for and carefully- manipulated solution to the earlier real crisis of collapse of group-fantasy. The rage against Carter was now split off and projected into the Ayatollah Khomeini and his jeering mobs of demonstrators, who – having found their own solution to the collapse of their revolutionary group-fantasy – were happy to contribute to America's humiliation by parading bound hostages before TV cameras and hanging Carter in effigy. Instantly, all "collapse" imagery disappeared from the American press. As the New Yorker observ-ed, "President Carter's rating of approval.. doubled during the crisis. The public's sudden rush of affection for its country seems to have included its country's President.' '(248) By splitting off his Poisonous Placenta image,

Carter was now transformed into a Fighting Fetus, a representative of every American fighting against the bestial humiliating enemy. All of America projected their personal rages into the group-delusional solution. When I asked over 800 people who attended several speeches I gave during the first week of the crisis how they felt now, most said "It feels good… we feel unified… we can't be pushed around any longer… it is good to be an American again… my personal life and disappointments don't seem so important any more." The nation began the fourth fetal stage of "upheaval" with the leader's designation of the humiliating enemy. Former President Ford called Iran "more serious than any crisis the U.S. has faced since the end of the World War II," and tens of thousands took to the streets to vent their anger, burn Iranian flags, insult Iranian students studying at American colleges, throw rocks through windows of local Arab bakeries, parade posters of actor John Wayne "as a symbol of two-fisted nationalism," and shout "Send in the Marines" and "Nuke the Ayatollah."(249)

America felt good again. One columnist put it bluntly. In his article "Why The Ayatollah Deserves Our Thanks," he explained: "The Ayatollah and the street mobs that pass for government in that backward, chaotic land, have done this country a hell of a favor. And I don't mean by practically guaranteeing the reelection of Jimmy Carter. The Iranians' contribution lies in prodding the United States into a renaissance of national pride and unity we feared had evaporated… "(250)

Even when Russia invaded Afghanistan, Americans could feel good about their strength. Carter, calling the Russian move "the greatest threat to peace since the Second World War,"(251) could easily end detente, begin "the new Cold War," and threaten "military force" in the Persian Gulf as though his earlier promises of military restraint were never made.(252) With the adoption of the delusional solution, the world made sense once more. The mood of the nation at the beginning of 1980 was one of calm pride:

> *What's it like in Washington now? Breathtaking. Let's begin with President Carter. Crisis everywhere… He looks calm. He invites in small groups of reporters and answers questions off the record with such low-keyed candor that they find themselves, in spite of themselves, feeling protective… Carter is an impressive figure… Carter looks calm… (253)*

The cartoon in Illustration 9 shows the delusional solution which produced this strength and calmness. The ambivalent leader was now split into two parts. The good leader, now young, strong and determined, wrapped in a

Illustration 9 – The Delusional Solution by Splitting

placental American flag and drawn in white, is shown at the left. The bad leader, the Poisonous Placenta, old, foreign-looking and drawn in black, is shown at the right. The price of the split, squeezed in birth agony by the um-bilical rope the two leaders pull between them, is the sacrificial hostages. These hostages were vitally necessary to the delusional solution. As William F. Buckley said, the real danger was that they might be freed without violence:

> *But what if the Ayatollah merely frees the prisoners… The public will be left with the sense of an unconsummated transaction. We will be looking to Carter to see what form he elects for punishing the enduring government of Iran, and here is the rub. It is unlikely, the hostages having been returned, that the U.S. will want direct military action of the kind that results in death for men, women and children.(254)*

During the early months of 1980, the unconscious aim of American policy was to keep the hostages in captivity, even to provoke their death, as a cleansing sacrifice and as a punishment for our rage. The Shah was officially escorted around to various military hospitals by Air Force planes, infuriating the Iranians, and the press constantly played up Carter's speeches of his "readiness to use military force" regardless of the consequences. After the Shah finally left the U.S., Carter even wrote what the New York Times called an "inexplicable" letter to the Shah's sister, asking him back, saying "Our preference now is that he receive treatment under

Dr. DeBakey's care either at Gorgas, the U.S. hospital in Panama, or in Houston, Texas -a move which was tantamount to a death sentence for the hostages. "We were certain," Hamilton Jordan recalled later, "that if the Shah exercised his right to come back to the United States, some of the hostages would be killed. We had real warnings to that effect."(256)

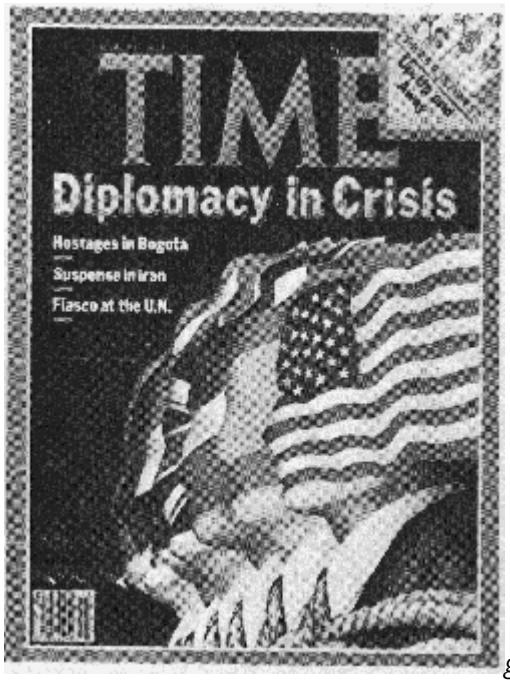
Yet some direct action still had to be taken to produce the sacrificial violence that would end the upheaval stage of the group-fantasy of rebirth. In fantasy, it was not just a diplomatic matter: in fantasy, a horrible Poisonous Placenta was still strangling the nation and cutting off its oxygen supply. Time magazine dramatically portrayed how we felt just before the military action against Iran (Illustration 10), showing placental flags plastered over our faces and umbilical ropes tied around our chests, as direct a reliving of our own birth as can be portrayed. American reporters tried to explain to puzzled Europeans who were not part of the birth group-fantasy why "Seldom has there been more talk of war, its certainty, its necessity, its desirability. "(257) Amidst demands that he "stiffen the national spine" and "take charge" to allow America to reach the "light at the end of the tunnel.. about to be born,"(258) after a major "economic" speech which saw a "NEED FOR PAIN AND DISCIPLINE,"(259) and backed by polls now showing a majority of Americans favoring invasion even if hostages were killed, Carter gave the go-ahead to a "rescue raid."

Illustration 10 – Suffocation By Poisonous Placenta During Birth

That the military raid was bound to result in the death of many if not most of the hostages was considered certain, by Carter, by Vance, by his advisors, and by the Pentagon.(260) Yet a "sacrifice for national honor" was finally deemed necessary: the poisonous bestial enemy must be defeated and the birth upheaval terminated. As Brzezinski put it during the April 11th meeting of the National Security Council at which the decision to invade was made, America had to "lance the boil,"(261) thus ending the infection, the pollution of the national body.

But the "rebirth of American will" was not to be accomplished that day in April – the military action had to be "aborted." No Iranians and no hostages were sacrificed, and no defeat of the monstrous enemy was accomplished. Instead, only humiliation and defeat, and eight dead Americans left on the sands of Iran. Carter took full responsibility for pulling back the task force and for not using the alternative plan to continue the assault with the hundreds of planes and ships in the area. Again, this strength of character on Carter's part in deciding not to risk full-scale war was considered "weakness" by his critics. As Richard Nixon, who often blurts out the unsayable feelings of the nation, later put it, "one of the major errors that President Carter made [was] that his primary, and in fact it seemed to me his only concern.. was the lives and safety of the hostages."(262) Carter would not be forgiven this "weakness." It now felt like America was choking" on a "bone in the throat" from its own "powerlessness."(263) The national rebirth would have to be accomplished another way: through the cleansing sacrificial death of the leader himself.

Like the ritual sacrifice of the divine king of archaic societies, it is always possible to clear up the



group pollution by stoning the old, impotent leader to death. America conducted the defeat of Jimmy Carter in the election of 1980 in an atmosphere filled with overt death wishes. Cartoons constantly showed him falling to his death and otherwise being killed. In August – exactly 17 years after the assassination of President Kennedy – 70 million Americans were glued to their TV sets to find out "Who Shot J.R.?" Carter's final "landslide defeat" was pictured as a painful "stoning" to death of Carter by Reagan (Illustration 11). The portrait of Carter in defeat

Illustration 11 – Sacrificial Stoning of Divine King

printed near the cartoon appeared to confirm the actuality of his death. (Illustration 12.)

Illustration 12 – Proof of Carter's Death

America was quite clear about the reason for the ritual sacrifice of Carter. In the "struggle between anger (at Carter) and fear (of Reagan).. anger would win by a landslide," said one reporter. "That was no election. That was Mount St. Helens, pouring hot ash over the whole political landscape."(264) A Fantasy Analysis of Time's post-election article on Carter's defeat sounded like the report of a Spanish priest watching a bloody Aztec sacrifice in horror: "savage.. angry.. buried.. ..... triumph.. dismembered.. killed.. happier.. flesh.. ..... tears.. ..... hurt.. hell."(265) Jimmy Carter had refused to clear out our pollution by sacrificing Americans; he himself then had to be sacrificed. His mistake was in not recognizing the ultimate source of the pollution: in ourselves. As Tom Wolfe put it:

> *People were just waiting for Carter to say, "You know what you've been doing, I know what you've been doing, we're not kidding each other. You're all out there cheating on your wives and your husbands.. You're letting your communities sink in a sump of decadence and corruption, and you're encouraging lust and pornography. It's no secret and it's time that we did something about this cesspool of immorality."(266)*

Wolfe entitled his article "Let's Have a Call To Arms." The person who responded to this call to arms to stem the disintegration and pollution of an

immoral America was Ronald Reagan, who had been preaching just these themes for decades. His nomination acceptance speech left little doubt as to his recognition of his fantasy role in the fetal drama of national disintegration and rebirth through violent sacrifice:

Destroy.. disintegrating.. weakened.. calamity.. sacrifice... destroy.. rebirth.. eaten away.. wasted away.. renew.. ..... sacrifice.. flows like a mighty river.. ..... .injure.. turned the na-tional stomach.. destroy.. freeze.. exhaustion.. destruction... weakness.. .disasters.. weakness.. ..... war.. war.. blaze.. (267)

After Reagan's election, a two-month timeless "intercalary period" intervened, when, as in archaic times, the old leader is mourned, the new leader takes on the placental attributes and time is again renewed.(268) Finally in January 1981, Reagan took over his office in a burst of rebirth imagery. His inauguration, which co-incided with the return of the hostages, was celebrated by a nation awash with millions of placental flags and yellow umbilical ribbons – symbols both of the reestablishment of the tie to the new leader and to the hostages who had returned to life after they had been wished dead. Normally unemotional TV announcers vied with each other to sing their praises of the national rebirth: "After 20 years of pessimism, after assassinations, Vietnam and Watergate, at last the burden was off our backs. It was America Reborn, America All the Way!"(269) "It was like a wedding where the birth of a bridesmaid's baby upstaged the groom."(270) "It's like carrying a baby . . . like a rebirth."(271) The ticker-tape procession for the hostages produced "crowds sometimes ten deep (which] lined the 17-mile route, cheering, laughing, weeping and waving flags, and, of course, yellow ribbons."(272) The yellow ribbons proved so potent a symbolic umbilicus that tens of millions of them were hung on trees and poles all around America, just as the aborigines hung the umbilicus itself on trees. And, just as other primitives ritually burned the umbilicuses of newborn babies, American radio stations broadcast appeals to send the yellow ribbons to a special Post Office Box in Florida so they, too, could be burned all together in a special ritual in honor of the reborn hostages.

Ronald Reagan was shown in cartoons as a proud father handing out cigars for the birth of his new babies, as a placental balloon with a yellow umbilical ribbon shining over the White House, and as feeding everyone. The New York Times anointed him as "the first President in years who.. is radiating charm, decency-and competence," and the Washington Post confirmed that "all of Washington and most of America seems to be wrapped in a bubble of euphoria inflated by Ronald Reagan…'"(273)

Yet to a psychohistorian, all this euphoria seemed more manic than joyful. Carter had not in fact died, the hostages had not died, no one – except for the quickly forgotten eight soldiers – had died a sacrificial death, so the poisonous Placenta was still raging nearby, panting for the blood of its sacrificial victim. The cartoon in Illustration 13 dramatically portrays American group-fantasy on the day of Reagan's inauguration-with the Poisonous Placenta barely kept in control by the slashing sword of a worried Reagan.

Illustration 13-Poisonous Placenta as Reagan Becomes President

Although most "honeymoon periods" of other presidents are low in angry fantasy language, it soon became apparent to perceptive observers that "despite the relaxed banter of the President in news conferences and despite the approving polls, there is a low, mean hiss to be heard in the land [as shown by] the snarling, deliberately nasty way people are coming to treat each other."(274) Reagan asked his staff to be "meaner than junkyard dogs" in slashing the budget, headlines of "CUT, SLASH, CHOP" were repeated everywhere in the media, and cartoons laughingly depicted everyone from government employees to babies and the elderly being chopped in half by axes and swords.(275) Despite the fact that federal government employees were actually 100,000 fewer than a decade earlier, Washington itself was identified as a bloated Poisonous Placenta with tentacles choking the people. The government itself therefore had to be chopped into pieces-no matter that the results were "cruel, inhumane and unfair,"(276) or that Congressmen could say of the slashing "it's heartbreaking. We spent years putting these programs together and they work. Now they are being destroyed."(276) American pollution had remained uncleansed by sacrificial death. Therefore, the government itself had to perform an act of self-castration as a magical gesture to restore the fertility of the polluted land-exactly as priests of Cyble used to castrate themself to satisfy the fury of their goddess. Sadistic horror movies were now considered as "the new

wave," featuring bloody "cut, slash, chop" scenes that paralleled Reagan's budget cartoons.(277) The Anti-Defamation League reported a threefold increase in anti-Semitic incidents from the previous year; the C.I.A. was "unleashed"; and Reagan's five-year budget plan provided for over a trillion dollars more of horrible new weapons and for a quarter million additional military personnel-representing a military buildup that was "three times as large as the one that took place during the Vietnam War."(278) The placental beast remained so near that when he spoke to the country Reagan told Americans his main job was going to be "holding back an evil force that would extinguish the light we've been tending for 6,000 years.' '(279)

National magazines reported the steady rise in undischarged American rage quite openly. Harper's reported that "the fevers of war are once again upon us.. beneath the surface of recent American events can be felt the gathering strength of attitudes and emotions that permit us to think about war in ways that were impossible even a year ago."(280) The New Republic told the same story from inside the administration:

> *For the first time since the 1950s, the possibility of nuclear war with the Soviet Union appears to be seriously accepted by key figures inside and outside the U.S. government. What long have been unthinkable thoughts now are entertained by influential men and women in Washington.. .A senior White House foreign policy specialist says: "In 30 years, I never thought war was really possible: now I think it is possible.. "(281)*

The cleansing sacrificial climax to the fetal drama seemed to be unreachable. During the month of March, 1980 a new group-fantasy developed in America: since Reagan was unable to provide the necessary cleansing violence, he would have to be scarified too! Perhaps a martyr's blood could fertilize and cleanse the polluted

nation. As can be seen in Illustration 14, in the final weeks of March, the media broke out in an orgy of front-page suggestions that Reagan should be shot, from the threatening revolvers on the covers of both Time and Newsweek to the graves in front of the U.S. Capitol Building on the cover of The New Republic. The cover of U.S. News the same week featured a picture of what it called "angry, frustrated" Americans under a headline that said '$60 BILLION OF FEDERAL WASTE-REAGAN'S NEXT TARGET," thus artfully com-bining the message "WASTE [shoot] REAGAN" with the equally explicit delegation that "REAGAN'S [is the] NEXT TARGET."(282) There was such an outpouring of media imagery suggesting that Reagan be shot during this week that, at a meeting of our Institute for Psychohistory's on-going Reagan Fantasy Committee, we discussed our concern that the media

Illustration 14 – Delegating the Shooting of Reagan
All cartoons and covers appeared prior to the shooting of Reagan.

covers and all the stories with "shoot… kill …die" in them might soon lead to an assassination attempt.

These assassination commands were the images on the news stands when the psychotic gunman pulled the trigger and shot the President. Since Hinckley had been in possession of weapons when he was in the same city as President Carter several months earlier without shooting, it is quite possible that now he pulled the trigger as a delegate of the national group-fantasy. Less stable personalities often act as history's sensitive receptors of hidden messages. Alexander Haig, for instance, the most unstable personality within the Reagan group, must have picked up the shooting messages too, since he began to argue the question of proper lines of succession to the President several days before the shooting, as though he felt it coming. The reactions of the rest of the country also seemed to reflect people's unconscious complicity in the shooting. Several newspapers reported local classes of children breaking into cheers on hearing of the assassination attempt. After the shooting, Hinckley's name disappeared from the press. One newspaper editor asked after the shooting, "Why Isn't Reagan Angry? Why Aren't We All Angry?"(283) No one was really angry at the shooting, no one – including Reagan and his wife – pushed for gun control, because everyone knew the shooting was necessary. Hadn't many Americans been predicting with a laugh for months that Reagan would die in office (supposedly because all American presidents elected in a year ending in zero did so)? Hadn't "Re-elect Bush in 1984" been on many car bumpers since Reagan's election? Just as Kennedy had to be shot a year after the Cuban Missile "Crisis" failed to really cleanse the national pollution and rage, so, too, Reagan had to be shot a year after the Iranian "Crisis" failed to cleanse the nation. The difference, of course, was that Kennedy died, and Reagan didn't. The long – desired rebirth had been aborted again – and one week after the shooting Time's front cover displayed our feeling with the one-word headline: "ABORTION."

Before long, therefore, national group-fantasy would call for another sacrificial victim to play out the final cleansing act of the fetal drama. Just as Christians for centuries had been transfixed in adoration before a placental Sacred Heart of Jesus, complete with a vaginal wound and glowing with life, so too Americans now found on their newsstands after the shooting a picture (Illustration 15) of the placental Sacred Heart of Reagan, the Crucified One who had risen again-complete with a vaginal door and glowing with new life-symbol both of the placental source of life in the womb and of the sacrificial violence yet to come.

Illustration 15 – Placental Sacred Heart of Reagan

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124. McCully, "Archtypal Psychology as a Key for Understanding Prehistoric Art Forms," p, 528-9.

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