
Clio's Psyche

Understanding the "Why" of Culture, Current Events, History, and Society

Volume 9, Number 1

June 2002

Children and Childhood in the 21st Century

Special Issue

Elizabeth Wirth Marvick: Half a Century of Childhood

Paul H. Elovitz and Bob Lentz
Clio's Psyche

Elizabeth Wirth Marvick was born in Chicago on October 4, 1925. She received an MA in political science from the University of Chicago in 1946 and a PhD in American politics from Columbia in 1968. She has taught political science, political psychology, and psychobiography at CCNY, the University of Bordeaux, the American University in Paris, Cal Tech, the Claremont Graduate School, and UCLA (1960-1990). Dr. Marvick has served on the councils of the Western Society for French History and the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP), is one of the founders

(Continued on page 26)

Children, Childhood, and Childrearing Dilemmas

Paul H. Elovitz
Ramapo College and the Psychohistory Forum

It is tempting to take either an optimistic or pessimistic position regarding the condition of children in modern America. Let me start with the optimist viewpoint.

Never in history have most children had such a high standard of living, so much personal space, such rich food, so much disposable income, such technological wonders, so many rights, and so many laws to protect them from abuse at home, school, and work. Wealth is lavished on our children. More than the gross national product of most countries is spent on schooling and the transportation costs involved. Suburban parents often organize their lives around chauffeuring their children to activities, such as boy scouts, dance, martial arts, and sports, designed to enrich their development. Vacations mean that the kids get to travel to Disney worlds and other intriguing locations in sunny climates.

As suburban children reach adolescence, parental concern is increasingly about higher education. The first college choices of senior students incline to be where their friends are interested in attending or are often close to the beach, good skiing, mountain sports, good party towns, or other recreational dreams. Ramapo College, which has a fine reputation as a "public ivy," has gone from being almost totally a commuter school to a residential college because the students want to live

Slavery and Serfdom

Genius and Empathy: Darwin, Olmsted, and Slavery

[Editor's Note: Ralph Colp and Mel Kalfus worked together in the spring and summer of 1990, writing about Darwin and Olmsted's views of slavery. This previously unpublished work is part of the legacy of the late Professor Kalfus. A brief author credit is presented after each article.]

Introduction

Melvin Kalfus and Ralph Colp, Jr.

Charles Darwin and Frederick Law Olmsted are men of genius who had substantial influ-

(Continued on page 36)

Turn to the next page for
IN THIS ISSUE

IN THIS ISSUE

Children and Childhood in the 21st Century

Elizabeth Wirth Marvick: Half a Century of Childhood	1
<i>Paul H. Elovitz and Bob Lentz</i>	
Children, Childhood, and Childrearing Dilemmas	1
<i>Paul H. Elovitz</i>	
Tomboy	6
<i>Ulrike Brisson</i>	
Childhood in Ancient Mesopotamia	7
<i>Mary Coleman</i>	
Culture and Corporal Punishment	8
<i>Herbert Barry III</i>	
Learning from Playing with Children in Psychotherapy	9
<i>Robert Quackenbush</i>	
Children of Immigrants Carrying the Sadness of Their Parents	11
<i>Felicia Heidenreich</i>	
From Swan to Ugly Duckling	13
<i>Sergio Medeiros</i>	
Genocidal Childhood in the Ghetto?	14
<i>Kevin J. McCamant</i>	
Being a Child in a Brazilian Slum	16
<i>Junia de Vilhena and Maria Helena Zamora</i>	
The Myth of Altruism Revisited	18
<i>Henry Lawton</i>	
An African Child's Servitude, Sufferings and Success	20
<i>George Gonpu</i>	

Growing Up in the High-Tech World	23
<i>Elizabeth von Buchler</i>	
Television and the Life of the American Child	24
<i>Laura E. Levine and Bradley M. Waite</i>	

Slavery and Serfdom

Genius and Empathy: Darwin, Olmsted, and Slavery ...	1
Darwin and Slavery	37
<i>Ralph Colp, Jr</i>	
Olmsted and Slavery	41
<i>Melvin Kalfus</i>	
Parental Debt and the Enslavement of Children in Ancient Athens	45
<i>Robert Rousselle</i>	
Serfs in North America?	46
<i>Paul Elovitz</i>	
In Memoriam: Melvin Kalfus (1931-2002)	48
<i>Paul H. Elovitz, David Beisel, Ralph Colp, Jr., Carl Prince</i>	
A Psychohistorical View of Anti-Semitism after September 11	53
<i>H. John Rogers</i>	
Rage and Victimization in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict	54
<i>Letter to the Editor by Flora Hogman</i>	
Call for Papers, December 2002: "Psychology of the Arab-Israeli Conflict"	55
Trauma and Change	56
<i>Meeting Report by Margery Quackenbush and Genevieve Izinicki</i>	

away from home but *not too far*. Families with fairly modest incomes scrimp and save in order to give their children the "best," especially a wide range of educational choices after high school. I often wonder if there has ever been such a group of self-sacrificing parents as we have at the present time.

The optimistic position is further strengthened by comparing the lives of 21st-century American children with those of earlier periods of history and in the less developed world. Boy babies are not sacrificed at birth by their parents to propitiate the gods. Babies born without male genitalia no longer run a risk of infanticide on the basis of being "another worthless girl." The infanticide extant in America today is usually that of the desperate, insane, or terrorized. Rather than say, like the ancient philosopher Aristippus, that a man can

toss away his newborns as he did his spit or lice, even deformed infants are cared for in our society. In the ancient world the deformed were almost automatically killed. In American society, even the interests of the unborn are heartily defended -- though ironically often by the very same people who advocate the execution of adults.

Children today are not sent off to wet nurses as they were so commonly throughout history for the sake of preserving their mother's shapely breasts and the pleasures of the husbands. Infants are no longer swaddled to keep them under control. Children are not forced to serve "their betters" or executed for the disobedience of their parents as happened to the children of nobles sent as hostages to the lord's court. The kissing and fondling of the nipples and private parts of children, which was quite common in the age of Louis XIII

of France, is no longer socially sanctioned. (Elizabeth Wirth Marvick, *Louis XIII: The Making of a King*, 1986) Indeed, it is considered sexual abuse, and teachers, doctors, and other professionals are required to report possible cases of any sort of abuse. In contrast to the 19th century, and despite the efforts of some religious fundamentalists, children are raised to believe that their bodies are their own, and their hands or genitals will not fall off if they engage in masturbation or sex without the benefit of clergy. Girls are not legally subject to arranged marriages as children but have choices regarding marriage and so much else in their lives. Contemporary children are not heavily beaten, placed in stocks, and put to work at ages that stunt their growth. If one wants to know the extent of the abuse and suffering of children in history, one need only look at Lloyd deMause's pathbreaking

essay, "The Evolution of Childhood." (*History of Childhood Quarterly [Journal of Psychohistory]* 1, 1974, p. 536ff)

In our society, many youngsters suffer the disruption of their lives and sometimes the loss of their parents through divorce. Some authorities argue that divorce is no more, or even less, developmentally harmful than growing up in bad marriages. (E. Mavis Hetherington and John Kelly, *For Better or For Worse: Divorce Reconsidered*, 2002) In any event, divorce is not nearly as damaging as parental loss through death, so often at childbirth, that is the commonplace of history.

The opportunities available to children in the U.S. and Western Europe are amazing in comparison to the limited choices of youngsters in the past and even in the underdeveloped world today. This is why there is such a flood of legal or illegal immigrants. I could go on at great length in these comparisons but I think the essential point has been made.

A pessimist about the situation of children in America might argue that we give children the best of everything, except for what really counts: a consistent, secure, loving environment and clear parental role models. Children in history learned by watching and doing, usually with one-on-one instruction by parents or the master to whom they were apprenticed, rather than being forced into schools, as in our society, which seem like prisons to so many of them by their high school years.

I sometimes feel that psychologically children have never had a more difficult time growing up than in our modern world partly because of the uncertainties and ambivalences of their parents who so often do not even stay married "for the sake of the children." Divorce is rampant. A quarter century of studies by Dr. Judith Wallerstein have argued that the detrimental effects of divorce are lifelong. (Wallerstein, et al, *The Unexpected Legacy of Divorce*, 2000) Growing up is bewildering because children are given so many mixed

Clio's Psyche

Vol. 9 No. 1

June 2002

ISSN 1080-2622

Published Quarterly by The Psychohistory Forum
627 Dakota Trail, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417
Telephone: (201) 891-7486
e-mail: pelovitz@aol.com

Editor: Paul H. Elovitz, PhD
Associate Editor: Bob Lentz

Editorial Board

C. Fred Alford, PhD University of Maryland • David Beisel, PhD RCC-SUNY • Rudolph Binion, PhD Brandeis University • Andrew Brink, PhD Formerly of McMaster University and The University of Toronto • Ralph Colp, MD Columbia University • Joseph Dowling, PhD Lehigh University • Glen Jeansonne, PhD University of Wisconsin • Peter Loewenberg, PhD UCLA • Peter Petschauer, PhD Appalachian State University • Leon Rappoport, PhD Kansas State University

Advisory Council of the Psychohistory Forum
John Caulfield, MDiv, Apopka, FL • Mena Potts, PhD Wintersville, OH • Jerome Wolf, Larchmont, NY

Subscription Rate:

Free to members of the Psychohistory Forum
\$25 yearly to non-members
\$40 yearly to institutions
(Both add \$10 outside U.S.A. & Canada)

Single Issue Price: \$12

We welcome articles of psychohistorical interest that are 500 - 1500 words.

Copyright © 2002 The Psychohistory Forum

**Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting
Saturday, September 21, 2002**

Paul H. Elovitz

**"Psychoanalytic and
Psychohistorical Approaches to
the American Presidency"**

messages. Children are raised in a culture of fear, engendered by fears spread on the Internet, radio, television, and in the newspapers, giving them the impression that the aberrant behavior of a few deviants in any part of the country is about to endanger them. The sense of basic trust has diminished dramatically in our society. (*Washington Post*, Trust in America, a six-part series, January 28-February 4, 1996) For example, in listening to the media, kids could easily have the impression that every priest is a child molester.

Contemporary parents are confused and guilt-ridden as to how they should raise and discipline their children. Consequently, many seek to "buy them off," providing them with the "things" that television has convinced children are necessary to "survive" within their social group. Many children spend far more time with the television than with their fathers. The entire family eating dinner together every night has ceased to be an ideal for many families as parents work longer hours and chauffeur their kids to sports, clubs, friends, and part-time work. Ridgewood, New Jersey, recently made the national news for scheduling a family day where everyone agreed not to have any activities and to just stay home with the overscheduled kids. The lead article of a recent Sunday news magazine proclaimed that one of every five teenagers had seriously considered terminating their own lives, proving how suicidal thoughts run rampant today. (Dianne & Robert Hales, "When a Teenager is Sad," *Parade Magazine*, May 5, 2002) Teenagers are clearly confused and sometimes tempted by suicide in a society geared to instant gratification: where you just click the channel to change the fantasy you want to pursue. Frustration in life is inevitable and there is less preparation for it in our society.

The healthy emotional growth of children is impeded by role reversals that are more common in fragmented families where a parent becomes more emotionally dependent on the children than where there is a consistent parental partner. I recollect an example of this from a child therapy case in the late 1970s. A very bright six-year-old of professional parents was confused and inclined to "act out." The problem was that the divorced parents were unconsciously treating him like the adult in the family. The crucial breakthrough came when the parents reluctantly had to confront their role reversal and the fact that no matter how bright a child is, he still has the emotional needs of a child. The family did much better after they began to incorporate this knowledge into their parenting.

They left their son free to be a child again.

Another family brought in their 12-year-old son for treatment because he was beginning to follow in the path of his seven-year-old brother who had dropped out of school and gotten into trouble to the point where the parents had "kicked him out of our home" for his alcoholic disruption of their lives and poor example for his younger siblings. My patient was doing poorly in school and misbehaving at home. In fact, this lively boy was beginning to act out the family's denied and repressed anger. His father had been severely depressed, but functional, since returning from overseas service for his country. His mother was furious at her husband for his prolonged depression but "too nice" to openly express her anger toward her husband or even her sons. The eldest son was unconsciously delegated the role of expressing anger and being the family lightning rod for the discontent of others. When the older brother left home -- establishing a productive life -- the pressure was then unconsciously placed on his younger brother to follow in the same self-destructive teenage pattern. Therapy helped the family find a more positive path for their younger son.

Sex and drugs are two areas in which our society does not appear to do very well. So much in our society is sexualized at ages well before children are mentally or even physically developed enough to deal with their sexuality. When I opened my AOL account this morning, I found an e-mail titled "7 Nude College Girls with a House with 26 Cameras" along with many professional e-mails. As an adult I can deal with these offers of explicit sexual pictures far better than youngsters who are tempted by all sorts of sexuality without even leaving their computers. Boys or girls who are confused about their own sexual identities at puberty are also subject to "true believers" who want to convert them to an alternative lifestyle commitment. There are also real dangers of sexually transmitted disease. One reason why very young girls are involved in prostitution in this country (and even more so in Asia) is that people look for younger and younger prostitutes who they hope will not have been exposed to dreaded diseases like AIDS.

Drugs are rampant in society. Police report drug involvement in many accidents, deaths, and suicides. A tormented young schizophrenic man in his mid-20s, who I once treated at a low cost psychoanalytic clinic, went "over the edge" as a result of illegal drugs which his fraternity brothers had

been able to tolerate without serious problems. A young friend tells me that "new drugs," such as "Ecstasy," "GHB," and "Special K," and even regular pharmaceuticals, are flooding the streets, concerts, and even schools. She reports that these drugs, under the street names "Rollers," "Molly," "GHB," and "Poppers," are specifically designed to attract the younger crowd.

Security is one of the most basic needs of childhood and the sense of security in our society was not that good even before the September 11 attacks. A student reports that there are now 25 security guards working in the suburban high school of about 1000 students she graduated from a few years ago. The guards are trying to enforce a moderate level of safety and maintain some level of tranquility within this multiracial school not far from New York City.

Childhood is such a confused time for many people that they are reluctant to bring others into the world. Unprecedented numbers of the middle class are no longer even having children, while those who do are much less inclined to bother getting married. Most population growth in the U.S. actually comes from the larger families of immigrants who are more optimistic about bringing new life into the world as they enter a society with a higher standard of living than the one from which they came.

In setting up a dichotomy between optimists and pessimists on the condition of children in our society, I am really articulating contradictory thoughts and feelings I have heard from others on the subject. Some of these I share. Something I am not ambivalent about is the value of having children for both individuals and society. I commonly say that the most fulfilling thing we as human beings do is to have children. The next thing I then say is that the most difficult and challenging experience of life is parenting. Parents tend to respond with a comment or look of agreement while those who have never had children incline to give me a thoughtful, uncertain, almost worried look.

We urge our daughters to get a good education, often to the level of doctoral degrees, and then to become established in their professions. While this is happening, their biological time clocks are running but often their boyfriends are even more shy about going to the altar to marry than many of them are. There are certainly a lot of women who worry about missing out on the joys and worries of parenting and doing for the next generation what was done for them, however imperfectly. If they

are fortunate enough to have children, they face the unique opportunities and difficulties of parenting in our society.

Raising children is a challenge for all parents including a full time mother and homemaker with the support of a loving husband with a good income. Fewer and fewer mothers I know have this support system and that of parents and siblings who are there to lend a helping hand in emergencies. Modern professional women in our society struggle with these issues as never before. (Sylvia Ann Hewlett, *Creating a Life: Professional Women and the Quest for Children*, 2002)

In my circle of friends and associates, being a professional woman *and* a mother is the ideal. However, the cost of this ideal is enormous as women struggle to be career women, mothers, and wives. I find that many change their priorities along the way. For example, this semester an administrator at my college spoke to my senior seminar on leadership about her doctoral dissertation on the lives of African-American college presidents. She had chosen this doctoral subject because of her own career goal of becoming a college president. However, having married and given birth to two boys, she rather doubts that she is willing to make the sacrifices to become the chief executive officer of a college. This job would require that she be available 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 52 weeks a year. As a mother she already has a job that demanding, to say nothing about her 40-hours-a-week important administrative position at the college.

My friend is far from alone in making this decision. Quite often I hear of women who put aside their career for the sake of parenting. My sister-in-law took her law degree at night while holding an important job in an insurance company. She gave birth to two boys and, despite years of her former employers calling her to take full- or part-time employment with them, she stayed at home as a full-time mother and homemaker. With one son getting ready to go to college and the other in high school, she is finally preparing to go back to work -- as a school teacher. She is far from alone in this choice. Two years ago, the daughter of very close friends gave up her partnership in a law firm so that she could stay home full-time with her young twins. She is unlikely to wait nearly as long as did my sister-in-law to go back to work. Like my relative, the work she is planning is not as a well-paid attorney but as an elementary school teacher. In both these cases, women have decided

to devote themselves first and foremost to mothering and then to a second career educating the children of others.

A recent *New York Times* had a front-page picture of the tearful acting Governor of Massachusetts announcing that she would not be running for election in the light of a major movement to unseat her in the Republican primary. (March 20, 2002) Less than a year ago, 37-year-old Jane M. Swift had become the nation's youngest governor. She then went on to be the first to give birth while in office. Her struggles to care for her three daughters while meeting the needs of governorship would appear to have been the undoing of her 12-year-long political career. She was sharply criticized and paid a \$1250 fine for using staff to babysit at her home while Lieutenant Governor. Last Thanksgiving she was censured for having a state police helicopter fly her home to western Massachusetts to care for a sick child. Like so many other professional women, she has been pulled in opposing directions and held to a higher standard of parenting than are fathers.

Despite all of the difficulties they face, women are progressing in the business, political, and professional worlds. Organized sports is one of the preparations for these competitive endeavors. In reading about what stood in the way of women's advancement in the corporate world, I long ago learned that most young women did not have the training and experience stemming from sports as did their male competitors. Passed by Congress in 1972, *Title IX* states:

No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.

This simple law brought about a revolution in women's athletics as colleges and high schools were mandated to offer women and men equal athletic opportunities. The results have been transformational not simply in women's sports but in the competitive world of business. One of my students, who coaches women's basketball, is passionate as he describes the interplay of gender, cooperation, and competition in the body- and ego-bruising arena of basketball.

This article has been mostly about children in middle-class, suburban America. Of course, there are many other Americas. There are the kids

of the African-American ghettos that Kevin McCamant writes about below, the children of the urban immigrants, those of the small towns, and of the big cities where there is still public transportation. I think of how emotionally difficult life is for children whose parents immigrate to the U.S. while leaving the children behind in the care of grandmothers and other relatives. Other children come to mind, including my African-born honor student last semester who speaks four languages, is from a polygamous family, and had a personal crisis when, she reluctantly confided to me, her "aunt died because of a voodoo curse." I am reminded of my orthodox Jewish student who graduated college the month she turned 20 with high honors and awards, despite her parents' having been pressuring her to enter an arranged marriage for several years. She had exercised her right of refusal of the marriage arrangements to the point that she feared the negative reactions of her parents and community. In addition, she felt left out because her same-age girlfriends all had several babies and she was not even married. There are certainly many Americas not dealt with in this brief, impressionistic discussion.

The optimists and pessimists regarding the condition of children in modern America each make many worthwhile points. Children are both better and worse off in our society, depending upon which group of them we study and what aspects of their lives are examined. They also are different because they grew up under very dissimilar conditions than did their parents and ancestors.

Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, is Editor of this publication. He may be contacted at <pelovitz@aol.com>. □

Tomboy

Ulrike Brisson
Goethe Institute, Boston

Up ... Up. One more branch.
Look! I can do it too and peek at the sky.
Go get him. Punch him!
Show them, I'm no sissy. No time to cry.
Run! Go get the ball.
Yeah, I'm on the boy's team
Where courage rises tall.
Kisses, hugs? No way, I toughen myself
Declining gifts of affection.
Honor and pride gild the deeds.

Courage and denial is all that it takes.

Grown-up voices speak ringing with hope.
 Come on, go play with the girls! Play rope!
 They are boring.
 Play with your dolls, then.
 Dress, undress them. What's next?
 Help your mother doing the dishes.
 It's not my turn, challenging parental
 wishes.
 Your brothers refuse. Someone has to do
 it ...

Ulrike Brisson, PhD, is Instructor for German Language and Literature at the Goethe Institute in Boston. Her research focuses on 19th-century European women's travel writings. The author reports that the "photo depicts me at the height of my tomboy phase. The poem gives expression to how my free spirit eventually became confined by feminine socialization." Dr. Brisson may be contacted at <brisson@reisefrau.com>. □

Childhood in Ancient Mesopotamia

Mary Coleman
 Psychohistory Forum Research Associate

Throughout recorded history, societies have had very different concepts of how children should be raised. They have had greatly varying

practices of when a child should give up playing and learning in order to perform adult-style work. As can be seen by children's small hands used to weave oriental rugs in some parts of India today, the timing of the end of childhood tells us a great deal about a society. It has been argued that, even in the West, the intellectual appreciation of childhood as a special condition did not really emerge until the 18th century C.E. (Phillip Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, 1962)

Our first written information on the subject of children comes from the ancient Mesopotamian culture in the Middle East that invented writing. In that body of work, there are many medical cuneiform tablets that refer to newborns and infants but very little indeed on later childhood.

That this ancient Mesopotamian society was concerned about young children's health is not in doubt. Some of these ancient tablets for use by physicians were detailed obstetrical and pediatric medical texts concerning birth, the physical appearance of newborns, and diseases of young infants. Also, terracotta amulets used by sorcerers for the magical protection of young children have been found in three sizes. These miniature cylinders of clay were hung around a child's neck. The amulets contain the words of a spell invoking the god Ninurta as a vanquisher of demons. The smallest one is clearly for the neck of a baby and the two other larger sizes suggest older infants and young children.

Ancient Mesopotamian cuneiform tablets were usually written in a mixture of two languages -- the Sumerian language of the city-states that introduced writing and the Akkadian language of outside tribes who were among those who later conquered the Sumerians. The Sumerian language is not known to be related to any other language and its speakers disappeared from history around 2000 B.C.E. But the Sumerian language and its writing system lived on as Akkadian scholars continued to copy Sumerian texts as well to adapt this method of writing to their own Semitic tongue. The texts suggest that the Akkadian scribes began inserting Akkadian words into previously existing Sumerian texts. In the medical texts, either the Sumerian word LU2.TUR [literally "small man"] or the Akkadian words *šerru* or *šarru* could be used interchangeably when referring to babies and young infants.

There is some indication that these terms applied to children beyond early infancy. In a medical text describing a case of cerebral palsy, the

child is noted not to be able to stand up in his first, second, third, and fourth years, indicating that the terms extend at least to the age of four years.

One piece of evidence that the words for childhood may have been extended to an even later age group comes from the original version of the flood story that we know from the Bible. The ancient tale of the wanderings of Gilgamesh, probably a Sumerian king of the city-state of Uruk about 3000 B.C.E., contains a description of a flood with uncanny similarity to Noah's flood. As found on intact cuneiform tablets, Uta-napishti -- the Sumerian "Noah" -- tells Gilgamesh the story of what happened during the flood. One sentence that Uta-napishti uses to describe the work of the building of the ark is "the child [*šerru*] carried the pitch." (Andrew George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, 1999) Although the story is a mythical one, it might have had elements of contemporary reality regarding boat-building in that ancient world.

Now for a child to carry a bucket of hot tar to help build an ark, it is not unreasonable to assume that such a child was older than four years of age. So this sentence might be considered suggestive of two tentative pieces of information about childhood in ancient Mesopotamia: 1) that the words for "baby" were used by scribes to refer to later childhood years and 2) that children might have participated in heavy and dangerous work -- carrying a hot bucket of tar -- possibly as soon as they were able to manage it.

With such limited material, it is difficult to draw conclusions about childhood in ancient Mesopotamia. However, I think we can say without a doubt that they clearly did not have protective child labor laws!

Mary Coleman is a neurologist who has learned to read the ancient languages of Sumerian and Akkadian. She is currently preparing a book, Lost Medicine: Modern Medical Concepts in Ancient Mesopotamia. □

Culture and Corporal Punishment

Herbert Barry III
University of Pittsburgh

Corporal punishment of young children is becoming progressively less acceptable in the modern world. It is increasingly seen as both inhumane and an important source of the repetition of

future family violence as the abused children become parents. An important step in further breaking this cycle of violence is to determine the effects of a high frequency of physical punishment on children. This determination requires a comparison between two social environments: one where corporal punishment is customarily frequent, the other where corporal punishment occurs rarely. From relatively observable and objective information in ethnographic descriptions of a world sample of diverse societies, 16 societies in which corporal punishment of young children occurred rarely were compared with 21 societies in which corporal punishment was very frequent.

Proximity of the father to his young children is rare or infrequent in most of the societies with very frequent corporal punishment. The father's closeness is frequent in the majority of societies with rare occurrence of corporal punishment. Corporal punishment may actually be minimized by nearness of both parents to the children. Perhaps presence of the father decreases misbehavior by the children or inhibits punitiveness by the mother. (In our society, many mothers assign severe punishment to the father.)

Absence of the father is attributable to the customs of some societies with very frequent corporal punishment. The father may have multiple wives who live in separate dwellings. The mother may be visited by her husband seldom or never while she has a young child. Husbands may sleep in a men's house rather than in the same dwelling as their wives and children. Fathers may pay more attention to their patrilineal or matrilineal relatives than to their children. Most societies with rare corporal punishment have monogamous marriage and bilateral descent, which emphasize the nuclear family rather than kinships with one side of the extended family.

While corporal punishment in most societies is applied equally rarely or equally frequently to young children of both sexes, more severe control over females is associated with very frequent corporal punishment. Sexual intercourse by unmarried girls is prohibited in most societies with very frequent corporal punishment but acceptable in most societies with rare corporal punishment. Four Moslem societies studied had very frequent corporal punishment.

In societies with very frequent corporal punishment of young children, assault and homicide by adults in the community occur more frequently and there is a prevalent belief in the "evil

eye" -- that malevolent individuals exercise destructive magical power against crops, livestock, or people. Detrimental behaviors and beliefs, therefore, are associated with very frequent corporal punishment.

Additional findings do not support frequent claims that parents are predominantly punitive in large nations and indulgent in small, independent tribes. They also do not support a claim by Lloyd deMause that infanticide and other types of child abuse are more frequent in small, independent tribes.

Overall, the findings indicate hope for the continued reduction of corporal punishment in contemporary society. Fathers are more involved with their young children, women and girls enjoy more freedom, and rates of violent crimes are declining, and magical beliefs are weakening. These recent changes may be causes, and also consequences, of less frequent corporal punishment of young children.

Herbert Barry III, PhD, is Professor Emeritus at the University of Pittsburgh and a Psychohistory Forum Research Associate. A Clio's Psyche Featured Scholar interview with this Harvard- and Yale-educated psychologist was published in September 2000, Vol. 7 No. 2, pp. 49-53, 76-81. Professor Barry may be reached at <barryh@pitt.edu>. □

Learning from Playing with Children in Psychotherapy

Robert Quackenbush
Author, Artist, and Psychoanalyst
In Private Practice, New York City

When searching for the dynamics of a case involving a child, I have found that the exploration should include the family constellation and the role of parents. Early on I try to make the parents part of the treatment -- the parents as also the patient. Parents may feel guilty that they have to bring their children to treatment. I have learned to work towards relieving the parents' feelings of guilt through acceptance by listening. I tell them my time with the child is brief compared to the 24 hours they are with their children. This reduces the parents' feelings that they are inferior. After all, if a parent produces a child with several or many problems, it can be humiliating. Also, parents don't always know what the reason is for collateral ses-

sions to discuss their child with me, so I coach the parents to talk in the sessions by saying things like, "How do you think the treatment is going?" Parents are encouraged to express their thoughts and feelings because an objective question has been raised away from the sensitive subject of their child. This way they are less defensive about feeling they might be criticized for something that they did or did not do for their child.

I have often found that parents who are unsure of their parenting skills tend to be harshly critical of themselves and their children. For example, a child of such parents may create a drawing and be very pleased with it and show it to the parent, only to have the parent find something wrong with it. Such parents are not aware how destructive this can be. They often make such critical remarks in front of the analyst, which reveals this unconscious message to the analyst: "You see, I am the boss; you know nothing."

Even when not meeting such parents, what they are like often comes through in the child's sessions. The child may become bossy and critical of the analyst through play. What comes across is, "I am showing you what my mother/father is like." For example, I recently went to the waiting room to take seven-year-old "Russell" to my office for his session. Russell was with his mother. He was excited to see me and started to tell me some of the things he wanted to do in his session. His mother said to him in a stern manner, "Save it until you get to the room." In my office, Russell promptly set up two chairs, one in front of the other, which he said was a "car." He put himself in the "driver's seat" and ordered me to sit in the chair behind it, which was the "backseat" of his car. Then he pretended that he was driving in traffic. At one point he jumped from his play car and went to yell at an imaginary driver in another car. "Why don't you watch where you are going!" he said with the same angry look on his face and voice inflection that his mother had displayed moments before.

Often children come into treatment frightened. They do not know what to expect and they fear the consequences. I was aware of this when meeting with "Patsy," age five. Her mother, who was recently divorced, brought her to treatment because Patsy was afraid to go to school. She had dropped out of preschool and refused to go back -- she only wanted to stay home with her mother. She would sleep only in her mother's bed and seldom let her mother out of her sight. My job over the summer was to help Patsy get back into school

in the fall. Patsy told me in her sessions that she did not want to go to school because it was "boring" and that she would sit watching the school clock until her mother returned to take her home. Later I learned the truth about her fear about going to school. She thought she would be required to know more than she knew: how to do math, how to read, and how to speak a foreign language, and that she would be punished at school for not knowing these things.

Soon after her treatment began, Patsy wanted me to play games with her that involved school situations. The games were her idea; she was in charge and I was to follow her directions. She arranged chair cushions on the floor and said that we were going riding on a big yellow school bus. I was to be a "pupil" and she was to be the driver of the school bus. The driver carefully drove her pupil to the imaginary school. Then Patsy set up a classroom with the cushions and became the teacher. All summer long, Patsy played teacher to my being pupil. I became aware that she was expressing her fears about school in play. She babbled words that had no meaning and gave me made-up words that I couldn't spell. Taking my cue that this was a fear Patsy was attempting to work through, I encouraged her to talk about these fears. Still playing the pupil, I began with a question:

"What should I do when the teacher says words I don't understand?"

"Ask her what the words mean," Patsy advised.

"And what if she asked me to do something I can't do?"

"Ask her how to do it," answered Patsy, matter-of-factly. "That's all. Just ask."

A week before school started, Patsy talked freely about everything that worried her about going to school, such as wondering what the teacher would be like and if the other children would like her. "I'll just have to wait and see," she said at last. With that, she said that she was now ready to go back to school. She enjoyed the first day and looked forward to going every day after that.

As Freud discovered, helping children to master their fears through play begins with a game of peek-a-boo, at age one, when the child playfully works through the fear of a vanishing mother, father, or other significant caretaker. Soon afterwards, children discover toys with the same enthusiasm that the Forty-Niners discovered gold in California but they need role models for play.

Mothers generally have more tolerance for helping with this and can give their children longer play periods. Some parents need help playing with their children. One father reported to me how he sat awkwardly on the floor of his 18-month-old son's room, with the two of them surrounded by toys, and wondered where to begin. His son looked at him firmly and said, "Play!" The father said that he had expected the boy to play and that he would observe. "Play!" his son repeated. Then the father realized that his son was demanding to be shown how to play with the toys he was collecting.

Suddenly, the father reached for an assortment of blocks and started to build a house. His son watched intently. Then the father placed some toy figures inside the house. He had the figures play different roles as he mimicked the voices of the characters. His son picked up another of the figures and walked it into the house to join the others. The father and son played together for the first time with a family of figures. A daily play hour continued. The father and son played out many exciting stories with their family of toy figures -- everything from Western shoot-'em-ups to space adventures. The toys were given names and each had an individual personality. Father and son bonded through play.

Often I have children write or draw about their fears and conflicts, which serves as another form of play. The writings and drawings help children to release symbolically through their creations the things that trouble them. A six-year-old girl was helped in this way to verbalize her angry feelings about her mother and father's getting a divorce. She had frequent tantrums at home and school, and broke things. I knew that she liked cats and I invited her to write and illustrate a book about a playful cat that did silly things. She called her book *The Mad Cat Who Was Very Bad*. We talked about her book as follows:

"Why is the cat 'mad' and 'very bad'?" I asked.

"Because she smashes things and knocks things over and breaks them," she answered.

"I spilled a jar of paint on the floor this afternoon," I responded. "Does that make me bad?"

"That was an accident," she answered.

"But what if it wasn't an accident?" I persisted. "Suppose I did it on purpose?"

"Then you would be bad. Cats get away with things, don't you know?"

The symbolism of her communication revealed to me that she was playing the role of a cat and that she discovered writing and drawing pictures about it was a safe way to smash and break things. I encouraged her to write other stories about her "mad cat." For several weeks her "mad cat" became the theme of drawings, clay figures, and paintings. Then she went on to other characters including a loveable group of monsters. As she worked, she talked about the things that were worrying her about her parents' getting a divorce. Through her writing and drawing she was able to talk about her angry feelings. Her tantrums and need to break things stopped. She came to understand that there was nothing she could do to keep her parents together and it was not her fault that they were breaking up. She accepted seeing them separately.

I have learned that parents (and teachers) have an important role in helping children to express and overcome their fears through play, art, dancing, and performing. Playacting is especially beneficial as it gives children the opportunity of being someone else and thus protects their fragile egos while they learn to adjust to life around them and resolve their emotional conflicts.

Robert Quackenbush, PhD, has specialized in working with children for many years in the capacity of art therapist, psychoanalyst, teacher, artist, and writer. He is the author and illustrator of over 170 books for young readers, including the popular Miss Mallard Mysteries, which focus on humorous mysteries and biographies. This article is condensed from a section of his PhD thesis (unpublished) entitled "Understanding Children Through Their Symbolic Communications." He may be contacted at <Rqstudios@aol.com>, or visit his Web site at <www.rquackenbush.com>. □

Children of Immigrants Carrying the Sadness of Their Parents

**Felicia Heidenreich
Université Paris XIII**

In my psychological practice in a Paris suburban hospital, I encounter patients from all over the world. Some of these immigrants have been in France for over 20 years while others have just arrived. One thing they have in common is the

memory of their native country: a place called "home," a place they will return to eventually -- "someday." Many of these patients have children born in France and educated in French schools. The children have French friends, wear French style, and talk French slang. I wonder how these children live with the mysterious "home" of their parents, the far away locus of family nostalgia? What are their roles in their parents' story of migration?

I meet a large number of families who come for psychological advice related to separation anxiety, as well as to developmental and language retardation, behavioral difficulties, and other problems of their children. Usually, I quickly become aware of the parents' sadness, their enormous feelings of despair and loneliness -- oftentimes so difficult to express -- in raising their children far away from their "home" and traditional support systems. In their home countries, child rearing is almost never the task of the nuclear family. A mother is comforted by all other "co-mothers," those who are "mother" with her -- her own mother, grandmother, aunt, cousin -- and who help her nurture, socialize, and "identify" (discover the nature/origin, or ancestor/spirit of) her child. Similarly, the father can rely on the authority and experience of his "co-fathers."

By contrast, in European hospitals each immigrant parent stands alone in giving birth in the sterile environment of the birth ward, where they do not understand what they are told about their child or even some things that are done to it. They have trouble speaking of strange experiences occurring amidst the wonder and fears of birth. Even with older children, medical measures appearing totally normal to Westerners are potentially traumatizing to people from different cultures. Whatever the children are in the hospital for, in the end, the parents are left alone with their children who have been subjected to puzzling and even unspeakable procedures. The children become witnesses to their parents' despair at an age where they feel, but do not understand, what is going on.

A father once told me, "I left my country out of an emptiness. I thought I would be able to fill this need in France. It was my children who came to fill it, but they don't understand.... I had hoped they would be able to help me around with what they would learn at school." These children are confronted with the feelings of uncertainty, helplessness, and sadness of their parents, as well as with the high expectations linked to parental

migration. They are to fulfill the dreams of these parents who left their "home" in search of something new and promising. Yet their parents' life stories often include heavy emotional baggage brought from their homeland. Thus the children are nourished, nurtured, and encumbered from both the present and the far away past. Some of these children are potentially more vulnerable to conflicting identities than are others. Role reversal, or "parentification," is a dynamic by which children play a parental role toward their own parents, even as toddlers at tender ages, comforting them where they are in great need of comfort themselves. Given these numerous confusions between the worlds of immigrant parents and their children, it is often quite difficult for these children to find the safe psychic framework they need to grow within. Many of these parents, immobilized by their own sadness, are incapable of protecting their children, of creating a "good enough" holding environment for the nurturance of a new generation.

Nevertheless, role reversals and vulnerabilities do not necessarily mean psychopathology. Some of these children have an incredible resilience. For them, the challenging situation at home becomes a preparation for the hardships of adult life. They are able to draw upon elements of both their family's culture of origin and French culture to enter into a creative process of finding solutions in most inventive ways.

We know that for immigrants certain periods of life are especially difficult. These are accompanied by a type of "psychic transparency," moments when unconscious conflicts are more prone to re-appear. In our transcultural therapeutic approach, we work on representations of pregnancy, childbirth, and child rearing in the culture of origin and in France. We search for conscious and unconscious identifications. "Who is this child/person?" asks the question of the place of the sick person in the transgenerational context and in the continuity of the natural and supernatural world. We try to answer, "What is the reason for the suffering?" on the basis of an anthropological knowledge on the causality. We also encourage these families to follow the logic of traditional therapeutics as well as the prescriptions of biomedicine.

It is important to establish the life story of the whole family in order to make sense of what is going on. In the following short case description, the family history comes alive when we talk about the choice of the child's name and the mother's sad-

ness finds an acceptable expression.

Little "Moussa" is two-and-a-half-years old. He screams in a way his mother is completely incapable of interpreting and enduring. Moussa carries the name of his maternal grandfather who died just before his mother left her native Mali to come to France. His mother starts talking about her own childhood: her mother died early and her father sent her to live with her aunt who treated her badly. She was in the difficult situation of admiring her father for his qualities and of hating him for what he had allowed to happen to her. Honoring him in giving his name to her son was not easy. We come to understand why this child is so special to her and at the same time so impossible to live with. Talking about these causal links helps this mother to do the grief work for her two parents and to allow for a gradual separation from little Moussa.

Transmission from parents to their children includes knowledge, traditions, emotions, and the personal stories of the parents. The following case illustrates this in a most impressive manner.

"Mr. Kedouche" is a 50-year-old Algerian who has lived in France for over 25 years. He is very well adapted and an activist in different associations. He comes to see us because two of his sons, ages 15 and 13, cause a lot of trouble and refuse to go to school. They won't listen to his orders, come home whenever they want, and steal and get caught by the police. Their father is in great despair. He does not know what to do and his wife thinks it would have been better not to have children at all. When he tells us his life story and the difficulties he went through, we are struck by the lack of emotion he expresses verbally and the sadness we perceive around him. We can understand the feelings his children might go through in being confronted with this father. Unconsciously, their behaviors seem to aim at provoking emotions in their father that accompany the values and knowledge he tries to teach them.

These two examples from our work show the uniqueness of every family's story and the emergence of understanding through transcultural psychotherapy. They reveal the necessity of taking time to identify the family psychodynamics and note the emotions in the complaints and stories of our patients. We try to adopt the right therapeutic position in listening to the stories behind their children's suffering. Finally, we provide an interpretation constructed with our patients.

Felicia Heidenreich, MD, studied medicine, anthropology, and philosophy in Vienna and Paris, and did research in medical anthropology in Senegal. She works in a Paris suburban hospital in a psychiatric outpatient clinic with immigrant patients and their children, using a transcultural approach. Dr. Heidenreich teaches at the Université Paris XIII and may be contacted at <Felicia@mageos.com>. □

From Swan to Ugly Duckling

Sergio Medeiros
Private Practice and
Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

A 20-year-old woman, whom I will call "Maria," spent two years under my psychoanalytic care, seeking to better adapt to the demands of the professional and adult life she was entering. She also sought a less anguished approach to dealing with love issues. Maria felt particularly insecure in her emotional life, suspecting that there was something inadequate or flawed in her personality. Consequently, she feared that it was "inevitable that sooner or later" her new boyfriend would end the relationship. The reason for this insecurity came to the fore in the first few months of her analysis, and it was related to her childhood in another country.

Maria's parents suffered political persecution during the Brazilian military dictatorship of 1964 to 1985. Her father was a journalist who had published denunciations of Brazil's human right violations in European newspapers. Maria's mother was two months pregnant with Maria when the couple, fearing for their lives, fled the country. After a brief sojourn in France, they were granted political asylum in Sweden. The family was well received by the Swedish authorities, who provided housing and employment.

Maria was born into this new harmonious and secure environment, and there her socialization started. She went to the neighborhood day nursery, then to preschool, and at six-and-a-half-years-old she entered first grade, learning to read and write in Swedish.

When Maria was just over eight years old, her father died. He had not adapted to life away from Brazil and had decided to risk return to his home country. Tragically, in the face of pressure of impending imprisonment and torture, he committed suicide. Understandably, Maria grew up with

the idea that the country of her parents, grandparents, and uncles, was an evil and hostile place, which had robbed her of her father. With his demise, Maria's contact with the Portuguese language of Brazil was restricted to her mother's tender and loving words.

Life in the Swedish town of Gothenburg was happy in many ways, including one that was very special. Maria has the physical appearance characteristic of the majority ethnicity in Brazil: brown skin and black hair and eyes. Maria reported, however, that she was not regarded by her friends as less Swedish; at school and in the neighborhood she felt accepted as a little brown-skinned Swede. Her differences became positive assets -- Maria became very visible, the object of her girlfriends' admiration and of boys' interest. Puberty had scarcely begun when Maria was the most sought after: boys vied for the privilege of escorting her home from school.

When Maria was 14, her mother decided to return to Brazil. The military regime had ended, the country was democratic again, and Maria's mother wanted to rejoin her family and her Brazilian motherland. Back in Rio de Janeiro, Maria was a Brazilian citizen unable to speak the national language except for a few tender and childish expressions. She felt like a Swedish girl but without any Nordic features. Maria was a teenager, on the surface just like all the other Brazilian girls in her new school but without any positive traits that would make her stand out. What did make her different in her classmates' view was her "strange" manner of speaking Portuguese. But her common physical features and the absence of a foreign accent did not even allow her classification as a foreigner. Soon, Maria felt stigmatized as deficient. In reverse of the children's story, Maria went from swan in Gothenburg to ugly duckling in Rio.

The English psychoanalyst Donald Winnicott wrote about the "facilitating environment," an external world that is welcoming enough so that the child develops their affection potential. Maria's teen years were marked by a regression to the most primitive stages of psychic development in which anxiety and helplessness are the dominating emotions. In her psyche, Brazil was the place of losses: The loss of her father, the loss of her unique appearance, and the loss of fluency in language.

The pain from the loss of such a close person as the father is obvious. No one can replace the dead father. However, in Maria's "inner world," there remained the image of a strong and coura-

geous man, who would provide the psychic support she needed. Consequently, Maria was always trying to fill the space left empty by the death of her father. It is perhaps no accident at the level of her unconscious, that she sought me out as her psychoanalyst because I am a man of her father's age with the same name.

The other two losses ("the loss of her unique appearance, and the loss of fluency in language") meant for Maria a further cruel unmaking of her facilitating environment. In *Inhibition, Symptom and Anxiety* (1926), Freud proposes that anxiety results from a feeling of a loss of love. If we interpret this as the case in Maria's personal crisis, as a loss of a sense of being considered special by the people around her, this is what happened to her when the external environment stopped signaling its approval.

It does not appear appropriate for me to conclude that Maria's adolescent difficulties are only related to the problems she went through in Brazil. After all, her school environment in Rio de Janeiro was not especially adverse. The radical and negative change of her position in the group -- standing out positively in Sweden and feeling invisible in Brazil -- was what caused her conflicts in her self-perception and her feelings about how others, even her boyfriend, had perceived her. After a stormy engagement from ages sixteen to eighteen years, during which Maria went through an unending crisis of jealousy, her boyfriend had left her because he could no longer stand her controlling, jealous attitude.

In psychoanalysis Maria developed a new interpretation of her life and a positive self-image. She realized that she had an interesting personal history -- that her life in the two countries once again made her different in a positive way. Maria again encouraged young men to seek her out as someone unique and interesting. She once more became a swan, less from her physical features and more for her attitude of facing and overcoming adversity. Today Maria has a new boyfriend, a professor of contemporary history, as well as a host of admirers in the Beaux Arts School she attends. Now it is the young professor who occasionally has fits of jealousy.

Sergio Medeiros is a psychoanalyst in

private practice and a PhD candidate in clinical psychology at Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro. He may be reached at <sa.medeiros@ig.com.br>. □

Genocidal Childhood in the Ghetto?

Kevin J. McCamant
Patuxent Institution, Maryland

Young black men in the inner-city ghettos of America are being murdered, incarcerated, and executed at an alarming rate. These current inner-city conditions are the result of toxic developmental processes derived from the larger historical and social context. Below, I summarize both the social conditions and the developmental processes, and propose that they approximate a covert form of genocide.

Although African-Americans make up only 12 percent of the national population, they constitute 40 percent of the inmates in the Federal Prison system and 40 percent of those executed since capital punishment resumed in the early 1980s. Furthermore, on any given day, approximately 13 percent of all African-American men between the ages of 20 and 34 are incarcerated. As well, approximately 41 percent of homicides annually are of African-Americans. In fact, between 1978 and 1988, homicide perpetrated by African-American youths was the leading cause of death for African-American youth. The most likely victim was a black, unemployed, male 16-19 years of age, from a family with less than a \$3000 annual income. Currently, firearms homicide at the hands of other African-American males is the second leading cause of death for African-American males 17 years of age and younger. (American Civil Liberties Union, 1996; Justice Department Statistics, 2001; National Crime Survey Report, 1983; FBI Crime Statistics, 1985; Violence Policy Center Statistics, 2002)

When incarceration, execution, and homicide affect the lives of so many young black men, malignant psychosocial conditions and processes are at work. I have come to believe that they are being subjected to a type of covert genocide, and I believe that its vehicle is psychodynamic in nature, involving their unconscious identification with society's devaluation of them, which they then act out self-destructively.

November 8, 2002, Psychohistory Forum
Meeting on "Violence and War"

The psychodynamic development of self-destructive young black men, however, cannot be abstracted from its social and cultural milieu. The cultural conditions that promote ghetto violence include conflicts around ethnic pluralism; splits between social subgroups that facilitate devaluation and scapegoating, leading to prejudice, discrimination and poverty; deficits in social institutions including family structure; and hyper-masculine conceptions of maleness. The socialization processes that encourage such violence include: coercion in families; harsh treatment of children (e.g., physical punishment, lack of nurturance, neglect, and rejection); lack of structure and guidance, self-socialization; and observation of bloodshed. Significantly, many of these conditions and processes are similar to those that characterize societies in which overt genocide has occurred. (Ervin Staub, "Cultural-Societal Roots of Violence: The Examples of Genocidal Violence and Contemporary Youth Violence in the United States," *American Psychologist*, Vol. 51 No. 2, pp. 118-125)

As opposed to whites, the history of blacks in America is replete with these violence-promoting and genocidal conditions and processes. The importing of Africans to America as slaves, and their categorization as chattel property, created simultaneously a social split and a condition of devaluation that has promoted scapegoating in various forms over the years, subjecting African-Americans to prejudice and discrimination. Slavery, followed by Jim Crow, de jure segregation into the 1960s, and de facto discrimination extending to the present, have subjected African-Americans to poverty and political disenfranchisement. The resulting ghetto milieu has eroded family structure and effectiveness.

Gains have been made in Civil Rights legislation and legal remedies to discrimination but once devaluation becomes part of a culture, it is integrated into the culture's "deep (unconscious) structures" and there continues to exert a quiet but devastating effect. (Staub, "Cultural-Societal Roots," p. 120) In unconscious deep structure fashion, the racist legacy of slavery, Jim Crow, and segregation have continued systematically and disproportionately to subject African-Americans to the social conditions and processes that have polluted traditionally protective community institutions and the family.

In this way, violence promoted by these social conditions and socialization processes im-

pacts child rearing. Coping with violence as an aspect of daily life affects both the mother's capacity to care for her child and the child's capacity to respond, which form the attachment relationship that is the basis for all later relational experiences. What results are insecure or disorganized attachment patterns characterized by a combination of avoidance, resistance, apathy, apprehension, and aggression. (Joy Osofsky, "The Effects of Exposure to Violence on Young Children," *American Psychologist*, Vol. 50 No. 9, pp. 783-786)

Thus, this toxic social context forces mothers to become the vehicle for the material, emotional, and psychological deprivation of their children. Unable to comprehend the overwhelming external forces that come to bear on their mothers, ghetto children, especially sons, begin to question mother's worth in light of her inability to adequately provide. (Harrell B. Roberts, *The Inner World of the Black Juvenile Delinquent: Three Case Studies*, 1987) Additionally, they begin to feel worthless themselves as they unconsciously identify with mother's perceived inadequacy and consciously search for an explanation for why they are deprived.

Father-absence is another characteristic of many inner-city families that has particular implications for young boys. To develop a masculine identity, a boy must *dis*-identify with his mother and then re-identify with a male figure. In the absence of father, the inner-city boy usually gravitates toward older antisocial young men who embody a "hyper-masculinity," characterized by disregard for the law, defiance of authority, aggression, and sexual conquest. (Roberts, "The Inner World") While this provides the boy with a version of how to be a man, it leaves him without the capacity to be competent in a prosocial life.

Often, the absent father is also antisocially oriented and, without being physically present, is still a center of identification. To complicate matters, mothers often devalue such a father, telling the son not to be like him without providing a constructive alternative figure for identification. In these circumstances, the boy identifies with a figure that not only lacks the prosocial competencies but is also actively devalued by the other preeminent figure in his life.

Children experience themselves as inadequate when they feel devalued, and competence and efficacy are impaired. This can lead to feelings of pathological shame, which may, in turn, disrupt the development of empathy, guilt, and an overall

pro-social orientation. In this antisocial developmental process, the experience of inadequacy and incompetence gives rise to a negative personal identity suffused with a sense of badness, which is then reinforced as caretakers either betray him or otherwise convey to him that he is flawed and unwanted. As a defense the child then begins to practice deceit, both of other and of self. The child's unrelenting self-contempt, now unavailable to self-examination and conscious expression due to self-deception, is actively unburdened through insensitive or aggressive acts, which are then rationalized by reference to the child's own suffering. Progressively, the child consolidates the antisocial stance by repeatedly choosing and progressively rationalizing insensitive and aggressive behavior. Finally, the child reflexively uses rationalization rather than self-examination to understand self and relations with others, and when this rationalization is challenged, he is likely to act out destructively. (Carl Goldberg, *Speaking with the Devil*, 1996)

The core of this developmental process is the child's negative personal identity suffused with hurt and shame. In the case of young black men from the ghetto, this ostensibly derives from identification with inadequate caregivers. However, these caregivers are rendered inadequate, in large measure, by the toxic social milieu created by "deep structure" racism of our society. Thus, what the young men have actually identified with through their caregivers is the larger society's hatred of them. Suffused with incompetence and inadequacy, fueled by hopelessness and despair, they take to the street life where they kill each other or are incarcerated and sometimes executed at the hands of the criminal justice system. Death or incarceration then absents them from the lives of their sons, perpetuating this aspect of the toxic identification process.

An additional artifact of African-Americans' internalization of societal devaluation is found in the "campaign for respect," which may be the dynamic sine qua non of inner-city moral life. People in the inner city behave in certain ways and carry certain attitudes in order to garner the respect of others in their milieu. Disrespectful acts or attitudes directed toward them demand active rectification. Efforts in the service of upward mobility or escape from the inner-city tend to be viewed as disrespect directed toward the community as a whole. This view makes it a difficult struggle, particularly for children, as envious "street-oriented" peers engage in active efforts to

spoil their attempts to avoid the street life, or leave the ghetto. Often, these spoiling efforts involve intimidation, violence, and even death. (Elijah Anderson, *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City*, 1999)

I have proposed that the malignant social and psychological processes described above are deeply ingrained in our cultural unconscious, and are at work in the inner-city ghettos of America. Whether or not these processes are genocidal in the truest sense of the word, they are taking a gruesome toll on the African-American community and its future. Only by identifying and focusing attention on them can we move toward the greater awareness and affirmation that is necessary to promote the changes required to stem their violent consequences.

Kevin J. McCamant, PhD, is Chief of Psychology Services at Patuxent Institution, Maryland's psychotherapy-oriented maximum-security prison. He is also Director of the Special Offender's Clinic, a joint project of the University of Maryland Medical School Division of Psychiatry and the Division of Parole and Probation of the Maryland State Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services. (The author notes that the views expressed here are his own. They are not a reflection of those of the Maryland State Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services nor of the Division of Psychiatry of the University of Maryland Medical School.) Dr. McCamant wishes to thank Russell Hancock, a psychology intern at Patuxent Institution, for researching the statistics on African-American rates of homicide, execution, and incarceration. Dr. McCamant may be reached at <KMcCamant@dpscs.state.md.us>. □

Being a Child in a Brazilian Slum

**Junia de Vilhena and Maria Helena Zamora
Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil**

What does it mean to a child to be born and raised in a slum (*favela*) in Rio de Janeiro? How are these children regarded and how do they see themselves? Why do so many of them join the armed drug trafficking groups (*comandos*)? Police in Rio claim that 80 to 90 percent of the workforce of local drug traffickers is comprised of youth and children sometimes as young as seven years old, who are perhaps 5000 strong and almost exclu-

sively male. Drug dealers actively employ and recruit young men and boys from the local communities to act as messengers, lookouts, and gunmen. When drug trafficking is less active, they also resort to robbery and kidnapping.

Our research investigates the role of "territoriality" in the sociology and psychology of low-income slum youths, especially those working with the drug traffickers. People reflect upon life, work, social bonds, and identify with humanity within the context of space. As Winnicott stressed, an average expectable environment is necessary to promote a healthy development, reducing the likelihood of developing a false self or other grave psychic disturbances.

The *favela* is a group of informally planned, precarious homes and alleys built by squatters on the land of others. Some of the houses are made of cardboard and many do not have basic sanitation, water, or electricity. In addition to poverty, most of the children of the slums face ongoing violence at the hands of the police and armed drug trafficking groups. To survive in this violence, most residents obey what is known as the "law of silence," which means they communicate as little as possible with both the police and the *comandos*.

Slum children not uncommonly experience a sense of "disruption" as their sense of self is overwhelmed by an increasingly threatening onslaught of anxiety and terror. Frequently, such anxieties elude treatment in our clinic as they are transformed, in desperation, into a set of fearful fantasies that seek concrete expression to avoid the experience of anxiety. Thus, the fears are acted out rather than experienced. Such "acting out" may vary from overt anti-social behavior to total withdrawal from community life.

The expansion of *comandos* starting in the 1980s brought with it a rise in the levels of youth violence. Currently, Rio has one of the highest rates of youth homicide in the world. Recent statistics suggest that the probability of a 15-to-19-year-old being murdered in Rio de Janeiro is 10 times higher than a North American teen. (G. Barker, *Peace Boys in a War Zone: Identity and Coping among Adolescent Men in a Favela in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil*. Doctoral Dissertation, the Erikson Institute of Chicago, 2001)

Participating in a *comando* is largely a male phenomenon that generally implies projecting a version of masculinity characterized by the use of

armed violence to achieve one's goals, including a willingness to kill if necessary; callous attitudes toward women, including violence against women; and an exaggerated sense of male honor with a propensity to use violence in minor altercations and insults.

Why do some young men join the *comandos*? Faced with a shortage of stable and viable employment, drug trafficking has become a vocational alternative for many adolescent males as well as for children as young as seven years old who often face family and social pressure to drop out of school at an early age to work. However, research suggests that just as gang involvement in the U.S. cannot be adequately explained by unemployment and poverty alone, participation in *comandos* by young men is similarly complex. A major reason is the lack of a strong father figure in the slums. *Comandos* provide "social recognition" and "respect" in a community where parental figures are seen as devalued.

The *comandos* have a direct and an indirect impact on the daily lives of slum residents. *Comandos* control and dominate many aspects of the social life of the slums. Indeed, they are a threat to the well-being and survival of the neighborhood's children and youth. The mobility of children and youth in the community is restricted because, as one mother remarked, "The situation is not good for them to be running around outside." The children simply withdraw in fear. This constriction of social life, occasioned by confinement, frequently impairs the ability of a child to progress from a dependent to an autonomous stage of development. Such confinement denies creative play to children, weakens their emotional development, and lessens the growth of social skills. The very experience of childhood is lessened. Children brought to the University clinic for therapy frequently show learning disabilities, sleep disturbances, withdrawal and/or anti-social behavior.

As psychologists, we are concerned with the issue of the children's psychological internalization of society's view of them. In the Brazilian popular imagination, *favela* elicits the thought of deprivation, a place where there is no water, sewage, decent housing, or education. The slum territory is defined by what it lacks. In conservative social imagery and in the media, its inhabitants are described as poorly educated, lazy, alcoholic, and mostly dangerous. They are poor "because they do not put in enough effort to find jobs" and their children die because they choose "the easy way out" of

a career in crime. To us, this seems very much like blaming the victims for their suffering. As one boy said to us, "No matter what ... we are guilty." In the words of a famous rap singer, "We don't make no difference ... one nigger more, one nigger less, we are only statistics."

The identification of criminality with poverty is longstanding in Brazil. It is not uncommon to see projects to improve life in the slums only as token efforts to "rescue the children from their involvement with the drug traffic." The societal expectation is of failure. Low-income communities are viewed as places of risk and, furthermore, children and youth are seen as being *at-risk* rather than as *at-potential*. A deep sense of futility replaces creativity and life becomes meaningless. It is important to remember that every subject needs a "history" that goes beyond pure genetics -- a relational history that will inscribe him in a representational psychic field. It is precisely this historic anteriority that will enable the "infant" to become an individual, to think and to provide a meaningful sense to his life experiences, to achieve a true self.

We cannot ignore how poverty can shape one's sense of self when and if it is allowed to define one's identity. If it is true that the first sense of identity arises out of the encounter of mother and child, it is also true that such encounter is greatly influenced by the group one is raised within. A positive identity depends on the support one receives from the collective sense of identity characterizing the social groups significant to the individual: his class, his country, his culture. There should not be a large gap between the ego and its ideals.

In Brazil, social relations between different social segments are always mediated by fear and distrust. Low-income groups, blacks, and the socially excluded are almost always viewed as criminals and dangerous. Slums are normally viewed as the locus of danger, crimes, and drugs. That's why we stress the importance of territory in the construction of one's identity. When applying for a job, it is not rare to lie about your own address in order not be identified as someone who lives in a *favela*. As one young boy told me, "When they know you live in a *favela* you're dead -- no way they will give you a job! So, I just make up an address."

In conclusion, one of the most prominent aspects of Brazilian urbanization is ostracism of the urban poor, especially the children. The *favelas* and their inhabitants are not viewed as a part of the

city but rather like the barbarians of ancient Rome. Not surprisingly, the poor respond with feelings of low self-esteem, anger, and revolt. In a previous work, we postulated that in groups based on violence, the mechanisms of identification have three supporting matrices: the search for visibility and public endorsement, group cohesion, and, finally, a lack of symbolic and cultural referents which would provide them with a feeling of belonging. Those groups can be described geographically and psychologically as being at the outskirts of citizenship. Without this dimension of affiliation, it is very difficult to assert one's identity, and a destiny of suffering and madness awaits. In such situations we might think of violence as a mark left which allows the subject to emerge from a place not chosen by him, in search of affiliation and recognition -- a place in a *polis* that has rejected him. Of course those acts are doomed to fail, since the search in question is for a symbolic protest, rather than a step to a better life outside of the slums, which appears impossible to most youth.

Junia de Vilhena, PhD, is a psychoanalyst, a psychology professor at the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro and director of its psychology clinic. With M.H. Zamora, she developed a practice of clinical, social, and community psychology in some of Rio's favelas. Such work is now one of the academic requirements for their undergraduate students. Dr. Vilhena may be reached at <vilhenaj@iis.com.br>. Maria Helena Zamora, PhD, is a psychology professor at the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro and a specialist in community psychology, who may be reached at <Zamora@ajato.com.br>. □

The Myth of Altruism Revisited

Henry Lawton

International Psychohistorical Association

Twenty years ago I published "The Myth of Altruism" in the *Journal of Psychohistory*. The article was based upon my ten years of work in public agency child welfare and exploration of why it works the way it does. Almost 20 years have passed since the article appeared and 30 years since I became a child welfare worker. To the best of my knowledge, the article is still the only psychohistorical effort to understand the emotional motivations that attract people to this type of work. I spent seven years writing "The Myth of Altru-

ism," partially because I was paralyzed with periods of anxiety that my employers were going to find out what I was doing and "kill" my career for daring to shed light on the underlying agendas of a "system" that often has nothing to do with the welfare of children. It turned out that my fears were groundless. Today the agency goes on, perpetually seeming to change and reinvent itself, yet remaining unchanged. When I showed the article to people in the field, the usual response was "Well, you are really onto something" as they walked away. Over the years only some actually read it and fewer still engaged me in real discussion about my conclusions.

For those of you not familiar with the original article, let me briefly summarize my conclusions. Since its inception about 100 years ago, the avowed goal of my agency has always been the preservation and protection of family life. Yet most of the services we offer are various kinds of substitute care -- foster care, group homes, residential treatment -- in place of the family. I asked what the reasons are for this contradiction between ideal and reality. I came to the conclusion that my agency is a self-reinforcing system of social control primarily designed to gratify the neurotic needs of those who work in it to control and be controlled. Workers, especially those that stayed on in a system where there is enormous worker burnout, seemed to have generally been raised in families where emotional control in childhood was an important issue and used the agency to continue being controlled, while at the same time acting out a need to control our client population. Since many of the people the agency serves -- child abusers, juvenile delinquents, the emotionally disturbed, drug users - - can justifiably be said to need some amount of control, it is not so hard to stay with it. People whose emotions are different generally leave, which is one reason for a perennially high staff turnover rate which is currently over 30 percent a year.

The agency is a bureaucracy in the worst sense of the word. When a worker actually helps someone, it is generally in spite of the system rather than because of it. We routinely deal with extreme human problems and our work is never dull. Most of the people we seek to serve could be called hopeless or close to it. The agency offers no supervision to caseworkers in any proper sense of the word. We are often confronted with life or death questions that have no clear-cut answers. The emotional stress level in my work is generally

very high. I have long been proud that even in such an inhospitable setting, I still help troubled clients more than you might imagine, but every success is such a major struggle. Indeed, my work has much in common with the moral equivalent of war.

I have been on the frontlines of a war to help those with family problems for more than 30 years in a system where very few survive that long because of the impossible nature of the work. You might think that helping others, especially vulnerable, troubled children, is something that society would automatically want to do if for no other reason than because children are our future. If we deny them a chance, if we fail to treat them with humanity, surely they will some day remember. We should want to help our children when life becomes too much for them because of abuse, emotional problems, and failures of their family and/or society. Yet the belief we can rescue them is an illusion. At best we can try to help them better understand their troubled lives and negotiate their often-difficult paths with greater skill than they might otherwise be able to do. While it is harder with the delinquent than the abused child, we can work to help them realize that they may be more worthwhile than they might imagine -- that they do count for something good.

I use the analogy with war quite consciously because the effort to help is often quite a battle. It seems as if we are always fighting someone on the children's behalf. I have given most of my adult life to fighting the good fight and have not been emotionally broken. Sometimes I win; sometimes I lose; and most of the time it is somewhere in-between. Such a situation is unacceptable but to survive and not go crazy you have to accept it in all of its imperfection. Since I first wrote about the contradictions within the system, I have become better aware of the insanity of my work, yet I work with clients better than ever. After all, 30 years teaches you something!

A reader outside of such a system might justifiably ask, Since you know all this, why haven't you quit, especially when you help seemingly hopeless people at such a cost? It has taken me a long time to start thinking seriously about the cost. I have long known that I fit the pattern/preoccupation with control described above. I have devoted myself to living out my mother's unrealized dream of doing work of this sort.

In saying all this, I realize that I am perhaps being too personal for the pages of a

"scholarly" publication but we need to realize that psychohistory not only helps us understand the motives of other human beings on the individual and/or group level but ourselves as well. We cannot divorce ourselves from the psychohistorical work that we do. You would be mistaken to think that I am attempting to endorse the idea that our field is a type of therapy. At best it can help us to understand that cure is best sought with a good analyst. Scholarship helped me accept the need for analysis and with the help of analysis I will someday walk away from the insanity of my agency to do something else. I still try to understand the "why" of history; for me, that remains a basic need. "The Myth of Altruism" was my first major effort to do this but it will not be my last. It helped me realize that we can know that which appears incomprehensible better than we at first realize.

Henry Lawton, MA, MLS, is a child welfare worker with troubled teenagers who are at risk of out-of-home placement. For the last 25 years, he has been an independent scholar in the field of psychohistory. He is author of The Psychohistorian's Handbook (1988), still the only how-to text for the field, and is currently working on the life of Joseph Smith, Jr., founder of the Mormon Church. Lawton is Book Review Editor of the Journal of Psychohistory, President/Secretary of the International Psychohistorical Association, and Founder/Director of the Group for the Psychohistorical Study of Film, which has been active since 1989. He may be reached at <HWLIPA@aol.com>. □

An African Child's Servitude, Sufferings, and Success

**George Gonpu
Ramapo College**

Childhood abuse and deprivation, although tragic and traumatic, need not always lead to adult lives wasted by alcoholism, drug abuse, crime, and other antisocial behaviors. My own experience, although quite unusual for Liberians, demonstrates this fact. Ironically, the same setting in which I suffered my worst childhood deprivation and abuse also provided me with the opportunities out of which I have built my success and which are almost never available to children of my background in Liberia.

I was born at home on November 15, 1960, the first of my mother's five children, the last two

of which are my half-siblings by her second husband. My father, who took a second wife while married to my mother, was, by Liberian standards and customs, a working-class polygamist. He and my mother later divorced. In addition to the children he had with my mother, he had an older son out of wedlock and two daughters by his other wife.

After being founded by freed American slaves in 1821 and receiving its independence from the American Colonization Society in 1847, Liberia was ruled by a group emphasizing social hierarchy using tribal identity to classify people. Except when there has been military dictatorship or civil war, freed American slaves, their descendents, and other settlers have held the most significant leadership positions and allowed the other 16 tribes only subordinate status. My family is of the Daan tribe who are primarily farmers cultivating rice, cassava, coffee, cocoa, and various vegetables including tomatoes, okra, and potato leaves. As with all the other indigenous tribes, my people also held less prestigious positions such as soldiers, security guards, messengers, landscapers, and domestic servants.

One avenue of social advancement was for lower status families to give their children to families of higher status to facilitate their assimilation and acceptance into the ruling elite. In the hope of offering me a better life, when I was seven years old in 1968, my parents gave me for adoption to my former kindergarten teacher, Harriet Howe Parkinson (1910-1978), of Americo-Liberian/Grebo tribal descent. (One factor in their decision was their fear that, at home, my older half-brother, who was involved in theft and burglary, might influence me.) Yet, the dangers of this strategy for familial social advancement were real: many adopted children were used as house servants, denied access to basic education, and severely abused. My emotions at the time of my adoption are beyond my ability to recall. Trying to reconstruct them in transatlantic telephone conversations with my natural mother, I get the impression that I was looking forward to my "new home" but also somewhat fearful and nervous. I admired Mrs. Parkinson but she frightened me, too, because of her critical, watchful look and the scary, quarrelsome tone of her voice. Indeed, my existence after adoption changed dramatically.

My memories of home involve a relaxed, stress-free environment with plenty of playtime and delicious food. There was no such thing as

separate plates of food for each person; all of the boys ate from a big bowl with our father while the girls ate from another with my mother and my father's second wife. When my father was away from home at lunch or dinnertime, a separate portion of food would be kept for him. When he returned home, he would invite us children to eat it with him. I also remember having a brown, dancing windup toy my father had given me one Christmas.

When I moved to the Widow Parkinson's home, three of her four children were grown and living elsewhere. On average there were 16 children there, a few of whom were her grandchildren. Her family was exempted from chores and we adopted kids served them. Life was difficult and challenging far beyond my wildest expectations. My adoptive mother had only a meager income as a public school teacher, so she had to devise various means to sustain our household and educate us, mostly involving the labor of the adopted children who were treated like servants. The primary source of income I generated to turn over to the household, was by selling what in America would be called a type of homemade cupcake or muffin with coconut topping baked by Mom and four of the older girls in a kerosene oven. I was required to work long hours every weekday and on some weekends selling them. My arduous task was to walk around the town of Sanniquellie with a heavy (perhaps 20-pound) box of this food on my head and sell the cupcakes.

My typical day began at 5:30 in the morning. Following a half-hour Christian prayer service, I started my chores, which seemed endless. My share of household chores included making repeated trips to a well about half-a-mile from home to fill the household water drum. I used a small bucket tied to a long rope to draw up the water, which I carried home in a larger bucket on my head, finally pouring it into the drum in the kitchen. Throughout the day the water was used for drinking, cooking, bathing, and washing clothes. Next, I swept the front yard with a palmstraw broom, dumped the trash well behind the house, took a shower and got dressed.

Each day I left home by 8:00 a.m. with the box of the baked goods and immediately began selling, arriving early enough for most of my residential customers to buy my product for breakfast. Next, I took my goods to the commercial districts, then to the government offices, and finally to school campuses. People did not know my name;

they just called me "Breadboy." Selling continued until the box was empty or until it was time for me to get ready to attend my school where classes started at 1:00 p.m. and lasted until 5:30 five days a week. I sold the cupcakes on the way to and from school. In school, sales were halted only when a teacher was present in the classroom. Upon my return home, I turned over the proceeds and refilled my box. Sales resumed following dinner. In addition to selling cupcakes, I was also assigned with other adopted children to work in the field where we cleared bushes and planted and harvested crops. My workday seemed endless.

Hunger was the major problem for me in my new home. Despite the difficult work and the extra income it generated, I rarely had enough to eat. Food was scarce -- it was only a quarter of what it had been in my parents' home. When it was available and after the meals were prepared, Mom would painstakingly ration the food among each and every bowl and plate. We ate cassava, white rice, eddoes (a root food), plantain, corn bread, collard greens, garden eggs (a vegetable) other vegetables, fish, and rarely chicken or beef. Grapefruit, mangoes, and other fruits were available but eaten only with permission. We had only water to drink.

There was no easy way of obtaining additional food from others. As tempted as I might have been to eat some of the cupcakes I sold daily, I was too afraid because Mom Parkinson carefully accounted for them. I was chastised if I came up short of money or returned cupcakes. She would curse at me for a week, calling me "nasty thing" and "ugly." Or she would say I "acted stupid," lacked "self-pride," and was an "eye servant" (meaning unreliable and lacking in integrity). She sometimes delegated older boys to spank younger ones.

Not surprisingly, as a hungry child, I often ran the half-hour back to my birth parents' home to eat some of their food. Because my mother feared that I might not adjust to the more modern life in my new home, she moved for a while from Sanniquellie, a semi-rural village on the main highway and the county capital of about 2,500 people, to the village where she was raised as a child, which was about a three-hour drive. Her departure and lengthy stay there forced me to adjust to life at Mrs. Parkinson's and to find other alternatives for getting supplementary food. For example, some days I clandestinely washed dishes and carried water for several restaurants in exchange for leftover food. Such labor also helped me to make up occasional

shortfalls in cupcake money due to theft, non-payment, and customers who short-changed me.

My life consisted of extremely difficult work for a small child, verbal abuse, and the withholding of that which I craved most: food. Sometimes I suffered teasing from the older boys. Furthermore, in my new home there was virtually no playtime. Requests for playtime and participation in soccer matches had to be submitted several weeks in advance and were routinely denied if the appropriate procedure was violated. Mrs. Parkinson required that we speak to each other in English, rather than our tribal languages, which she could not understand.

The living conditions were Spartan. Our whitewashed five-room mud house had a zinc roof, cement floors, and detached kitchen and bathroom. There was electricity but no running water. Seven or eight boys slept in one room, each with his own blanket, while the girls slept together in another room. I had my own cup, plate, and clothes, including my school uniform. One of my younger brothers, now a carpenter in Monrovia (Liberia's capital city, named for U.S. President James Monroe), came to live with Mrs. Parkinson as well. When I was 12 or 13 years old, my foster mother gave me to a cousin of hers in Monrovia but because I was beaten and restricted from attending school, I returned to my adoptive home after about six months. Mrs. Parkinson might have called me names and humiliated me when I did something wrong but she had not usually hit me or kept me from school.

Despite the extreme hardships, the advantage of this home was the strong emphasis my adoptive mother put on the importance of education, honesty, and self-respect ("self-pride"). Accordingly, I was never absent from school and developed considerable confidence in my intellectual abilities -- I never felt inferior to anyone at school. I advanced through the educational system, won academic scholarships, and became a teaching assistant in economics at the University of Liberia. Subsequently, I came to the United States on scholarship to get a master's degree in economics at Northwestern University and then a doctoral degree in the same field from the University of Illinois.

Recently, I have learned that child adoption and child labor such as I experienced used to be commonplace in history. Children should not be subject to these things. Consequently, I regularly send money home to Liberia, not simply to my

birth mother but also to my younger siblings. One is now studying at Ramapo College. I also send money to two of Mrs. Parkinson's children. My foster mother died in 1978 when I was 17 but her legacy of education lives within me despite the hunger and many hardships I suffered living with her. She was very hardworking and confident, and never blamed anyone for her economic difficulties.

Let me reflect on some possible other motivating factors for my success. My father was a positive influence. He had a difficult life, particularly serving as a worker at the post office and as a messenger for the district commissioner's office, delivering writs of arrest in civil cases. How was he able to get people to obey the orders when he did not have any formal education? He was quite brave and had some special talents. I often saw him run after, catch, and kill many dangerous snakes in the forest. He also hunted and killed alligators. When he left government work and moved to the village he was always working as a farmer, then a diamond miner and an herbalist. I frequently saw him treating many people for eye diseases. He contributed money towards my education when I visited him and pressured him. However, he had reservations about my staying in school continuously. He suggested once that I should leave school for at least a year and work on his farm to earn money to save towards my education in the subsequent year. I disagreed with him on that.

I wouldn't say that my natural mother and I were very close but I always felt that I should try to make her proud and happy. After she returned from her home village, I would see her about three times a year when she brought food and money. I had wrongly thought that I was given up for adoption because my parents were too poor to care for me. My mother actually worked hard to make money available whenever I needed it for school even if most of the time she would borrow at high interest rates from her neighbors. This made me feel obligated to become successful so that I could compensate her. Before coming to graduate school in the U.S., I built a four-bedroom home for my mother in her village.

Other people besides Mom Parkinson, my father, and my mother also influenced me. My high school economics instructor was highly supportive. He was a strong advocate for the student government when I was student council president and had a serious conflict with the school administration whose principal had embezzled money that students collected for a yearbook project. The princi-

pal threatened to expel me and other student leaders for exposing his misdeeds. The case was eventually taken to the government of Liberia and I met with President William R. Tolbert (Liberia's president from 1971-1980). He ordered the principal dismissed and imprisoned. I modeled my student council election speeches on President Tolbert's. His policies of "total involvement for self-reliance" plus the time spent with him when we traveled to inspect development projects in Nimba County in 1980 also made a big impact on me. (Additional sources of influence were from Togbah-Nah Tipoteh, an economist, and Amos Sawyer, a political scientist. Both were professors at the University of Liberia and were strong advocates for social and economic justice.)

My school was considered the best public school in the county and one of the best public schools in Liberia. It attracted the best students from low-income families, had a policy of expelling low-performing students, and effectively used the policy to motivate students to devote themselves to academic excellence. Many of the instructors were highly dedicated and allowed more academic freedom than those at the private schools. Some of the best instructors at my school were American Peace Corp volunteers. They helped me to develop my critical thinking abilities and appreciation for other cultures. One of the best things that the school provided me was an opportunity to take a break from work to be in an environment where I could be treated with some respect.

My sense of moral responsibility is based upon the belief in doing unto others as I expect them to do unto me. I understand the pains of deprivation and abuse and feel that others should not have to repeat my experience. I was also raised in the Christian faith. I believed that one could not succeed without making sacrifices. The stories in the Bible about Jesus, Joseph, and Job also helped me. Mom Parkinson was once pastor of our church and tried to encourage me into the ministry. I sang in the choir, helped at Sunday School, and acted in plays in the church. All of this may have shaped my ethics.

The difficult and sometimes abusive experiences of my childhood inspired and motivated me to work tirelessly to achieve my full potential in life. I became quite disciplined and committed to any and all work required to achieve my goals. In addition, I became devoted to the goals of effective public policies to improve the life of the people.

George Gonpu, PhD, is Assistant Professor

of Economics and Management Statistics at Ramapo College of New Jersey. After receiving his doctoral degree in 1994 he worked at AT&T before coming to Ramapo. Professor Gonpu may be reached at <ggonpu@juno.com>. □

Growing Up in the High-Tech World

Elizabeth von Buchler

Recently, I was leaving the grocery store when I passed a young girl, about six years old, animatedly talking on a cell phone. This scene greatly disturbed me. I like to imagine children skipping along the sidewalks, mesmerized by the blooming flowers, not cell phones, oblivious to the world around them. The most bothersome sight, however, was that the six-year-old was not alone. She was walking with her mother, also on a cell phone.

I am not anti-technology. Nor am I anti-video, anti-computer, or against any type of progress in general. As a high school teacher, however, I am *for* education -- and human contact, patience, silence and solitude. Behaviors, attitudes, and what society deems acceptable have been dramatically affected by constantly changing technology and our reliance on it. For education and learning to be successful, we must acknowledge the role of technology and its impact on the lives of children and students.

While television has always been the recipient of some criticism, its present-day pervasiveness is inescapable. In many homes it has become a babysitter or background noise. However, television is not passive. A recent study by the Children's Hospital Medical Center of Cincinnati found 40 percent of two-year-olds watch at least three hours of television a day. While visiting a new mother's house, I was on the floor, trying to play with her 14-month-old daughter. Although the baby was surrounded by toys and books, the television continuously distracted her. Try as she might, she couldn't resist its powerful grasp. To be forced to compete for attention with a television is an impossible feat: the television will win.

Under particular circumstances, certain television programs can be something to think about, talk about, and learn from. Often, though, television is given precedence over everything else. A patient's mother criticized an occupational thera-

pist I know because she asked for the television to be turned off during therapy sessions. Is it any wonder that kids grow up distracted and unable to concentrate at school and at home? Attention spans drastically shrink when television and the Internet provide countless new options every second.

It is unfortunate when we willingly expose our children to innumerable hours of television, not only at home, but at school as well. Even our schools have given up the idea of quiet places. The school where I teach has a library entrance area equipped with a large screen television. The TV is always on, showing CNN Headline News or ESPN Sports Center. When did we decide that students couldn't be satisfied sitting and reading books, newspapers, and magazines? Silence, which used to be a rule in libraries, has been replaced by 24-hour news. As if lunch in the cafeteria wasn't rushed and chaotic enough already, my school recently added televisions -- not just one, but *five*. The school has acutely neglected its role of fostering conversation and people skills to its students. For those students who do want to talk at lunch, they must yell over the televisions.

Silence and solitude are endangered in today's world of instant communication. It is rare to have a house without the television on, movies playing, music blaring from speakers, telephones ringing, cell phones playing songs, fax machines chirping, and computers dingling. We can always be found, thanks to our countless cell phones, beepers, and Web cameras. It is not uncommon in high school and college classes for teachers to have to remind students to turn off cell phones.

The accessibility to technology is everywhere. Business cards are filled with multiple options for communication: work phone, home phone, cell phone, voicemail, business fax, home fax, work e-mail, and personal e-mail. Syllabi for courses are found on the Internet. Two-year-olds know how to operate VCRs. High school students check e-mail and chat online before school, during lunch, and after school.

Whether consciously or not, we are creating a world lacking in personal, face-to-face human contact. The need to actually meet with a teacher during office hours has been replaced by e-mail. Instant electronic contact, from instant messaging to faxes, is regarded as good, while actually having to be patient and wait for someone is perceived negatively. I am often teased when sending a handwritten note or letter by postal mail. "Why use snail mail?" people ask. "Just scan it on the

computer." In a world where the Federal Express motto is "Better Faster," we are encouraged to do everything in an instant.

While the Internet is beneficial to many, it has sent schools and teachers scrambling to figure out how to incorporate it safely and successfully. If you send a class to the library to do research on an author, they will head for the computers. Never mind that the Web pages might be incorrect or grossly inadequate. Students have a tendency to accept and trust everything found. So-called "research" is being done from sites where the Webmaster could be a 10-year old boy or a pathological liar. Because anyone can have a Web page, reliable and trustworthy information is difficult to verify.

Two years ago, toward the end of the school year, I thanked a dedicated student for doing the day's journal writing assignment. Most of her classmates were absent and many had decided they shouldn't have to do anything. "That's what I'm here for," she told me with a shrug of her shoulders. This young woman was at school to learn. She implicitly understood school wasn't a place for mindless television or unmonitored Internet. Most children and students need guidance as they find their way in the rapidly changing environment of technology. We must not be afraid to question or become aware of schools' various uses of technology. It is worthwhile for children and students to see people using forms of "old fashioned" communication, such as newspapers, books, magazines, and hand-written letters. As generations grow up always having known computers and the Internet, it is up to us to educate them about all types of communicating with and relating to others. It is only with our help and support that technology can be used as a tool, not an irreplaceable part of life.

Elizabeth von Buchler is a graduate of Indiana University with a bachelor's degree in English Education and is pursuing her master's degree. She teaches high school English and is a contributing writer for the literary arts electronic magazine, ImaginationStreet.com. She can be contacted at <evonbuch@yahoo.com>. □

Television and the Life of the American Child

Laura E. Levine and Bradley M. Waite
Central Connecticut State University

A cultural transformation occurred after World War II with the rapid and ubiquitous introduction of television into the homes of American families. In 1947 there were just 44,000 TV sets in the entire U.S., most of which had been manufactured in the previous year; by late 1950 over 8,000,000 TV sets were in use (for more detail see <www.tvhistory.tv>). In these early years, television fostered communal activity, bringing together families and even neighbors to view the sparse, mostly family-oriented programs.

However, the role and content of television programming and the context of viewing has evolved to become a very different force in the lives of children today. For example, in 1948, an average of 3.47 persons gathered around the single TV set in a household; today the typical home has three TVs and about three out of every four teenagers have their own set in their bedroom.

Television is by far the dominant form of media in the American home. According to a recent Kaiser Family Foundation study (KFF), TV is used by children and adolescents more frequently than computers and video games by an eight-to-one ratio and more frequently than CDs by a 3.5 to 1 ratio. The KFF study also found that the TV is usually on during meals in the homes of more than two-thirds of American families, and over 60% of children above the age of eight report that their parents have no rules about TV viewing. Parents watch TV with these children only five percent of the time. The typical child spends more than 2.75 hours per day watching TV and one of four children above the age of eight watches TV more than five hours a day. In our diary study of children's TV use, we found some nine-year-olds watching R-rated movies by themselves on the TVs in their bedrooms at 2:00 a.m. on school nights.

Clearly, as a function of becoming a TV culture, the dynamics of family interaction have changed. In addition, the direct and indirect impact of the medium itself, that is, its content, form and sheer ubiquity have influenced our lives and the lives of our children. In this paper we ask, "What is the nature of this impact?" We will focus on the relationship between television viewing and attention in the classroom.

Many teachers at all levels of educational instruction have expressed growing concern that television viewing may lead to increasing levels of ADHD-type behavior (inattention and behavioral impulsivity) in the classroom. One possible explanation relates to the effects that television may

have on the viewer's style of cognitive processing. Television has continually increased the level of change and pace of its presentations through the use of shifting visual and auditory stimuli. TV producer Quinn Martin reported that over the years he has had to speed up the presentation of programming by including more "jump cuts" or else the audience would get bored. With each of these "jump cuts" viewers' eyes are drawn back to the screen, driven by our innate "orienting response." Therefore, in an attempt to keep the audience, the pace of television has become sometimes overwhelming, at least to many adults.

How does this shape our children? One possibility is that if children are spending as much time as we have described in front of the television every day, their cognitive processing might be accommodating to these techniques used to control attention. Instead of learning to focus and maintain attention and fight distractibility, the child's focus of attention is being controlled by shifting visual stimuli. This style of cognitive processing, which is successful for television viewing, would lead to poor performance in school, where children must use their own motivation to maintain their attention on difficult material.

A second explanation concerning television and ADHD-type behavior, is that television, through the use of "jump-cuts," special effects, laugh tracks, and many other techniques, creates a general state of arousal that contrasts with most other daily experiences, which are not as stimulating. When children do not get the expected level of arousal, as in a structured classroom setting, they may experience boredom and an inability to direct their attention to material that does not necessarily have the entertainment value they crave. They may then express their restlessness through inattention and behavioral impulsivity in the classroom.

In our research, we studied fourth- and fifth-graders, who have been found to watch more TV than any other age group. We found a significant relationship between the amount of television that fourth and fifth graders viewed and ADHD-type behaviors in the classroom as assessed by the teachers' rating of the child's general behavior during the school year. Our findings add support to the common assumption that there is a relationship between television viewing and ADHD-type behaviors in school. We believe that the arousal/boredom explanation fits the evidence somewhat better. The more television that children watch,

independent of program content, the more "addicted" to arousal they may become, and the less able they are to deal with "down time", when they are not being stimulated. The arousal/boredom explanation is also supported by research in which we found that boredom predicted a greater amount of TV viewing within individuals across time.

So, what is next? Let's experience, in the context of this section of the paper, what future developments may be. Shorter sentences. Less reading. More television. Television that demands us to divide our attention with multiple pictures, multiple "crawls" or streams of moving information across the bottom of the screen, giving more (and usually simple and not very useful) information; the loss of subtlety and depth. More programming that requires less reflection and "deep" processing. Programming amenable to quick cuts and rapid pacing. More programming that focuses on the lowest common denominator content (for example, sex and aggression) that will sell here and abroad. As George Gerbner, Dean Emeritus at the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania has said: fast paced entertainment violence translates well into all languages.

And what of related technologies? More video games. More Internet use and instant messaging (usually with several people at a time). More computer games and CDs. Multi-tasking. The typical child today in the U.S. uses electronic media over five hours per day but reads less than 45 minutes per day. Electronic media use is likely to increase in the future and may serve to exacerbate some of the behaviors and tendencies in question.

So, what should we do? Who needs to change? The child? The school? The parents? The entertainment industry? Do we accommodate to this new style in our teaching and parenting? Should we adopt a more entertaining classroom approach? Unplug the TV? Disconnect the Internet? As our children grow ever more greedy for stimulation and immediate action, how will the fit between child and school change? Stay tuned. New channel. On cable. Every night.

Laura E. Levine, PhD, is currently Associate Professor of Psychology at Central Connecticut State University. Her recent work has focused on the relationship between attentional difficulties (ADHD-type behavior) and television viewing in childhood. She may be contacted at <LevineL@mail.ccsu.edu>. Bradley M. Waite,

PhD, is Professor of Psychology at Central Connecticut State University, where he teaches courses in developmental psychology, media psychology and research methodology. His research interests include the study of aggression and the impact of electronic media on the lives of children and adults. He may be contacted at <Waite@mail.ccsu.edu>. □

Elizabeth Wirth Marvick: Half a Century of Childhood

(Continued from first page)

and a past chair of the Research Committee on Psychopolitics (#29) of the International Political Science Association, and is a recipient of American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) grants and a Fulbright Senior Lectureship in France. She has served on the editorial boards of The Psychohistory Review and Political Psychology and is the author of the psychobiographies, The Young Richelieu: A Psychoanalytic Approach to Leadership (1983) and Louis XIII: The Making of a King (1986). Dr. Marvick is in the process of a book on the Virginia Founders of the U.S. and may be contacted at <dmarv@ucla.edu>. The editors interviewed this distinguished scholar by e-mail in January.

Clio's Psyche (CP): Please tell us about your early life and family background.

Elizabeth Wirth Marvick (EWM): My father, Louis Wirth, was the second child and first son of seven siblings in a family of orthodox German Jews in Gemünden, a village in the Hunsrück (Palatinate) between Trier and Mainz. His father was a small-time cattle merchant and farmer. The Wirths had lived in the same house there for centuries; my uncle thought most of the Jews in the area had arrived as camp followers of Charlemagne's army. In Gemünden there was a choice between Protestant and Catholic primary schools and the Wirth children went to the former. When my father was 14, he was sent with his older sister to an uncle in Omaha, Nebraska. He graduated from high school there and won a scholarship to the University of Chicago where he met my mother.

My mother, Mary Bolton, came from an equally modest, very Anglo, semi-rural Kentucky family. She was born and raised in Paducah, an only child, though a brother had died before she was born. Her father was a fundamentalist Baptist which meant that he studied the Old and New Tes-

taments and didn't go to church; her mother was a "regular," sociable Baptist. My mother was sent to the University of Chicago because my grandfather, a former schoolteacher and a follower of William Jennings Bryan, believed in women's education, and John D. Rockefeller's university, as a nearby Baptist institution, seemed safe. My parents were married in 1922 and both worked as social workers while my father finished his dissertation, which he did at about the same time I was born. I have a sister, born in 1934.

My parents regarded religious beliefs and practices as somewhat derogatory of the intelligence of those who held and engaged in them. Both of them had discarded their fathers' faith long before their marriage. It seemed obvious to them that I would consider myself a Jew and say so whenever the question came up. I was taken to the Gemünden synagogue as a five-year-old visitor and later sometimes was taken to Christian holiday festivities in Chicago or to Baptist churches in Kentucky on visits. Later still I sometimes went to Jewish Reform services with Chicago friends but I had no further experience of Jewish orthodoxy until my grandparents arrived from Germany in 1938 and that was limited to rather lighthearted family seders. Not surprisingly, I came to think of observant believers in somewhat the same way that entomologists consider ants or anthropologists think of remote tribes.

Both my parents were very much present in my childhood. (My father died in 1952 and my mother in 1976.) Another obvious influence on my perspectives is that my maternal grandmother was also a primary care giver -- just as much as a nanny or "Mammy" or the French kings' *nourrices*. "Multiple mothering" (Mary D. Ainsworth's phrase) has been a central interest of mine.

CP: Your father, Louis Wirth (1897-1952), was a distinguished sociologist of urban life, race relations, mass media, and public policy at the University of Chicago. What was it like growing up as the daughter of a famous scholar? What influence did your father have on you?

EWM: He was the most sympathetic and supportive of fathers, and extremely "hands-on" for his time and place. I wasn't aware of his "fame" until I was older. I knew that a great many people loved him; I think I was a graduate student before I learned not everyone did. He didn't have a direct influence on my specific intellectual development -- I can't remember him ever making suggestions about my work. But most of the people

who did influence me in that way were connected with him. I often had the chance to see him exert influence on groups with his quite amazing oratorical skill. His integrity seemed to me of the highest order and it has always been a moral touchstone. Improving race relations and opportunities for blacks was his most compelling motivation, next to defeating the Nazis while they needed defeating. I think his identification with African-Americans must have begun when he was a teenager, perhaps because he felt himself to be an outsider, like them, and I think they felt this too. He felt most comfortable with his black friends and colleagues. We lived a much more racially integrated social life when I was growing up than we are able to do now, to my great present regret.

CP: Your husband was the late Dwaine Marvick, Professor of Political Science at UCLA. How did being married to this eminent political scientist affect your development and career as a political psychologist?

EWM: We went through the graduate political science program at Columbia with almost identical training. We passed our oral exams in 1950 and after he'd defended his dissertation he had an offer of a very good fellowship at the University of Michigan, so we left New York for the Middle West. Although our working interests took separate turns -- he went into quantitative analysis of politicians' behavior -- we were always in touch with each other's preoccupations and he was completely supportive of mine. Whenever I refer to Fenichel (*The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis*, 1945), I see Dwaine's detailed notes, as well as mine -- and one son's -- in the margins. We always read and criticized each other's work but we signed both our names to only one article (aside from some book reviews): "The Political Consequences of Assassination" in William J. Crotty, ed., *Assassinations and the Political Order* (1971).

One of my favorites among Dwaine's writings was *Competitive Pressure and Democratic Consent* (1956). Our Chicago friend, Morris Janowitz was co-author but the book was conceived in discussions among several of us. It is a study of the 1952 Presidential election that attempts to relate concepts of Joseph Schumpeter (especially in *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*) on democratic competition to what was actually going on in candidates' behavior and voters' minds during the first Eisenhower-Stevenson campaign. It shows very ingenious ways to analyze the quality of electoral decisions. An important article he wrote, "The

Political Socialization of the American Negro" in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 36 (1965), is a subtle analysis of generation changes in political perspectives of African-Americans. It was remarkably prescient of subsequent developments.

With the possible exception of my father, Dwaine was the least sexist of men. One of his favorite and most deserved honors was to be cited as a "Mentor of Distinction" by the Women's Caucus for Political Science of the American Political Science Association in 1991, for helping women to become political scientists.

CP: Please tell us about your children.

EWM: Louis Wirth Marvick is now Associate Professor of French at the University of Nevada, Reno. His doctorate from Columbia is in comparative literature. He has continued to work on French and other European fin-de-siècle poets and musicians and the interrelations between them and between their products. Andrew Bolton Marvick -- my husband said it was good to have contributing tribes represented in children's names -- is also a Columbia PhD. He is in art history and is a painter as well. Andrew is Associate Professor at Southwestern Oklahoma State University in Weatherford, Oklahoma.

CP: How has your mothering and parenting experience affected your work on childhood, political psychology, and psychobiography?

EWM: In every way.

CP: With what field is your primary affiliation and how did you become involved in it?

EWM: It seems to me that I always address the same kinds of problems with the same kind of approach that includes political science, political psychology, the history of childhood, and psychobiography. My formal training -- mostly in political science and economics -- has enabled me to earn a living but most of the people who pay some attention to what I write are probably historians.

It is not an affiliation, but certainly psychoanalysis underpins and propels most of my work. I read a lot of Freud when I was 14 or 15 because it described how real people functioned in a very convincing way. I was always interested in politics because of how important it was. The problem was to link the two. When I was beginning my studies, very few people were trying to do it. Harold Lasswell (*Psychopathology and Politics*, 1930)

was one, of course. Though he had left Chicago by the time I was actually in university, I read everything he wrote and, afterwards, came to know him personally. People at Chicago who had these interests and whose judgment I esteemed -- Ed Shils, Nathan Leites, Herbert Goldhamer, Maure Goldschmidt -- put me on to others to read: Ernest Jones, J.C. Flügel, G. Morris Carstairs, O. Mannoni, and Geoffrey Gorer.

When I got to New York, the Columbia project on Contemporary Civilizations was still in operation and I attended a seminar of Ruth Benedict's. In those years, area studies financed by the federal government were producing the best information on childrearing practices, although Dwaine and I used to laugh at Benedict's methods. For example, as she reported it, the project on the Rumanians mainly used the Rumanian-reared anthropologist Johnny Murra as its chief information source. I had known him as a quite assimilated University of Chicago graduate student, so I was doubtful of his representativeness of the Rumanians!

Also while I lived in New York we saw Kurt and Ruth Eissler socially. Kurt's work was prolific in ideas. I remember his very interesting notions about the sources of Freud's creativity and creativity in general in *Talent and Genius* (1971) that also considers issues in psychobiography directly (in Appendix C). A short passage, "Psychoanalysis and History" in *Medical Orthodoxy and the Future of Psychoanalysis* (1971, pp. 216-244), is full of ideas, including some on the causes of the rise and fall of empires. Ruth was also in private psychoanalytic practice and a founder-editor of *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, a most important source for case studies of child development.

CP: What special training or experience in psychoanalysis has been most helpful in your doing psychobiographic work?

EWM: I had a rather classical psychoanalysis from about 1948 to 1951 with Dora K. Hartmann of New York who had been a pediatrician before she trained as an analyst. By "classical" I mean not only four or five sessions a week for a couple of years but also pretty classical Freudian interpretations of the feminine psyche. Bertram Lewin had recommended that I consult Dora and since I had read his *Psychoanalysis of Elation* (1950) on the dream screen, I thought very highly of him. This was probably good for starting off a transference to Dora. The analysis was certainly

valuable for my work. Experience with methods for getting insight into oneself is applicable to impersonal relations -- like those one has in writing history -- just as it is to personal relations.

CP: What have been your major professional positions and institutional affiliations?

EWM: I taught so many different courses in my first teaching years that I felt I got a ten-year social science education in five. In Ann Arbor, I was a research assistant to Sam Eldersveld in political science and Morris Janowitz in sociology. Morris and I worked on what became *A Psychological Warfare Casebook*, published for the Operations Research Office of the U.S. Army by Johns Hopkins in 1958. One of my contributions to that was a review of the cover-up (by the U.S. Office of War Information) of the Katyn Forest massacre. We also prepared what was then a comprehensive annotated bibliography of behavioral research in politics for the *American Political Science Review*. My work for the *Casebook* included writing some mini-psychobiographies and compiling the bibliography allowed me to read almost every published psychopolitical study.

We moved to Los Angeles in 1954 just after our first son Louis was born. Andrew was born three years later. As Margaret Mead said, children (or at least one's own, as she should have added) are more interesting than anything else and I became immersed in them. I also read a great deal of psychoanalytical work on children. Meanwhile I worked at making my dissertation, on antebellum American political party competition, more interesting to me -- though not to Columbia. This involved reading a lot of social-psychological as well as psychoanalytical literature on "identification" and "identity."

In Los Angeles I renewed a friendship with Nathan Leites whom I'd known for years. He was enormously complex and original. Leites rescued me from the slough of despondency that the literature had plunged me into. His *The New Ego* (1971) was a systematic critique of the tautological uses in psychoanalysis of just those murky terms I'd been struggling with. I reviewed the book for *Social Science Information* in 1975 in order to publicize it, with zero effect. The book also evoked little reaction on its own -- even from the "ego-psychological" analysts who had been devastatingly criticized in it. Leites had also strongly encouraged me to get on with the French research I'd begun in 1964 and this helped me to bring closure at Columbia where I received my PhD in American

politics in 1968.

Over the years I had been freelancing as a college teacher with short stints at Elmira College, CCNY, the American University in Paris, Cal Tech, and the Claremont Graduate School. My longest academic connection was with UCLA where I taught political science off and on between 1960 and 1990. There I gave courses on public opinion and propaganda and on the American Presidency. I also had the opportunity to develop and teach a course on "a psychoanalytic approach to world leaders." I was amazed to find that some undergraduates with no preparation in psychoanalysis could catch on to some of its important applications in one short quarter's work.

CP: Did Heinz Kohut or Erik Erikson influence your work?

EWM: I was already formed when Kohut became an issue. I made some comments about his work in my article, "Beyond the Narcissistic Leader" [see below]. Otherwise, my views on him resemble what Margaret Mead (again!) is supposed to have said about marijuana, "It doesn't do anything for me that I need doing."

Erikson's *Childhood and Society* (1950) was very important when it came out. The essays on Hitler's childhood and Gorky's youth are classic psychobiography. Non-psychoanalytic people seemed to find Erikson's presentation of childhood developmental phases more acceptable than raw Freud -- he was very good at euphemisms. I don't think his "identity" ideas contributed much but his essay on Jefferson, *Dimensions of a New Identity* (1974), was very insightful, even though he didn't have all the evidence available. I think very highly of Erikson's *Young Man Luther* (1958) though it tends to become more and more allusive rather than explicit. I don't think he acknowledges the extent to which he drew on Preserved Smith's study of Luther in 1913 in the *American Journal of Psychology*. In *Gandhi's Truth* (1969) I think Erikson really began to drift toward romance and I never got much from it.

CP: Have you written anything autobiographical?

EWM: No. Since it would be mostly a history of what I learned and when, it might seem too cerebral. I do regret, though, that actual interchanges with some of the others from whom I learned things, and, especially, tales told by them, beginning with my parents, will be lost or changed. I have thought of trying to do something like Har-

old Nicholson's *Some People* (1957) that would capture certain encounters with notable people on memorable occasions, for example, with physicist Leo Szilard after the atomic bombs were dropped on Japan or with a whole group of American black leaders in New York after Jackie Robinson had testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

CP: What are your major publications on the history of childhood, psychopolitics, and psychobiography?

EWM: My first solo venture into psychobiography was a memoir of my father which first appeared in an edition of his papers in the University of Chicago Press "Heritage of Sociology" series edited by Janowitz. I selected and edited a group of Leites' writings, with extensive introductions: *Psychopolitical Analysis: Selected Writings of Nathan Leites* (1977). A lot of my basic views on child development are presented in "Nature versus Nurture: Patterns and Trends in Seventeenth Century French Child Rearing," which appeared in Lloyd deMause's *History of Childhood* (1974). (They're not deMause's views and he had no influence on my work but it's to his credit that he published them). An article that sums up what I think about the uses of psychobiography in political analysis is "Beyond the Narcissistic Leader: Toward Comparing Psychopolitical Roles" in *Mind and Human Interaction* (1997). A paper I published, "Jefferson's Personality and his Politics" in *The Psychohistory Review* (1997), I would call "Jefferson in a Nutshell" if it didn't sound invidious. I also think an article on George Washington, "Family Imagery and Revolutionary Spirit" in Mark J. Rozell, et al, eds., *George Washington and the Origins of the American Presidency* (2000), has a few things to say about the Ur-father's personality that are original. Then there are *The Young Richelieu, A Psychoanalytic Approach to Leadership* (1983) and *Louis XIII: The Making of a King* (1986).

CP: How did you become interested in early 17th-century French history and biography?

EWM: Alexandre Dumas' multi-volume historical novels fascinated me at an early age. Chicago was a pretty gray place in the 1930s, with very little cultural detail and not much history. Whereas France...! Also, for my later purposes, contemporary sources don't offer the kind of documented, intimate information that early modern French records do -- either on private life or on political decision-making.

I knew that Louis XIII (1601-1643) had had a doctor who kept a record of his childhood behavior. I must have read one of the English abridgments of Héroard's diary when I was very young. When I became interested in the relationship between childhood experience and political behavior I read the very good 1868 French abridgment of the diary and realized that there was no source on *any* politician that compared with it. So I planned, when I got the chance, to work on Louis because I thought a study of him could demonstrate the great promise of applying psychoanalytic perspectives to the life of a politician. Besides, I was already hooked on France, particularly 17th-century France.

CP: What were the circumstances of your finding and translating Dr. Héroard's record of Louis XIII's care and early life? What has been the reaction of your colleagues to this unique historical material?

EWM: The 19th-century edition of the "Register," as Jean Héroard called it, showed that the doctor observed and recorded all Louis' "inputs" and "outputs" -- both physical and verbal -- on a round-the-clock basis until the older man died when the king was 26. The abridgment faithfully and learnedly reproduced Héroard's reports of Henry IV's abuse of his son, including openly sexual, seductive behavior, and of Louis' relations with his many siblings. But it doctored up Héroard's reproduction of Louis' speech development by making it "cute" -- Louis had an incapacitating stutter -- and I began to wonder what else the editors might have left out or glossed over.

The first three years of Héroard's diary had been lost in some previous century, but there existed a copy of it -- a contemporary abridgment by the doctor's nephew -- that the 19th century editors had borrowed and used for their edition. At that time it was in private hands. In 1965 I was working at the French National Library and I knew that they had always had the surviving original manuscript. I asked myself if they might not have acquired the nephew's abridgment of the first three years of the "Register" in the past century. I went upstairs to look and, lo and behold, it was there! They'd bought it in the 1940s. Nobody seemed to have used it and neither it nor the original volumes had been microfilmed. (I paid to have that done.)

Reading the first few folios I began to discover what had been elided in 1868. On Louis' first or second day of life the doctor decided he was constipated and gave him a suppository.

Héroard controlled his defecation in this way every day until he began to resort to laxatives as well. He described every one of Louis' bowel movements for the next two decades. When he began to try bowel training, the child was adamant -- Louis had a universal reputation for being "stubborn" -- and began to stutter! Many incidents showing Louis' homosexual interests -- and the doctor's anxieties about them -- had also been suppressed by his editors. Most of all, I discovered what an active, controlling (not to say lunatic) influence Héroard had been and I began intensive research on Héroard's history. I published my first paper on relations between the two of them in the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* in 1974.

Considering the varied interests Louis had working against him from day one, it's amazing that he wasn't more of a basket case. He was a poster boy for anal sadism, paranoid enough always to be highly suspicious of everyone around him and eventually to turn against almost everyone he'd been close to (though he usually had good reason to be suspicious). He was also of quite high intelligence and able to control his aggression when he thought the interests of France needed it, turning it against himself, becoming depressed or somatizing it, and eventually dying at the age of 42, apparently of the same digestive disorder he'd suffered from since childhood.

Mostly the book was well received in this country by historians of France. Probably because good documentary research on the political history of the period was so closely interwoven with Louis' personal history, the book was seriously regarded as history. It didn't get the attention from psychoanalysts and child development specialists that I had hoped for, although it received some. However there were a certain number of British historians who reacted with wild rage, even, in one case, misrepresenting the title (as "*Louis XIV*") and author (as "Merrick") of the book and attributing words to me that I was entirely unfamiliar with. I won't interpret this response; I only hope it didn't interfere with the subsequent working habits of the critics.

So I was most satisfied to have produced *Louis XIII*. First, because I had the luck to turn up information in manuscript sources that had never been seen or, if seen, had not been seen as significant for lack of the "third ear." Second, that information turned out to bear directly on political behavior that *had* been observed but not understood as a meaningful pattern. Hence, Louis had been

repeatedly characterized as a very "mysterious" monarch -- sometimes impulsively cruel, yet often fair-minded, though sometimes weak and dependent. Then I was able to use these observations to tell a coherent story -- how the king became the complex adolescent who launched his career as ruler by having his mother's favorites murdered and Richelieu ousted, and marching off to make war. The review of it that I liked best called it a "page-turner."

CP: You've also written *The Young Richelieu: A Psychoanalytic Approach to Leadership* (1983).

EWM: *Louis XIII* was mostly written first. But then I thought, "Who, especially in America, is going to be interested in Louis, when they know of him as a "weak" king, unless I explain his relations with Richelieu?" After my research into the Louis-Héroard relationship, I began to understand Louis' adult love-hate relationship with Richelieu. Louis' dependence on the Cardinal together with the vicissitudes of his ambivalence toward him was a counterpoint accompaniment to the political history of his reign.

In France people had learned in school that Louis was a wimp whom Richelieu controlled, and that his father, Henry IV, and son, Louis XIV, were the stars, king-wise. In fact, several French historians, when they learned what I was working on, had only one question: "Was Louis XIII *really* the father of Louis XIV?" (Answer: "Yes.") So I thought, there's no explaining Louis without Richelieu, and Richelieu is so much more glamorous that he will get more attention, better preparing the ground for Louis. Therefore I finished and published *The Young Richelieu* first.

Of course, I hadn't calculated that more people *cared* about Richelieu. Reactions to my book often reflected hostility to the Red Eminence or admiration of him. And I was not only a female author, but an American!, taking on a powerful man like that! It didn't help that urethral eroticism and enuresis had to be referred to, albeit very euphemistically. So euphemistically, however, that few people picked it up. One who did was a Stanford editor who rejected my manuscript explicitly on the grounds that he couldn't face the reaction. Another was the dean of French early modern historians, a very formal, learned, and perceptive scholar, a conservative Catholic who had been most friendly to me and who often acknowledged my research. In his last book he asked (and I translate literally), "Is it necessary ... to have recourse

to psychoanalysis ... in order to infer [Richelieu's] struggle against feelings of repressed shame and conclude from this that during his childhood he 'made wee-wee' in his bed [*faisait pipi au lit*]?" (Roland Mousnier, *L'Homme Rouge*, 1992, p. 34)

There was no Doctor Héroard to tell us everything about Richelieu's childhood. Therefore, the problem of inferring his motives and psychodynamics involved finding more obscure and older sources and looking very closely for clues in his words and behavior. I spent many hours examining the corrections he'd made by hand in documents dictated to his secretaries. This proved very productive: his vivid imagery told a lot about the sources of his strong drive for eminence and domination, of his passion for royal authority and the forms this passion took.

CP: What challenges were there in doing research on the early lives of subjects who grew up 400 years ago and in a non-English language?

EWM: No problem. Once you get so you can read everyone's handwriting easily, you live there. I'm sure Egyptian archeologists feel the same way. A bigger problem that some trained historians have, and one I hope my education helps me to avoid, is making unwarranted assumptions about the "now" in comparison with the "then." There is a tendency to think we know more about the world we are living in now than we do.

CP: What are you working on now?

EWM: I am studying a small group of Virginians who were closely connected to one another by geographic, cultural, class, and kinship ties and who all took leading parts not only in the American Revolution but also in managing the government established by the U.S. Constitution of 1787 over the next two or three decades. This narrows the subject down to six: Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Marshall, Edmund Randolph, and Monroe. The case of such a homogeneous group exerting such a great influence in a republican government by playing closely comparable roles is quite unusual -- perhaps even unique -- and it offers an opportunity to compare performances of these few men under remarkably controlled conditions, since to a great extent their rearing conditions and family experiences were all quite similar. Presumably, these similarities account for the characteristics of their leadership that distinguished them from other political figures, in Virginia as well as elsewhere. At the same time, the individual variations among

them, personality-wise and political, can be traced with more than usual confidence to differences in their early experience when it is examined "up close" and in detail. The *Founding Virginians* ought to be finished this year.

The significance of such a study lies partly in the historical importance of these "founders" roles: to an extent their performance is an example of revolutionaries turned into adaptive moderate creative leaders. I also hope there will emerge from my findings clues to what sort of childrearing pattern may produce such results. If it does, this will help focus attention on the basis for encouraging and recognizing benign leadership qualities.

In the past, most groups studied by comparative psychobiographical methods -- revolutionaries, loyalists, and terrorists -- have been too heterogeneous to distinguish them meaningfully from controls. The differences within such groups have usually arisen from so much variety in their family history and experience that specifically personal differences cannot be identified with confidence.

My one previous attempt at group psychobiography had as its subject the second generation of *Annales* historians, who did comprise a quite homogeneous cohort of intellectuals. They had more or less similar origins and education, and comparable early experiences. I tried to connect these with the world-outlook they expressed in their historical writings. ("The *Annales* and the Unconscious: Contrast and Continuity within an Historical School," *The Psychohistory Review*, 1985)

CP: Since 1996 I [Paul Elovitz] have been doing comparative psychobiographical studies of U.S. political candidates -- Clinton and Dole, Bush and Gore -- but I have run into problems because I have tried to avoid labels and psychological terminology which the editors and readers seem to prefer.

EWM: I think there is hardly ever any reason to use psychoanalytical/psychological terminology. I always try to say what *is* rather than to give it a name. Also, I don't try to compare politicians; I compare people playing particular political roles, in particular contexts, contrasting or similar, with contrasting or similar childhood experience. For example, George Washington and Nelson Mandela played similar roles, though in quite different contexts. It turns out that there were certain important similarities in their family experience as well. Mandela, for example, was the first son of his mother, like Washington. And, like Washing-

ton, he was on the "B" team -- his mother was the third wife -- Washington's was the second -- of his father. Both families moved around a good deal and Mandela's father died when Nelson was nine - - Washington's when he was eleven. After that, both were heads of their family.

CP: Please describe your theoretical framework and methodology in doing psychobiography.

EWM: Psychoanalysis, certainly, especially as developed by those who have worked in child development. I have tried to describe my methodology as "spiral analysis" -- a progressive interchange between what can be learned about childhood experience as it contributes to understanding adult decisions, leading back to further inquiries into childhood, in turn bringing new questions about political behavior into view, and so on. This is very much the same approach that is used in treating a patient, as I understand it.

CP: How do you work with your own feelings toward your subjects?

EWM: Politicians as a class are not very lovable but once I think I have begun to understand how they became what they are, I don't usually find them very blamable either, unless they are absolute villains (whom I am not inclined to study). I remind myself that politics is the "cutting of hard boards" (my memory of a Max Weber point) and that I would be very bad at it if I had to do it. That is, coercion and decisions for using violence are unavoidable elements in political power. Anarchy is usually not preferable, and even when it might be, not possible for long.

CP: What has been your experience in working with the dreams or daydreams of your subjects?

EWM: I'll relate one interesting experience on dream analysis because it shows what psychobiography is up against. An incomparable contribution of Héroard was that he got Louis XIII to tell him about his dreams every morning and the doctor put them down -- no detail was too much for him! So when Louis had a certain dream at the age of seven, one could often identify almost every referent in it, with details going back to when he was three or four. I gave several particularly striking examples in my book. With such complete evidence for my interpretations, I was sure that this would be revelatory even to the otherwise skeptical. But in an otherwise favorable review a distinguished historian had only one reservation: he

thought that although most of my interpretations were plausible -- even obvious! -- when it came to dreams, I was on very doubtful ground!

CP: How do you respond to critics who claim that psychobiography is hopelessly qualitative and subjective, and therefore extremely prone to bias?

EWM: If they're not specific, I don't respond. If they are, then I ask, Okay, if the way I've told it is not how it happened, how *did* it happen? Something happened. *You* explain it better.

CP: What do you see as the main issues in doing psychobiography?

EWM: I have never been interested in whether something might be termed pathological or not. Creative artists and writers are very problematical subjects for other reasons: if they are not very good, psychobiography tends to be obvious and/or uninteresting as in the case of painter Jackson Pollock or redundant of the work of the subject as in the case of the writer Robert Brasillach. Great artists and writers produce work that is apprehended at a very deep level, probably partly at the pre-verbal stage of development. Then the psychobiography looks shallow and feeble alongside the works studied -- "reductionist" -- because it adds little insight into the subject. Editha and Richard Sterba's *Beethoven and his Nephew* (1954) is a wonderful case study of a quite disturbed person, but it doesn't give a clue to Beethoven, the great artist. The closest I ever came to working on an artist (aside from an unpublished article comparing the social perspectives of Austen, Dostoyevsky, and Proust) was a paper on Richelieu's tastes as an art patron, "Richelieu le mécène, perspectives psychologiques" in Roland Mousnier and Jean Mesnard, eds., *L'Age d'or du mécénat, 1598-1661* (1985). I thought that paper made certain new points of interest but Richelieu had conventional, even corny, taste in art and was no creative artist himself.

On empathy, I have always chosen subjects that I easily recognize as human, like myself, and as having gone through similar stages of development in acquiring comparable levels of maturity. Any writer or biographer may approach a subject with an object in view extraneous to winning insight -- such as making a political argument. In such cases they may be defended against empathy and that isn't psychobiography. A requirement for the psychobiographer is an intense curiosity about the subject that sustains a persistent, minute, and

usually long investigation. As for any historical contribution, skepticism of accepted reports is necessary until the critical evidence is examined for oneself.

For psychobiography, reductionism is usually in the eye of the beholder. Because I say that something helps to understand something else doesn't mean I think it explains everything about it. Critics often cry "reductionism" when a supposedly great figure is treated as an ordinary human who experiences ordinary stages of development. The cries get louder if any part of the body is alluded to or said to have some part in the developmental process. When such treatment is experienced as "reductionist" it often reflects defensiveness in the critic.

I once made this interpretation (to myself) of a criticism of a paper I had given to a history panel on a certain French prince, a cousin of Louis XIII. I started with a question posed by Fred Greenstein, "When does personality make a difference?" I answered that personality always makes a difference but the importance of what we can tell about it depends on the other actors, the rest of the context, the quality of the data, and so on. Whereupon the chair of the panel took me to task as though I had said that personality made *all* the difference.

For years, biographers of great men didn't like to mention that their subjects had had mothers, much less childhoods. A critic of my *Richelieu* in the *Revue Française de Science Politique* thought it "*dérisoire*" (ridiculous) that I had given several pages to the Cardinal's mother and her family.

CP: How do you feel about appraising living individuals?

EWM: I'm not opposed on ethical grounds to assessing living individual political figures -- after all, they asked for it when they went public. But I think we're most often likely to get them wrong, partly because of where we are in relation to where they are and partly because of the suspect and inadequate nature of the facts we're able to uncover. I recognize that the intelligence agencies have to do psychological profiles based on what evidence they're able to latch onto but I fear they're as often apt to be off base as on. One exception that I can think of is an important one, though: Walter Langer's *The Mind of Adolf Hitler* (1972) that he wrote during the war for the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) was an important contribution. So maybe Jerry Post is at this moment producing the definitive analysis that will enable us

to catch other bad guys.

CP: How do you evaluate Bill Clinton?

EWM: From what I've seen of psychobiographical treatments, a consensual view is that his demand for love is so insatiable that he is willing to adapt to an infinite range of policy choices, to the dismay of the last group he pleased. The question would seem to be, Does he draw the line and, if so, where? At compromising Civil Rights and women's rights? I think so. Then, Why? Answering that might give other clues. If I were to approach the problem I would look further into his imagined relationship with the father who died before he was born. Micheline Guiton and I wrote an article, "Family Experience and Political Leadership: An Examination of the Absent Father Hypothesis" in the *International Political Science Review*, 1989, that considers the effects on Andrew Jackson of his birth after his father's death. That was before I started work on George Washington, for whom the early loss of his father was very important.

CP: What is your organizational experience in political psychology/psychobiography?

EWM: I have served on the Council of the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP) and been otherwise active in it and I'm happy it exists. As in other professional organizations of social scientists, members who hold what Leites used to call "our common superstition" usually find themselves in a small minority. Its programs are more weighted towards social psychology, on the one hand, and to increasingly refined (and less enlightening) quantitative analyses using highly simplified models of political behavior, on the other hand.

I agitated for a number of years to get psychopolitics included on the agenda of the International Political Science Association. They finally established the Research Committee on Psychopolitics (#29!). Arnold Rogow was the first head of it, followed by me, followed by Betty Glad. We have had some sensational meetings, including one in Paris with Leites, Guiton, Hugh Berrington, and Sudhir Kakar, and one in Washington with Glad, Vamik Volkan, Fred Greenstein, and Pierre de Senarclens.

I am very sorry at the demise of *The Psychohistory Review*. I think it reflects badly on all of us that not enough support could be mustered to continue its publication. The more so as it started out representing a sub-group of the American His-

torical Association (AHA). Chuck Strozier and Larry Shiner did heroic work to keep it going for as long as they did on a shoestring budget.

CP: Is psychobiography of female and male subjects different?

EWM: Women seem to write psychobiographies of women more often than men do. That means their subjects are more likely to be artists, writers, ornaments, or do-gooders than movers and shakers. Hence, they are more likely to suffer from the problems in treating creative artists that I outlined above. Usually a life of action is easier to narrate than a life of the mind. I also have the impression that women are more likely to pull their punches when their subjects are women, to pretty up the picture. This is the defensiveness of a beleaguered group?

CP: Can autobiography/memoirs be psychobiography?

EWM: Certainly. For example, there's Ernest Jones, *Free Associations* (1959). I read some revealing memoirs by D.W. Winnicott, "DWW on DWW," *Psychoanalytic Explorations*, January 1967. Reporter, columnist, and author Russell Baker's *Growing Up* (1982) is an auto-psychobiography. I hazard the guess that he was analyzed during the 1940s or 1950s but that is a pure guess.

CP: Among the many subjects you've studied over the years, who are several of the psychologically most intriguing?

EWM: At the moment, I'm most preoccupied with James Madison who was extraordinarily complicated but covered his tracks as much as he could. There is a lot to know about John Marshall that no one has evidence about. The most interesting ones are always the ones who keep defeating efforts to gain access. I've had at least two of those in the French 17th century who keep nagging at me.

CP: How are we to evaluate the quality of psychobiographies?

EWM: By how good their evidence is and what they contribute to explaining what we want to know about the subjects. In this respect, non-psychobiographies are usually valuable to the psychobiographer if they are very good, that is, if they present good evidence. Almost all my Virginia Founders have one or two excellent "straight" biographers. Jefferson has a lot more!

Fawn Brodie's *Thomas Jefferson, An Inti-*

mate History (1974) is partly exemplary psychobiography and partly suffers from the defects I mentioned in my "Sex and Politics" article in your December 2001 issue. Fawn was a good, though not intimate, friend. Her husband, Bernard Brodie, joined the political science faculty here at UCLA before we came, so he was also a colleague. We got to know them because of many prior links -- the University of Chicago, Lasswell, Leites. As you may know, Fawn was raised in the Mormon Church and was related to all the highest elders. Like some other renounced Mormons I know, she was a most ardent Civil Rights advocate. She used to say that the Church's attitude toward women and blacks was essentially the same. Her choice of subjects -- Joseph Smith, Thaddeus Stevens, Sir Richard Burton, and Thomas Jefferson -- all reflect these connections. Only the connection to Richard Nixon, whom she despised, is not quite so clear. She once commented, "He killed so many people." She put a great deal of good work into all her books and made original, shrewd analytic observations in all of them.

CP: Which are some exemplary psychobiographies?

EWM: From my point of view, nothing is wholly "exemplary." I'll mention a few that I think are very good, depending on what one needs to know about the subject. Alexander and Juliette George's *Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House* (1964) is excellent for interpreting some patterns in Wilson's political behavior. I like William Blanchard's *Rousseau and the Spirit of Revolt* (1967) because it goes to the substance of Rousseau's ideas. Chuck Strozier's *Lincoln's Quest for Union* (1982) similarly goes to the heart of Lincoln's policy decisions. Volkan's and Itzkovitz's *The Immortal Atatürk* (1984) explains central problems in Mustafa Kemal's policies. Likewise, Robert Tucker, *Stalin as Revolutionary* (1973). Glenn Davis' series on Theodore Roosevelt's childhood published in the *Journal of Psychohistory* was excellent. The study of Nixon by Volkan, Itzkovitz, and Dod, *Richard Nixon: A Psychobiography* (1997), is not only a good work that synthesizes much material on Nixon, it also has the rare and important virtue of trying to account for Nixon's abilities and talents as well as his pathology.

Many of the best psychobiographies are short articles. Lewis Feuer has written many and each one has valuable insights, for example on Kant, Spinoza, and Descartes. One of the most enlightening was his short psychobiography of

Karl Marx in *Marx and the Intellectuals: A Set of Post-Ideological Essays*, (1969). It goes straight to the source of Marx's destructiveness. Incidentally, Lewis wrote his own autobiography for his Festschrift, Sidney Hook et al, eds., *Philosophy, History and Social Action: Essays in Honor of Lewis Feuer* (1988, pp. 1-101). It could certainly be called a psychobiography if one reads between the lines. I was attracted to his work not only by the psychobiographies but also by the brilliant ideas about intellectual change that he scattered around everywhere, for example, on Vesalius and the birth of modern anatomy in *The Scientific Intellectual* (1992, p. 198 et seq.).

CP: From the 40 years that you've been involved with the field of psychobiography, how do you interpret its evolution or devolution?

EWM: Everyone's doing it now, especially journalists, and some of them are far better, are more jargon-free and have fewer axes to grind, than some of our PhDs. That ought to be pressure on us to get better. One possibility to get more academic acceptance for psychobiography/psychohistory is to relate personality inquiry more closely to actual decision patterns. The most successful work has offered answers to questions academics ask, for example, Why did Wilson self-destruct at the Versailles conference? Why did Eisenhower succeed when he seemed to be such an amiable simpleton? The explanations have to be of such a kind so that even if they may be wrong, they identify patterns for which there has to be some explanation. Mere "portraits" are of no use. When the analysts start citing our case studies as often as we cite theirs, we will know it's getting better.

Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, and Bob Lentz are Editor and Associate Editor of this publication. □

Genius and Empathy: Darwin, Olmsted, and Slavery

(Continued from first page)

ence on both sides of the Atlantic. Both men gave considerable thought to the problem of slavery and both (like the vast majority of their peers) considered it to be a totally immoral institution. But Charles Darwin's reaction to the plight of the slaves was far more emotional and empathetic than that of Olmsted's -- who resisted the abolitionist point of view and maintained a rather cool, detached attitude toward the slaves themselves. The

essays that follow consider some of the psychological reasons for such differing reactions of two of the great minds of the Victorian era to the human tragedy that was at the heart of the slavery question -- the most urgent moral issue of their time. In our brief introduction below, we will give a brief background to the issues raised in our separate articles.

In the decades just prior to the Civil War, intellectuals -- mainly from New England and mainly of Puritan heritage -- formed a close connection with their counterparts in Great Britain

Initially, this "Victorian Connection" began as a type of cultural exchange. The relationship became far more intimate as the expanding circles of kinship and friendship reached across the Atlantic -- especially as the young Americans began to travel abroad in search of their English roots and European culture.

Nowhere is the evidence of this connection stronger than in the case of Frederick Law Olmsted, who was to be America's premier landscape architect, but who first made his reputation on both sides of the Atlantic with his three books about slavery and the antebellum South: *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (1856); *A Journey Through Texas* (1857); and *A Journey in the Back Country* (1860).

While Darwin had made an enormous impact on Olmsted and his peers, Olmsted himself had had a significant impact upon Darwin and other British intellectuals, in the sphere in which he first gained public recognition -- the question of slavery in the American south. Olmsted's first book, *Slave States*, was reviewed in Great Britain just as Olmsted arrived in London in 1856 for his second visit there. The *London Times* recommended the book as offering "new light on the workings of the slave system in retarding the legitimate progress of the South," and it seems to have influenced the views of the two British intellectuals who mattered most to Olmsted, Mill and Darwin. A few years later, on the eve of the Civil War, all the major literary publications in Britain gave strong approval to *Back Country*, and Darwin praised it as a book that drew "an admirable picture of man and Society in the Southern States." The *London Times* thought that Olmsted's books on the South provided "a better knowledge of the difficulties of our American kinsmen." (Laura Wood Roper, *FLO: A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted*, 1973, pp. 115, 152)

As our articles will reveal, Darwin and Olmsted approached slavery from very different perspectives. Charles Darwin, raised in a strong family anti-slavery tradition, was emotional repulsed by slavery based mostly upon his strong identification with slaves and empathy for them. Frederick Olmsted maintained a detached attitude to the subject while also seeing the institution of slavery as immoral. The essays discuss their attitudes and provide some psychological insights to what slavery meant in the lives of each of these brilliant men.

Darwin and Slavery

Ralph Colp, Jr.

Psychohistory Forum Research Associate

In the late 18th century, about 20 years before Charles Darwin (1809-1882) was born, his maternal and paternal grandfathers-to-be -- the potter Josiah Wedgwood and the physician Dr. Erasmus Darwin -- became noted English opponents of slavery. Wedgwood manufactured hundreds of copies of a cameo showing a black slave in chains with the words: "Am I not a man and a brother." Dr. Darwin, in his poetry book *The Loves of the Plants*, had an anti-slavery stanza that ended:

...hear this Truth sublime
He, who allows oppression, shares the crime.
(Howard E. Gruber and Paul H. Barrett,
Darwin on Man: A Psychological Study of Scientific Creativity, 1974, p. 66)

Charles Darwin probably learned about these impassioned opinions of his grandparents when he was a boy. When he was 17 and a medical student at Edinburgh University, he received letters from his older sisters Caroline and Susan -- who had educated him after the death of his mother -- and his younger sister Catherine, which expressed sentiments of sympathy "for the sufferings of the poor slaves" and "hot" anger at those who supported slavery. (Caroline Darwin to Charles Darwin, March 22, 1826, and Catherine and Caroline Darwin to Darwin, April 11, 1826, in Frederick Burkhardt and Sydney Smith, eds., *The Correspondence of Charles Darwin, Vol. 1, 1821-1836*, 1985, pp. 36, 40) Darwin appears to have fully shared these sentiments. At this time, although England had banned the slave trade, slavery still existed in some English colonies.

In Edinburgh Darwin met John Edmonston, an elderly freed slave, who had been taught taxi-

dermy by the famous naturalist-traveler Charles Waterton and who he now paid to teach him how to stuff birds. He found Edmonston "a very pleasant and intelligent man" and the two often sat and conversed. (Ibid., p. 29; Nora Barlow, ed., *The Autobiography of Charles Darwin*, 1958, p. 51) This convivial and instructive episode may have been his first contact with a black man.

When Darwin was 19-22, and a pre-Divinity student at Cambridge University, his anti-slavery sentiments had already deepened. A Cambridge friend later recollected that "It stirred one's inmost depth of feeling to hear him descant upon, and groan over, the horrors of the slave-trade...." (Francis Darwin, ed., *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, 1896, Vol. 1, p. 143)

Following this, during the voyage of the *Beagle*, he sojourned in Brazil for several months in 1832. Here he experienced his one actual confrontation with slavery, which he would afterwards much reflect and elaborate on. While in Brazil he formed two sharply contrasting views of slaves and slave masters. "I was told before leaving England," he wrote his sister Catherine,

that after living in Slave countries: all my opinions would be altered; the only alteration I am aware of is forming a much higher estimate of the Negro's character. It is impossible to see a negro & not feel kindly towards him; such cheerful, open honest expressions & such fine muscular bodies; I never saw any of the diminutive Portuguese with their murderous countenances, without almost wishing for Brazil to follow the example of Hayti; & considering the enormous healthy looking black population, it will be wonderful if at some future day it does not take place. (Darwin to Catherine Darwin, May 22-July 14, 1833, in Burkhardt, *Correspondence 1*, pp. 312&313)

In the same letter he commented that it would be a "a proud thing for England" if it became the "first European nation which utterly abolishes" slavery (Ibid., p. 312). In 1833 the English Parliament passed a law emancipating the slaves in all the English colonies.

In his *Beagle* "Diary," after observing that "by far the greater part of the slave population is far happier than one would be previously inclined to believe," he added, "But it is utterly false ... that any, even the very best treated, do not wish to return to their countries." (Nora Barlow, ed., *Charles*

Darwin's Diary of the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle, 1933, pp. 42&43) When *Beagle* Captain FitzRoy told him how a slave owner "had called up many of his slaves and asked them whether they were happy, and whether they wished to be free" and how all the slaves had answered "No," he replied, perhaps with a sneer, whether FitzRoy "thought the answers of slaves in the presence of their master was worth anything." It was a reply that made FitzRoy "excessively angry." (Barlow, *Autobiography*, p. 74)

In the first three years after his return to England from the *Beagle* voyage, Darwin wrote down several further memories of, and opinions on, Brazilian slavery. In his published *Journal of Researches*, which he based on his *Beagle* "Diary," he made his first public statement on slavery. After noting the callousness and "blindness of interest and selfish habit" of slave owners in separating slave women and children in front their men, he gave his recollection of one slave:

I was crossing a ferry with a negro, who was uncommonly stupid. In endeavouring to make him understand, I talked loud, and made signs, in doing which I passed my hand near his face. He, I suppose, thought I was in a passion, and was going to strike him; for instantly, with a frightened look and half-shut eyes, he dropped his hands. I shall never forget my feelings of surprise, disgust, and shame, at seeing a great powerful man afraid even to ward off a blow, directed, as he thought, at his face. This man had been trained to a degradation lower than the slavery of the most helpless animal. (Charles Darwin, *Journal of Researches into the Geology and Natural History of the Various Countries Visited by H.M.S. Beagle, etc.*, 1839, p. 28)

This recollection does not appear in his *Beagle* "Diary" or *Beagle* notebooks, and is apparently recounted from memory. In his *Journal of Researches*, he describes it as a "very trifling anecdote, which at the time struck me more forcibly than any story of cruelty." (Ibid.)

About the time he was writing the recollection he had also begun to secretly search for a theory of evolution, and to fill a succession of pocket notebooks with newly imagined patterns of evolutionary relationships among diverse living things. In his second notebook he was influenced by his thoughts of humans enslaving animals and other humans to first write: "Animals -- we have made

our slaves -- we do not like to consider our equals. Do not slaveholders wish to make black man other kind? Animals with affections, imitation, fear of death, pain, sorrow for the dead -- respect." (Paul Barrett, et al, eds., *Charles Darwin's Notebooks, 1836-1844: Geology, Transmutation of Species, Metaphysical Enquiries*, 1987, p. 228) A page later he went on to write:

if we choose to let conjecture run wild then our animals our fellow brethren in pain, disease, death, & suffering & famine; our slaves in the most laborious work, our companion in our amusements. They may partake from our origin. In their one common ancestor we may be all netted together. (Ibid., pp. 228&229)

The above passage was a powerful and unusual vision of evolutionary relationships among common, everyday things. Referring to it, a 1958 Darwin biographer commented:

There are very few youths of today who will pause, coming from a biology class, to finger a yellow flower or poke in a friendly fashion at a sunning turtle at the edge of the campus pond, and who are capable of saying to themselves, "We are all one -- all netted together." (Loren Eiseley, *Darwin's Century: Evolution and the Men Who Discovered It*, 1958, p. 352)

While Darwin was inspired to have this vision by many intellectual and emotional forces - - including his knowledge of biology and his intuitive belief in evolution -- his most immediate inspiration appears to have been his feelings of equality and closeness for slaves and animals, which he then changed into feelings of poignancy for the evolutionary origins and togetherness of all living things.

In his third notebook, as he considered the evidences for the animal origins of man, Darwin wrote about the "arrogance" of those who "like to think ... [man's] origin godlike...." He observed that this attitude was similar to that of "the white Man who has debased his nature & [who] violates every best instinctive feeling by making slave of his fellow black...." (Barrett, *Darwin's Notebooks*, p. 286)

As an evolutionary scientist, Darwin knew that he was vulnerable to reprobation from leading English scientists -- including his old mentor Charles Lyell -- who regarded the concept of evolution as unscientific and unsound. Therefore,

when he was with Lyell and other scientists he remained silent about his evolutionary theory. However, in some public comments about slavery he once alluded to his feelings of vulnerability.

The immediate stimulus for these comments was a just-published book by Lyell, *Travels in North America*, which reported -- without any expression of feeling -- how American slave husbands and wives were sold separately and how slave children were brought up apart from their families. In a letter Darwin accused Lyell of taking a "placid" view of slavery, and he let himself have an "explosion" of his angry feelings by adding two long anti-slavery passages to a second, 1845, edition of his *Journal of Researches*. (Darwin to Charles Lyell, August 25, 1845, in Burkhardt, *Correspondence* 3, p. 242) After citing new instances of "heart-sickening atrocities" inflicted by masters on their slaves -- which he had either witnessed or "authentically heard of" -- he commented:

Those who look tenderly at the slave-owner, and with a cold heart at the slave, never seem to put themselves into the position of the latter; what a cheerless prospect, with not even a hope of change! Picture to yourself the chance, ever hanging over you, of your wife and your little children -- those objects which nature urges even the slave to call his own -- being torn from you and sold like beasts to the first bidder! And these deeds are done and palliated by men, who profess to love their neighbours as themselves, who believe in God, and pray that his Will be done on earth! It makes one's blood boil, yet heart tremble, to think that we Englishmen and our American descendants, with their boastful cry of liberty, have been and are so guilty: but it is consolation to reflect, that we at least have made a greater sacrifice, than ever made by any nation, to expiate our sins. (Darwin, *Journal of Researches*, pp. 499&500)

In these comments Darwin, in addition to articulating his passionate anti-slavery feelings -- feelings that made his "blood boil" and "heart tremble" -- was also alluding to his position as an evolutionary theorist among his scientific colleagues: the "cheerless" position of a slave -- lowly, isolated, and vulnerable. Like his Brazilian black in the ferry (who he had described in the first edition of his *Journal*) silently cringing in fear of a

rebuke. He was angry with Lyell not only for failing to support his theory, but also for failing to understand what his slave position was really like.

Thirteen years later, in the summer of 1858, Darwin determined to publicly elaborate on the details of his theory and began to write *The Origin of Species*. In March 1859, as he was working under great pressure to complete the *Origin* and laboring at rewriting -- he wrote with difficulty, and then corrected and re-corrected what he had written -- he grimly compared himself to a slave who was being flogged. "On my life," he told a friend, "no nigger with lash over him could have worked harder at clearness than I have done." (Darwin to Hooker, May 11, 1859, in Burkhardt, *Correspondence* 7 1858-1859, 1991, p. 296) His comparison was probably most immediately stimulated by his having read, between October 1858 and February 1859, Frederick Law Olmsted's two books on the American slave states: *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* and *A Journey Through Texas*. ("Darwin's Reading Notebooks," Burkhardt, *Correspondence* 4, p. 494) While he was interested in Olmsted's picture of America on the eve of civil war, he also told his son William of the "horror of his sleepless nights when he could not keep out of his mind" some of Olmsted's reports of the maltreatment of slaves. (Henrietta Litchfield, ed., *Emma Darwin: A Century of Family Letters*, 1915, Vol. 2, p. 169)

Soon, however, as antipathies developed between England and the North American Union, Darwin's anti-slavery sentiments became conflictual and compromised. The antipathies began in November 1861 when a Union warship stopped the unarmed English mail-packet *Trent* and then forcibly removed two Confederate Commissioners. *The Times* editorialized that this was an "outrage that has been offered by the Federal Government of America to the British flag" (November 29, 1861, p. 6) and an American in London reported that 999 Englishmen out of a thousand were for "immediate war" with the North. After reading *The Times* report, Darwin told an English friend that he regarded the North "as a nation of unmitigated blackguards." (Burkhardt, *Correspondence* 10 1862, 1997, p. 25) He was revealing a side of himself that was patriotic, deeply moved by English military and naval panache and displays of the English flag, (Barlow, *Diary*, p. 75) and deeply angered by public affronts to English symbols.

As the Civil War progressed, Darwin became convinced, along with many others in Eng-

land, that the North hated England; could not subjugate the South; and that the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1863 would be ineffective. In a February 1863 letter to Asa Gray, a leading American botanist and Professor of Natural History at Harvard, Darwin resigned himself to the existence of a Southern slavocracy: "I think if I had power, which thank God I have not, I would let you conquer the border states & all west of Mississippi & then force you to acknowledge the Cotton States." (Burkhardt, *Correspondence 11* 1863, 1999, p. 167) In recognizing a slavocracy, Darwin had compromised his passionate anti-slavery views. Yet at this time in England such a compromise was not unusual. After the war ended, and as Anglo-American relations then became amiable, Darwin's antipathy toward America ceased.

Darwin did not remember correctly when he stated in a letter to Gray that he had "always thought that the destruction of slavery would be well worth a dozen years war." (Darwin to Gray, April 19, 1865, Botany Libraries, 22 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts) He was forgetting his willingness to compromise and let the slavocracy Confederacy survive, and his mental conflicts and feelings of guilt over this compromise -- where he had seen himself as "a poor blinded fool." After 1865 he seems to have put the memories of his conflicts and guilt out of his mind. He gave his son William the impression "that he had always been strongly on the side of the North in the American war." (William Darwin's recollections of his father, January 4, 1883, Darwin Archives (DAR), 112 (ser. 2), p. 3b)

On one occasion, however, memories of his unwelcome thoughts may have caused him to experience an unusual episode of anger. The occasion centered on the case of Governor Edward Eyre of Jamaica, who in 1865 had killed and tortured hundreds of rebellious Jamaican blacks. His actions had stimulated a public controversy which divided English intellectuals into two groups: one formed a Jamaica Committee to prosecute Eyre for murder, while the other met him at the port of Southampton -- where he had landed in the summer of 1866, upon his return from Jamaica -- and publicly lauded him. Darwin followed the controversy, experienced a resurgence of his anti-slavery sentiments, and in November 1866 "subscribed to the Jamaica Committee. For the more I hear about it the more atrocious the case appears." (Darwin to Hooker, November 20, 1866, DAR, 115: 305)

About this time Darwin was visited by his

son William, who lived in Southampton, and the two conversed about Eyre. William recollected that:

as I happened to think it was too strong a measure to prosecute Governor Eyre for murder, I made some foolish remarks about the prosecutors spending the surplus of the fund in a dinner. My father turned on me almost with fury and told me if these were my feelings I had better go back to Southampton; the inhabitants having given a dinner to Gov. Eyre on his landing, but with which I had had nothing to do.... Next morning at 7 o'clock or so my Father came up into my bedroom and sat on my bed and said that he had not been able to sleep from the thought that he had been so angry with me. He spoke in *the most* tender & gentle way. So I said that it had served me quite right for my stupid joke; after a few more kind words he left me. (William Darwin's Recollections, January 4, 1883, p. 3b)

In a later version of this recollection William would change his account of his father's angry mood from "almost with fury" into "fury of indignation." (Litchfield, *Emma Darwin*, Vol. 2, p. 168)

It was unusual for Darwin to verbalize anger to another person, and his son Francis claims that "I do not believe he ever spoke an angry word to any of his children in his life." (Francis Darwin, "Reminiscences," p. 112) In 1866 he was close to William who was becoming his financial confidant. It seems likely that his sudden outburst of "fury" at his son was stimulated by his sudden recognition that William's criticism of the Jamaica Committee tended to condone Eyre's "atrocious" actions and that it was similar to Darwin's criticism of the American North, which had condoned Southern slavery. In wanting to send William back to Southampton he was trying to expel from his consciousness the object which reminded him of his unwanted past memories. When he then reflected on how his anger had hurt his beloved son he became remorseful, and this remorse then enabled him to repress his anger and his unwanted memories.

After this, during the last 16 years of his life, Darwin would experience pleasant recollections of his anti-slavery sentiments. In 1872 he was visited by the American abolitionist, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who had published a book, *Army Life In a Black Regiment*, giving a sympathetic account of black soldiers whom Higginson

had commanded during the Civil War. After the visit Darwin's wife read him the book and he then wrote Higginson: "I always thought well of the negroes, from the little which I have seen of them; and I have been delighted to have my vague impressions confirmed, and their character and mental powers so ably discussed.... Your descriptions have vividly recalled walks taken forty years ago in Brazil." (Darwin to Thomas Wentworth Higginson, February 27, 1873, Francis Darwin, *Life and Letters*, Vol. 2, pp. 354&355) In this sentence he was recalling his 1832 *Beagle* visit to Brazil and his warm feelings for Brazilian blacks, which were similar to Higginson's feelings for American blacks.

In 1879 he was again reminded of his Brazilian visit when he received in the mail a just published American book, *What Mr. Darwin Saw in His Voyage Round the World in the Ship Beagle*, along with a letter from its editor, Wendell Phillips Garrison -- son of the late famous American abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison. In his letter Wendell Garrison first explained that his book was an abridgment and popularization for children of Darwin's *Beagle Journal* -- "compiled ... originally for the benefit of my children...." He further wrote: "during the last illness of my father ... I had the pleasure of calling his attention to your remarks on the subject of slavery, which I have so carefully preserved in my abridgment, and which shed for him a new and welcome light on your character as a philanthropist." (Wendell Phillips Garrison to Darwin, October 4, 1879, DAR 165) Darwin's reply, which has been lost, caused Wendell Garrison to write: "Your kind approval of my little work is reward enough for all pains spent upon it, while your expressions concerning my father will be treasured by his children as precious beyond comparison." (November 9, 1879, *Ibid.*)

What is noteworthy about the history of Darwin's anti-slavery feelings is the intensity of the emotional empathy that he felt for slaves, and how he sustained this intensity -- except for a brief diminution during the American Civil War -- throughout most of his long life. He was influenced to form this empathy by intellectual and emotional forces that included the impassioned anti-slavery art and poetry of his grandfathers, the "hot" anger of his sisters toward those who supported slavery, and by his being what a recent biographer has described as "a vulnerable personality." (John Bowlby, *Charles Darwin: A New Biography*, 1990, pp. 72-79) Thus, as a boy who had

suffered the loss of a mother and who feared rebukes from his father, he was timid and afraid to stand up for himself in school, and as a man he was fearful of hostile criticism and needed friends and admirers to support his ideas. (*Ibid.*, p. 75) He could have empathy for the vulnerability of slaves to criticism and cruelty because he had experienced this vulnerability in himself. And (as has been observed) when he became an evolutionary theorist this increased his vulnerability, which then increased his empathy for slaves.

Ralph Colp, Jr., MD, is a psycho-biographer of Darwin and a psychiatrist who has devoted much of his professional life to treating graduate students at Columbia University. His book on the great naturalist's illnesses has been reprinted and he is currently working on a new edition. Dr. Colp is an active member of the Psychohistory Forum's Biography Research Group and a frequent host of Forum meetings in Manhattan.

Olmsted and Slavery

Melvin Kalfus

Psychohistory Forum Research Associate

Frederick Law Olmsted (FLO) is best remembered as the 19th-century pioneer of landscape architecture and urban planning. His name is usually recalled in connection with the great urban parks: Central Park in Manhattan, Prospect Park in Brooklyn, Franklin Park in Boston, and a host of others throughout the United States. But before Olmsted (1822-1903) found his life's work -- through his election to the position of Superintendent of Central Park in 1857 -- he had already become well known to his contemporaries as a journalist and authority on antebellum society throughout the slave states. He made two trips through the South -- from Virginia to Texas -- in the early 1850s and reported on what he saw for the *New York Daily Times* [*The New York Times* 1857 and after] and the *New York Tribune* -- which later formed the basis for three books that were critically well-received: *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (1856), *A Journey Through Texas* (1857), and *A Journey in the Back Country* (1860). Olmsted deplored slavery and thought it responsible for a "barbarous" way of life throughout the South. In time, he became a Free Soil activist but never an abolitionist -- always a proponent of the gradual emancipation of slaves after educating

them for a life as freedmen.

Though intellectually and morally opposed to slavery, Olmsted was never able to empathize with the slaves themselves as human beings. Indeed, he expended far more intellectual energy on condemning the economics of slavery than he did the immorality of slavery. This was his objective from the inception of his first trip to the South in 1852, as he made clear in a letter to his old friend, Frederick Kingsbury. Olmsted said he intended to produce "a valuable book of observations on the Southern Agriculture and general economy as affected by Slavery," a book that would offer a "matter of fact" contrast to "the deluge of spooony fancy pictures now at its height." (FLO to FJK, October 17, 1852, in Charles Capen McLaughlin, editor in chief, *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted*, 5 volumes, 1981, Vol. II, pp. 82-85) The "spooony fancy pictures" Olmsted referred to were those offered by *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and a flood of cheapjack imitations of Harriet Beecher Stowe's classic anti-slavery book.

The manner in which Olmsted distanced himself from the tragic dimensions of slavery is revealed in an incident presented first in a dispatch to *The New York Times* from the South and later included in *The Cotton Kingdom* (1861) -- the revised and augmented version of his three earlier books about the Southern slave states. In this particular vignette, Olmsted watched as a truant slave girl was twice "viciously beaten" by a plantation overseer. What is most revealing is the difference between the version in the original dispatch and the version included in *The Cotton Kingdom* -- not so much in the *description* of the incident itself as in Olmsted's *reaction* to the beatings. (*Times*, November 21, 1853, McLaughlin, *Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 220-221; *Cotton Kingdom*, pp. 453-456)

In both the dispatch and the book, Olmsted preceded the actual description with a comment on the attitude of the slave overseer who administered the beatings -- an attitude which Olmsted likened to that of ships' officers. The material emphasized in the passage below was omitted in *The Cotton Kingdom* version (the phrase in brackets ends this passage as given in the book):

His conversation on this subject was exactly like what I have heard again and again, *ad nauseam*, from Northern shipmasters and officers [with regard to seamen.], *only he had a less brutal disposition, and more respect for the negroes than those fellows have for the*

seamen that temporarily subject themselves to the atrocious tyranny and insolence they boast of exercising. (Ibid.)

It can be seen that Olmsted's indignation in the dispatch version was reserved entirely for the tyrannized seamen and the overseer was made to seem less callous and cruel than ships' officers.

Olmsted described the distressing scene, in both the dispatch and the book, in detailed, dispassionate prose. In the book (but *not* in the original dispatch), Olmsted stated that it was the first time he "had ever seen a woman flogged." Though he had seen men "cudgeled and beaten, in the heat of passion," he wrote in the book, it was never with "a hundredth part of the severity" used by the "perfectly passionless" overseer. Olmsted mentioned that he had continued to hear the girl's "sobbing, spasmodic groans" after he had ridden to the top of the bank. In the earlier dispatch, however, Olmsted had merely stated that he "could not wait to see the end" but, after "a dozen or twenty blows," he turned his horse's head, whereupon the horse "burst through the bushes" and up the steep bank, "seemingly as excited and anxious to be doing something as I was." Olmsted then added (in the dispatch only): "I must say, however, the girl did not seem to suffer the intense pain that I should have supposed she would." (McLaughlin, *Papers*, Vol. II, p. 223); Olmsted, *Journey*, pp. 83-86)

The original dispatch is remarkable for Olmsted's cool, almost casual attitude toward the flogging episode. Indeed, it read as if it was the horse's impulse to flee from the horrid scene, rather than Olmsted's (unless one can say that the horse merely reacted to Olmsted's own repressed, unconscious anguish). It can be argued, with justice, that Olmsted's "objective," detached attitude heightened the awfulness of this terrible scene, which he had reproduced in such detail -- and which therefore made it even more effective among his gentry intellectual peers as an anti-slavery tract than *Uncle Tom's Cabin* with its florid prose.

But one must also notice the contrasting and unrestrained sense of outrage that Olmsted so clearly revealed when talking about the tyrannized seamen. Olmsted himself had shipped to sea when a youth and had sailed under such a tyrannical captain. Though he had never been flogged or even severely mistreated when at sea, it is plain that Olmsted had no difficulty in identifying with the seamen among whom he had lived, while he had a great deal of difficulty identifying with enslaved blacks.

Thus, the issue is not of Olmsted's moral sense -- which was strong, although more from his head than his heart. The issue, rather, was of his ability to empathize, something he could do only with those with whom he could strongly identify. It was this that dictated his position on what he himself referred to as the "brutal punishment" of slaves. Brutality towards slaves is all too commonplace in the South, Olmsted wrote, but he added:

I believe very few overseers punish their slaves entrusted to them so wantonly, brutally, passionately, and cruelly as I have seen a clergyman in New England punish boys entrusted to them for education.it requires a man of peculiar temperament and governing abilities, to efficiently control and direct a large body of persons, dependent upon him and subject to his uncontrolled authority, whether they are negroes or sailors or peasants or children, without the use of the lash or other humiliating punishments. (*Times*, January 26, 1854; McLaughlin, *Papers*, Vol. II, p. 249)

One can admire the soundness of Olmsted's understanding of human nature and the sense of his argument but at the same time one must wonder at the outrage so easily directed toward a clergyman brutalizing the boys in his care, an outrage lacking where a whole enslaved population was concerned. As in the case of the tyrannized sailors, Olmsted's anger is aroused here only by the thought of the brutalized students -- for, once again, he himself had been such a boy. After his father's second marriage when Olmsted was seven-and-a-half, Frederick had been sent away from home to a rural boarding school run by a minister. Except for part of two school years, he would continue to be sent away to these crude, often cruel, boarding schools until the age of 17. At best, he had been allowed to idle away his days in the back woods of Connecticut -- roaming, fishing, and hunting. At worst, he was subjected to rural clergymen, "deputy fathers," who were more than puritanical -- who were tyrannical and sometimes sadistic. "Here I suffered in many cruel ways," Olmsted wrote four decades later of one such school, "and I still carry the scars of more than one kind of wound...." One of those scars, he suggested, was from being "again the smallest boy among sixty." (McLaughlin, *Papers*, Vol. I, p. 105)

It is also apparent that the slave overseer was one of the few types of Southerners with whom Olmsted could empathize. But here again

there was a basis for identification: Olmsted had been an "overseer" of small work forces on his Staten Island farm, and he would, within a few years, become the superintendent of a vast work force on Central Park. Thus, while he recognized at last the evil of the overseers' treatment of slaves, he was also able to see -- from their point of view -- the necessity of that treatment. (As Superintendent of Central Park, Olmsted would receive recognition for his ability to direct free laborers with discipline and with great skill. In a diary entry of September 2, 1859, 19th-century New York lawyer and diarist George Templeton Strong commented on the "great progress" which had been made on the Park, adding: "Some three thousand men are employed, and there are no idlers. Everybody is earning his pay." [Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas, eds., *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*, 1974, Vol. II, p. 458])

It should be made clear that Olmsted never in any way justified the enslavement of the black race, nor did he ever suggest that the slave population was content with its lot. It is rather that he could not conceive of the efficacy of the abolitionist solution -- immediate freedom for the blacks, whom he thought to be incapable of properly exercising that freedom. He thought that abolition, "the direct sundering of the tie of master and dependent," might be "impracticable, fanatical, mischievous and unjust." Rather, he sought "Amelioration, the improvement and the elevation of the negro...." (McLaughlin, *Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 179-180) A decade later, during the war, abolitionist Charles Loring Brace apparently asked Olmsted his opinion as to whether or not the slaves would rise up against their masters. Olmsted responded (in the cruder language he was to adopt during the war years): "Haven't I told you again and again the niggers can't combine -- therefore *can't rise*? Will they run? Yes, when they have something to run to. But they will not run to starvation." (FLO to CLB, October 4, 1862, McLaughlin, *Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 451) This comment is typical of Olmsted's curiously ambivalent view of the slaves -- coldly patronizing but with a clear-eyed understanding of the slaves' situation.

The fact is that Olmsted saw the slave in the same light that his Puritan forebears had seen the small child. "The negroes came to us from barbarism as from a cradle," he wrote in an earlier letter. He saw them as subject to "strong and simple appetites and impulses," to "violent and uncontrollable passions, and altogether undisciplined, un-

educated, and unchristianized." Separated from "their protectors and superiors," they formed new attachments quickly "and with equal strength." Those who had taken on the burden of such a "child" retained a responsibility for the upbringing of that "child" -- and it was from this sense of the slave owner being duty-bound that Olmsted evolved his paternalistic concept of "amelioration" of the slave condition. (*Times*, July 8, 1853; McLaughlin, *Papers*, Vol. II, p. 187)

Olmsted's language here should alert us to the fact that, rather than empathizing with the slaves, Olmsted saw in them his own childish, impulsive, unruly self -- a "shadow self" that he had firmly repressed in the process of becoming the journalistic representative of his upright gentry peers. But we can note that the man who wrote these words was still financially dependent upon his own father. It should be recalled again that as a child he had been sent away from home to board with a succession of rural clergymen -- some of whom had thought him to be a strong-willed child, even a "bad boy," in need of firmness and discipline.

By the spring of 1863, however, Olmsted's attitudes in regard to the freed slaves had shifted perceptibly. The turning point, he wrote a member of the Sanitary Commission of which he was General Secretary, was Lincoln's *Emancipation Proclamation* -- an act which not only changed Olmsted's stand on the question but which, strangely enough, prompted him to turn at last upon the Southern slaveholders:

I opposed the proclamation until it was issued. I shall stand by it now as long as I live and I shall try to bring up my children to make it good. I shall be for continual war or for Southern independence rather than go back one step from it. There is but one way in which I believe prolonged peace to be practicable -- it is called extermination. (FLO to Charles J. Stillel, February 25, 1863, in McLaughlin, *Papers*, Vol. IV, pp. 516-519)

His use of the word "extermination" was not a heated sentiment, written in haste. It represented his newly-considered policy and an apparently implacable hatred of the slave-holding aristocracy of the South. "Peace is to be come at by a gradual process," he wrote his friend, Charles Eliot Norton, "not by a treaty, not by any act of Congress, least of all by any compromise but by the gradual wearing out, dying off, and killing off -- extermination

of the rebels." (FLO to CEN, April 30, 1863, in McLaughlin, *Papers*, Vol. IV, pp. 618-621)

Olmsted's outburst against the slave-holding Southern society was clearly an explosion of rage that came from the depths of his psyche. Looking inward, he found in himself an "instinct" that was stronger than his "love of life," a "bitter feeling," a hatred "tremendously deep and quiet." (FLO to Henry Bellows, July 4, 1863; McLaughlin, *Papers*, Vol. IV, pp. 638-645) What Olmsted found was the hatred slumbering in his own unconscious, a hatred born in infancy and childhood -- a hatred of those siblings who had remained at home when he was sent away, a hatred of the bigger boys who had tormented the boy who was the "smallest among sixty," a hatred of the "deputy fathers" who brutalized and tyrannized him, and a hatred of his own father who had abandoned him to this hard fate. "Down with them, damn them!" (Ibid.) was a *cri de coeur* against all the hated rivals and oppressors in his life.

I have, in my writings on Olmsted, often expressed my belief that Olmsted continually made career choices which combined his feminine and masculine identifications and that the Sanitary Commission was one of these. The ultimate goal of the Sanitary Commission was one of nurturance but Olmsted suppressed the feminine aspect of this -- stressed instead the "science" of administration and health care. Olmsted's enormous physical effort during the Peninsula Campaign of the Civil War -- when he personally superintended a fleet of hospital ships -- was, in fact, compassion in action. But his writings were given over to his (or the Union's) triumphs and humiliations, to his furies and hatreds and plans and scheming; they rarely display an empathy with the monumental human suffering then taking place.

Olmsted's need to project a practical, even aggressive, masculinity, certainly led him to stifle the "feminine" compassion he might have felt for the slaves. But the fury expressed by Olmsted in the summer of 1863 against the Southern slaveholders suggests the principal reason why Olmsted -- essentially a democrat by principle and moral to the core of his being -- was never able to empathize with the plight of the slaves on a human level: Olmsted was a man possessed, all his life, by a rage, deep-felt and raw -- a rage generated by his tormented childhood. He had been left with a sense of victimhood so great that it blinded him to the far greater suffering that the slaves had endured and were enduring at the hands of their taskmasters.

Melvin Kalfus, PhD, was the author of the outstanding psychobiography Frederick Law Olmsted: Passion of a Public Artist, published in 1990 by New York University Press. There is extensive information on Professor Kalfus on pages 48-53. □

Parental Debt and the Enslavement of Children in Ancient Athens

Robert Rousselle

Psychohistory Forum Research Associate and Independent Scholar

The notion that punishment for the crimes of the father shall not be passed onto the children is a relatively recent one. The ancient Greeks often thought otherwise, as quasi-religious offenses such as curses or pollution, as well as violations of law, could be satisfied at the expense of the transgressor's children. In antiquity an unpaid debt was a criminal offense that required punishment. Prior to the archonship of Solon, around 592/1 B.C.E., an Athenian citizen could pledge himself as surety for a debt or sell his children into slavery to pay off that debt. The debt slave did not languish in prison or some other confinement but rather worked off the debt. Although in theory he might hope to one day reclaim his freedom, that possibility would seem tenuous in a society in which coinage was not widespread and the economic value of land or objects difficult to determine. In addition, very young children sold into debt slavery and raised as slaves might not question their status, rather they might be unaware of its origin and accept it unquestioningly. Given the short life expectancy of people in the ancient world, no doubt even shorter for slaves, it is likely that most debt slaves died in bondage.

Plutarch, writing nearly 700 years after the archonship of Solon, states that many Athenians were forced to sell their own children to pay off their debts, since no law forbade it. (Solon 13. 3) Among his many reforms, Solon instituted the *seisachtheia*, the "Shaking off of Burdens" or cancellation of private and public debts, and forbade loans made on the person of the debtor or his children. (Aristotle *Athenaion Politeia* 6. 1, 9. 1) He brought back to Athens those sold into slavery, whether legally or not. Some had been abroad so long they no longer spoke their native dialect. He also freed those who remained slaves in Athens.

(Solon Fr. 36. 8-15 = Aristotle *Athenaion Politeia* 12. 4)

It would be erroneous to think that these laws applied to any inhabitants of Athens besides citizens. Resident aliens, freedmen, and visiting foreigners could still sell their children into slavery. This distinction is implicit in Lysias' oration against Eratosthenes, one of the 30 oligarchs who briefly ran Athens after her defeat in the Peloponnesian War. Athenian children could have been assaulted by the 30, he says, whereas the children of foreigners would have been enslaved for minor debts. (Lysias 12. 98) Athenian comedy makes much of the possibility of foreigners selling their children outright or pledging them for debts, such as the Megarian pig seller who gives his two daughters the choice of being sold into slavery or starving. They opt for slavery. (Aristophanes *Acharnenses* 734-35) In one play by Menander the plot revolves around a non-citizen who pledges his two children, a boy and a girl, to work off his debt (*Heros* 20, 36, hypothesis 3), while in another a Corinthian woman living in Athens borrows a large sum of money from a *hetaira* and leaves her daughter as security for the loan. (Terence *Heautontimorumenos* 600-9, based on a play from Menander) This also became a useful accusation in political invective, as one could discredit one's enemy by suggesting that his natural mother sold him; hence he could not be of citizen status. (Demosthenes 21. 149)

It would be equally mistaken to assume that similar laws forbidding debt slavery of citizens and their children existed in other Greek *poleis* (city states). Not only are there no direct attestations, but Diodorus notes that the majority of Greek lawgivers prohibited seizing weapons and plows as security for loans but not the person who used them. (Diodorus Siculus 1. 79. 5) The barbaric Thracians who lived on the fringes of the Greek world and provided the Greeks with many slaves were said to have sold their children, (Herodotos 5. 6. 1), though whether debt or some other reason was the cause is unstated. The comic figure Karion, whose name suggests he was from Caria, was enslaved because of a lack of money to pay off a debt. (Aristophanes *Plutus* 147-48) The possibility of the enslavement of children for a minor debt is considered likely in Plataea, long an ally of Athens. (Isokrates 14. 48)

Profiting from the enslavement of children, and frequently acting as the middleman in the process, was the slave trader. In a comic encomium

Aristophanes notes how the slave trader provides a service for the wealthy, so they do not have to do heavy work themselves. (*Plutus* 510-26) Some slave traders who purchased children specialized in providing certain kinds of slaves. Panionios of Chios obtained good-looking boys, castrated them, and sold them to the Persians, who valued a good eunuch. (Herodotos 8. 106. 1-4) Nikarete, a freed-woman and the wife of a cook, had the ability to recognize future beauty in young girls. She purchased seven, trained them as prostitutes, and lived off their earnings until she sold them off one by one as they passed their "useful prime." (Demosthenes 59. 18-20) Small wonder some Greek parents considered the death of their children from exposure preferable to their becoming slaves or prostitutes. (Terence *Heautontimorumenos* 632-43)

Fifth and fourth century B.C.E. allusions to selling children into slavery, whether it be its prohibition by Solon or its continued practice elsewhere in the Greek world, also reflects an unconscious ambivalence of the Athenians towards their children, especially sons. A son was necessary to inherit the property and the family gods, and to revere the ancestors. When an Athenian father reached 60 it was customary for him to give his property over to his surviving sons, to live with one of them and be cared for by him. A widowed mother usually resided with one of her sons. The sale of a male child into slavery, like childlessness or the death of a son, meant that there would be no one left to perpetuate the family, carry on the worship of its gods, venerate the ancestors, and care for the aged parents.

At the same time, these allusions reveal infanticidal urges, to rid oneself of an unwanted child. Exposure, however frequently it might have been practiced, had to be done within the first week of a newborn's life. After recognition and admission into the family at the Amphidromia the child could no longer be lawfully exposed. Of course neglect, differential nutrition, or "accidental death" were still possible means of ridding oneself of an unwanted child but these took time and perhaps, in the case of the latter, planning. Selling a child into slavery, though illegal for citizen children in Athens, could perhaps be done on the "black market" with the child's disappearance explained away as death by accident or illness. Or perhaps it remained a fantasy, thoughts in which a parent indulged themselves in their darker moments but which never came to fruition.

Robert Rousselle, PhD, is an independent scholar of ancient history whose current research interests are Classical Greek childrearing and ancient dreams. Dr. Rousselle is a frequent contributor to this publication. □

Serfs in North America?

Paul Elovitz

Ramapo College and the Psychohistory Forum

No one doubts the existence of slavery in North America prior to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. However, serfdom is identified with medieval Western Europe and Russia prior to the Tsar's peaceful emancipation of 20,000,000 serfs in 1861. Consequently, my ears perked up at a Psychohistory Forum Biography Research Group meeting when Lee Shneidman of Adelphi University made a passing reference to serfs in some New Netherland settlements, with their bondage continuing even after the American Revolution, into the early 1790s. I wondered, "Could this be true?"

For those readers not versed in the historical distinction between slavery and serfdom, let me spell it out. A slave was chattel property to be bought and sold like a horse, dog, house, or bushel of wheat. Enslavement in the European and ancient Mediterranean worlds was usually a result of kidnapping, defeat in war, being sold into servitude by parents, or being enslaved for debt or the debt of parents. Prior to modern times, slaves were commonly of the same racial and ethnic group as their owners. Custom or law normally gave slaves some limited rights. In the ancient world, slaves were occasionally allowed to earn their own money through the equivalent of overtime work and, even in some instances, buy their own freedom.

Serfdom, in theory though not always in practice, was a different type of servitude. It was created where there were few or no cities and a primarily barter, rather than a money, economy. Free peasants normally became enserfed in dangerous times when they sought, accepted, or were forced under the protection of a knight. The arrangement was for the serf to pay homage to his lord, work a number of days (unpaid of course!) a week on his lord's land (and the rest on his own), pay additional labor service taxes, get his lord's permission to marry, and go to his lord for justice when he had disputes with his neighbors. In theory, the serf could not be alienated from the land,

though advertisements of serfs trained as domestics or skilled worker for sale in 18th-century Russian newspapers illustrate that in practice serfs were sometimes treated as chattel.

(In the colonial period in North America indentured servitude was commonplace. Unlike slavery and serfdom, this was not a hereditary condition. For a limited period, usually four to seven years, a free person in Europe agreed to work off the cost of his passage to the colonies as a bound laborer. At the end of the period the indentured servant became a free man or woman.)

When, amidst a discussion of serfdom in Russia, Professor Shneidman declared that there was serfdom in Orange and Kings counties in the Dutch colonies of North America, I immediately sought clarification. "Were the alleged serfs *bound* to the land?" "Did they *have* to work the lord's land or were they *free* to leave at anytime?" "Were their lands *held in common* (the commons)?" "Did they *need* the lord's permission to marry?" In all four cases his answers supported the serfs-in-America thesis. I next questioned the continuation of the alleged serfdom after the English captured "New Amsterdam" and renamed it "New York" in 1664. Further, "Wasn't this type of servitude immediately repudiated once American forces took control of New York at the end of the Revolutionary War?" In both cases the answer was negative, supporting the "serf thesis." Professor Shneidman described this serfdom as a part of the Dutch *patroon* system, enduring into the life of the new republic, on the estates of the Courtlands, Livingstons, Schuylers, Van Rensselaers, and other powerful families of the area. The system ended, he declared, in 1791 or 1792 when it was eliminated by the New York legislature as unbecoming a free country. I wondered if it had eroded before then, due to the attraction of the frontier and the availability of cheap land and work in the cities.

This discussion was well beyond my area of expertise as a psychohistorian, historian of modern England/Europe, and psychobiographer of recent U.S. Presidents. However, I felt sure that I could get more information from others in our psychohistorical community. My first thought was to contact my friend and colleague Andrew Brink in Canada. Though a literature teacher by profession, especially since his retirement from the universities of Toronto and McMaster, Professor Brink has been working intensely on the history of his Dutch/English ancestors in Esopus in New Netherland and New York State. He has published some of

his findings in **Clio's Psyche**. His completed book, *Invading Paradise: Esopus Settlers at War with Natives, 1659-1663*, is currently being reviewed by an academic press. Brink's responses are extracted from three e-mails of March 31 and May 21, 2001, and reprinted with permission. "As to serfdom in New Netherland, I haven't come up with a ready source but will ask" members of the Holland Society of New York "when I see them. I suppose you could say that the Van Rensselaers and Livingstons as *patroons* had 'serfs' but it needs looking into." He checked Patricia U. Bonomi, *A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York* (1971), who wrote that "the few that retained their status as manors throughout the colonial period did so by surrendering nearly all the ancient privileges which historians who stress the semi-feudal character of New York land patterns rely upon to substantiate their interpretation...." Regarding "the political condition of residents on these manors and estates ... it has been shown that suffrage in New York Colony was fairly broad, and included tenants holding life leases -- a class more numerous than had once been thought." (p. 6)

Brink next wrote: "The whole question of servitude is important -- futile attempts to enslave Indians as farm workers, buying and selling blacks for the same purpose (my own family at Hurley is deeply implicated here), not to mention the possibility of certain tenancy agreements being close to 'serfdom'." He goes on to say that in the 18th century a person he came across in his research "attempted to establish the Hurley Manor and failed...." I wonder whether the manor may have broken down because the "lord" couldn't find any "serfs?" Demonstrating his persistence, Andrew did not stop there. At his next opportunity at a meeting of the Holland Society, he spoke to Professor Bonomi in person and reported that she:

thinks that there was never serfdom in colonial Dutch/Huguenot settlements; slavery, yes, but no serfdom -- a point on which she was emphatic. She says that some historians used to believe the serf theory but few do now. I suppose it is a matter of defining a "serf"; there certainly were many tenant farmers oppressed and miserable enough to think of themselves as "serfs." But in any real sense they weren't serfs as they were always free to leave the manor lord's employ and many did strike out for themselves. Of course, tenant farmers who left forfeited all improvements to the

landlord but they were under no obligation to stay. Stories of virtual vassalage probably got started because of bad treatment, for instance, by the Livingstons of Palatine [German] refugees (1710). As you know, William Penn offered these hard-working farmers refuge in his colony. The Van Rensselaers and Hardenberghs had tenant revolts and there were anti-rent wars in the 1840s. (See Alice P. Kenney, *Stubborn for Liberty: The Dutch in New York*, 1975.)

The willingness to help a colleague, openness to possibilities not previously entertained, readiness to check out the facts, and concern for the plight of the common people, all expressed above, are typical of Professor Brink.

As I waited to hear from Andrew Brink and others I had asked, my own curiosity could not be contained. I spent time in the library and brought home a pile of books, including the Kenny book cited above, in which I learned about a "half freedom granted to Dutch slaves." (p. 77) I read of "perpetual [land] ownership" which was "to be held as an inheritable fief or feud," of numerous landlord tenant land and labor disputes, and a slew of other things about the land system. Though some of the language was medieval ("fief" and "feud," for example), there was no direct evidence that this amounted to serfdom and much to the contrary. (S.G. Nissenson, *The Patroon's Domain*, 1973, p. 329) Elsewhere I found interesting materials on apprenticeship, treatment of the Indians, the need for the instruction of slaves in the "Christian religion," voting, "land riots," and "feudal clauses" but nothing substantiated the Shneidman thesis. (Michael G. Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History*, 1975) (A student named Tim Hamilton was kind enough to help me with some of the research since I did not trust the indices of the books to cover everything.)

I decided to ask specialists in Colonial history before rejecting the argument of a colleague as knowledgeable and respected as Professor Shneidman -- the author of a book on Aaron Burr and the head of one of the prestigious Columbia University Seminars. Professor Edward Cody, my colleague who was just appointed Acting Provost at Ramapo College, is well known for his sound judgment. He asked a few clarifying questions and then dismissed the notion of serfs in Colonial America without hesitation. Professor Ann Marie Plane of the University of California at Santa Barbara urged me to read some wonderful sounding recent books

In Memoriam: Melvin Kalfus (1931-2002)

Paul H. Elovitz
Ramapo College and the
Psychohistory Forum

Mel Kalfus, psychobiographer, psychohistorian, professor of history, institution builder, business executive, and Jewish intellectual, died on February 24, 2002, a week short of his 71st birthday, of congestive heart failure after a lifetime of struggling to maintain his health. He left behind a legacy of scholarship (published and unpublished) and courage.

Courage in the face of illness and death was a most outstanding characteristic of this talented scholar. Shortly after his birth in a Manhattan hospital he contracted whooping

(Continued on page 49)

on servitude in North America and concluded that she "definitely would not call it serfdom in New Amsterdam -- it is patroonship and tenancy, but very distinctive, and it may well have provoked consternation in the 1790s as quite authoritarian...." (May 21, 2001 e-mail, quoted with permission)

On the basis of the helpfulness of Professors Brink, Cody, and Plane, as well as my own modest research, I consider it quite unlikely that some form of bondage approximating European serfdom was created in the early 17th-century Dutch settlements in the Hudson Valley and therefore could *not* have extended into the early national period of American history. Though I remain open to the possibility of new facts being presented supporting the American serfdom thesis, the evidence I have seen runs counter to the forceful argument of Lee Shneidman. He is a man I know to speak his mind forthrightly and to be quite ready to engage contrary opinions. In 1988 I published an article as a result of a difference of opinion with him on the subject of psychohistorical evidence. ("Dreams as a Psychohistorical Source," *Journal of Psychohistory*, Winter 1989, pp. 289-296) Perhaps this discussion of the issue of serfdom in North America will prompt him to do the same. As an editor I welcome any submission on the subject and look forward to learning more about forms of

bondage we do not usually think about in the 21st century.

Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Editor of this publication, may be contacted at <pelovitz@aol.com>. □

In Memoriam: Melvin Kalfus (1931-2002)

(Continued from page 48)

cough, precipitating lifelong, chronic respiratory problems. An unnecessary surgical procedure at age five complicated his condition. In search of a better climate for their frail son's health, the family moved to Arizona for a number of years where Mel encountered anti-Semitism. Throughout his adulthood, Mel's health was questionable, especially after he was diagnosed with lymphoma near the pancreas in 1984. He fought the cancer with an intensity that few bring to the struggle for health and life. While undergoing chemotherapy, Mel imagined himself in a *Star Wars*-type game, envisioning cancer cells being devoured. After nine months of chemotherapy, the doctors felt the cancer was gone and this author had the great pleasure of sitting with Mel's cancer survivors group at the celebration of his being awarded a doctoral degree by New York University in 1988. But his breathing difficulties were intensified by the chemotherapy. In 1996 his respiratory problems required that he use supplemental oxygen, which by 1999 was needed 24 hours a day. Even with his wife Alma's constant care, a home health aide became necessary toward the end of his life.

A love of knowledge and scholarship shone forth from Mel Kalfus who was most happy in his career as a professor. His 1990 book, *Frederick Law Olmsted: Passion of a Public Artist*, published by New York University Press, is a major contribution to scholarship in general and psychohistory in particular. It was based upon his doctoral dissertation that he worked lovingly on for so long. It had taken him 13 years to earn his PhD and, in Florida, he enjoyed being addressed as "Dr."

Kalfus loved opera and was fascinated by why Theodor Herzl was almost incapable of work at times unless he listened to the music of the anti-Semite Wagner. In probing Wagner's life, the psychobiographer found evidence of the great composer's having a Jewish father. This helped to inspire "Richard Wagner as Cult Hero: The Tann-

häuser Who Would Be Siegfried," which was published in 1984 by the *Journal of Psychohistory*. The International Psychohistorical Association (IPA) granted him the Glenn Davis Award for this impressive endeavor. His passion for opera inspired him to write a major psychoanalytical study of Herbert Graf, the operatic stage director. Alma Kalfus, his widow, has sent me hundreds of pages of a manuscript on Graf who is best known as Freud's "Little Hans." Jewish issues, political leadership, and creativity were central to Mel's interests.

Some other topics Mel wrote on were baseball, Clinton, FDR, Hemingway, Hitler, Nixon, Sherman, and the Jewish contribution to Hollywood. Most of his scholarship was published in the *Journal of Psychohistory*, **Clio's Psyche**, the *Psychohistory News*, and *The Psychohistory Review*. He wrote numerous book reviews. In recent years, Mel made an important contribution to **Clio's Psyche** by working with Bob Lentz and this author on special issues. He showed himself to be a first rate editor who had lots of ideas. When his health permitted, he also readily accepted the scholarly chore of anonymously refereeing articles of others. He also served on the Advisory Council of the Psychohistory Forum.

Mel Kalfus changed his direction on a number of occasions in his life. He took a BS degree at Purdue University in mechanical engineering as preparation to eventually join his father's air conditioning business but hated the job he got with an engineering firm. He quit to write a novel but soon emerged as a journalist in Hartford where he went on to become community relations director of the Hartford Jewish Federation. Positions at Polaroid and for a subcontractor in the Apollo Space Program soon followed. He was like a rolling stone until at age 36 he became an advertising man in New York City with Muller Jordan Weiss in 1967. When he retired 22 years later, he was Senior Vice President and Director of Marketing and Market Research.

Within eight years in the world of advertising, Mel decided to prepare to become a professor. He loved the life of the mind, which led him to spend so many years pursuing his doctoral degree in history. Both David Beisel and I found him to be an outstanding lecturer when he spoke at our colleges in the 1980s. In 1989 Mel moved to the gentler climate of Florida and a career as a professor. As an adjunct he lectured at Florida Atlantic (FAU) and Lynn universities, the Elderhostel to

Jewish retirees, and the Lifelong Learning program of FAU. Professor Kalfus taught the most varied courses and had a wonderful time developing his ideas and exchanging with the students. Teaching from three to five courses a semester, far more than professors at research universities, was a lot of work but he relished it. Rather than take a full-time job as professor, he devoted himself to serving his new synagogue, Congregation B'nai Israel in Boca Raton as its president (1995-1999) during a large-scale building program. The words of a lengthy poem written in his honor on the occasion of retirement from the presidency catch a few of his special qualities and the feelings people had for him: "A man we all respect ... a man who excels at all you do ... you've touched us all deeply in so many different ways ... [as] our president, our spokesman, and our sage." Amidst all of his other activities, he continued to do market research, partly to supplement the family income.

A major contribution that Mel Kalfus made was to the International Psychohistorical Association, which he served as secretary (1979-1980), president (1980-1982), treasurer (1982-1995), and newsletter editor (1988). He worked to raise the level of professional service of whatever office he served and did an outstanding job, often inspiring those who followed in his footsteps.

Mel Kalfus was an autodidact and a life-long learner. He learned from attending classes, disputing with other people, his own psychotherapy, reading, and seminars. He was a great fan of the work-in-progress Saturday seminars I convened, under the auspices of two different groups. To quote him:

The "special training" I most benefited from was the Saturday morning sessions of the Institute for Psychohistory and the Psychohistory Forum. In each case, someone would present an excerpt from work in progress. The work would be critiqued, and a gazillion suggestions made, by those attending. These were superb vehicles for learning psychohistory (through other people's projects) -- but especially for learning by doing (by presenting one's own projects). In fact, these workshops successfully did what universities try to do with mixed success in their seminars. (Paul Elovitz, "Mel Kalfus: Psychobiographer, Institution Builder, and Survivor," *Clio's Psyche*, June 2000, Vol. 7 No. 1, p. 35)

Soon after its creation in 1983, the Psycho-

history Forum met without paying rent in the lavish conference room of Kalfus' advertising firm at 666 Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. At Mel's prompting, his ad agency would donate its advertising expertise and printing services to the IPA.

As much as he enjoyed building institutions, organizations, and products, Mel loved the life of the mind even more. "The wonderment of birth and infancy" had fascinated him and then raising three teenagers had contributed to his thoughts about the intricacies of the human psyche. (Kalfus in Jay Sherry, "Interview with Melvin Kalfus," *Psychohistory News*, 1996, Vol. 15 No. 2, pp. 1-6) He read Mahler, Klein, Winnicott, and other theorists to get a better sense of human development. He was a very practical man who liked to argue theory and passionately believed that truth would flow from such argumentation. He insisted that we must:

Be rigorous in our standards of what is and is not psychohistory, and in the quality of psychohistorical work, the integrity of psychohistorical argument. It is hard to build a profession upon work that is based upon wild speculation and unsupported "findings." Good psychohistory, as with any other discipline, is hard work and we have every right to expect that the hard work be done. (Sherry, "Mel Kalfus," p. 40)

Notwithstanding our friendship, I had an example of his rigor in his negative initial reaction as a psychobiographer to the idea of utilizing the dreams of deceased subjects for which I was pioneering a new methodology. He told me plainly that there could be no real benefit to examining the dreams of our biographical subjects. Yet, he welcomed my challenge to participate in a dream workshop. After experiencing it, he became open to this new methodology as an aid to the psychobiographer. Our colleague Ralph Colp still speaks about the lively discussions that the two had shortly before Mel's move to Florida. Among Kalfus' many friends was Mel Goldstein (1926-1997), a literature professor/psychoanalyst from Hartford who looked like a Hasidic rabbi and greeted everyone at IPA meetings and Forum sessions with a bear hug. Together they shared family stories, humor, history, psychoanalysis, and psychohistory, in addition to *Yiddishket* as among the "most Jewish Jews of the IPA." When told of his death, our colleague Andrew Brink remembered him with admiration "as a scholar and human being of the highest integrity" and then immediately made reference to

Mel Goldstein. It is so hard to believe that both Mels are now dead.

In reviewing Mel Kalfus' life and contributions to psychohistory, I am inspired by his integrity. It shows in the interview we did of him for this publication and an earlier one for *Psychohistory News* by Jay Sherry cited above. In it there was much appreciation of the contributions of his colleagues in the field and a striking honesty. He loved psychohistory, warts and all. In writing the history of psychohistory, I will certainly refer back to it for information and inspiration.

In these pages colleagues and friends mourn Mel Kalfus. He will be remembered for his scholarship, teaching, methodology, institution building, and example of courage in the face of adversity.

Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, first met Mel Kalfus in 1979 when Mel attended his first International Psychohistorical Association Annual Convention in Manhattan. For Psychohistory, which Mel once edited, he has written a longer obituary notice, published along with recollections of Henry Lawton and Lloyd deMause. (May 2002, Volume 21 No. 3, pp. 1-6) One of his goals in researching and writing the history of psychohistory is to preserve the special contributions of people like Mel Kalfus. Professor Elovitz may be contacted at <pelovitz@aol.com>. Condolences may be sent to Alma Rosenthal Kalfus at <kalrose@aol.com>.

Mel Kalfus Remembered

David Beisel, PhD, is a distinguished psychohistorian who teaches at SUNY Rockland. When interviewed as our Featured Scholar as to the major influences on him, Mel Kalfus reported that "I learned more about doing psychohistory from David than from any other single individual." (Elovitz, "Mel Kalfus," p. 35)

Friends of Alma and Mel Kalfus, and scholars of history and psychohistory, have lost a dear friend and a scholar of breadth, creativity, and integrity with the death of Mel Kalfus. He was a judicious psychohistorian whose work was always solidly rooted in traditional standards of historiography and in careful attention to the details of primary sources.

I was privileged to know Mel from the early 1980s when we began a correspondence on the nature, merits, and possibilities of doing psychohistory, a friendship that saw him emerge as an expert on 19th-century America, New York City,

Wagner, and what he was fond of calling, "the psychology of the German-Jewish connection." His presentation at my college on that theme, as part of a psychohistory lecture series open to the public, was previewed in the *Rockland County Journal News* (with photo) and was presented to an overflow audience including several local business and political leaders. He did this while maintaining a full schedule at his advertising firm, researching and writing his doctoral dissertation, and serving the International Psychohistorical Association (IPA) in several capacities. First as a dedicated and enthusiastic IPA president, and then as long-time IPA treasurer, where he helped set the Association on the road to fiscal responsibility, Mel contributed significantly to the maintenance of psychohistorical organization. I was delighted when he won his long-wished-for PhD in history from NYU and even more delighted when the dissertation was published by NYU Press as *Frederick Law Olmsted: Passion of a Public Artist*. (1990)

Mel has made a lasting contribution to my own teaching, as every semester I tell my classes the same story, one Mel once shared with me, an episode which hopefully helps some of my students understand a little better the power of denial, rationalization, and irrationality. Mel was having lunch with his business associates (on Fifth Avenue at the Top of the Sixes, I believe) when the conversation turned to a tragic event that had happened nearby just a few days before. Debris from a skyscraper had begun falling onto a midtown street; while nearly everyone ran for cover, one person ran into the street, looked up, and was killed. As the luncheon conversation turned to the recent event, and his business associates commented on the stupidity of the victim, Mel risked the suggestion that the accident wasn't so accidental, that perhaps the victim harbored some kind of unconscious death wish which was being spontaneously, and unconsciously, acted out. There was silence. Then someone said, "The unconscious? [pause] There's no such thing as the unconscious." Everyone except Mel agreed. Within minutes, Mel reported, the table conversation turned to the possibilities of precognition, out-of-body experiences, past life readings, reincarnation, "death-in-life" experiences, "proof" for the existence of the soul and an afterlife, and UFO sightings and alien abductions. Someone said, "Hey ... there might be something to this stuff."

I well remember Mel's courage during his

successful battle against a serious cancer some years ago. Thoughts of Mel's courage, as well as several cheery telephone calls, helped sustain me though my own recent illnesses. One wants to say much more but there comes a moment when one must end at least the public tribute with "Thanks for everything, Mel."

Ralph Colp, Jr., MD (See profile on p. 41.)

My association with Mel Kalfus began in the spring and summer of 1990 when we gave papers at the Psychohistory Forum meetings on a topic that was entitled "Genius and Empathy," about how two 19th-century men of genius, Charles Darwin and Frederick Law Olmsted, expressed intense anti-slavery views but differed in their empathy for slaves. Our papers had grown out of the biographies we had written on Darwin and Olmsted. In my paper I delineated the empathy Darwin felt for slaves, while Mel showed that Olmsted lacked this empathy. After the Forum meetings we discussed and wrote up our papers but were unable at the time to find a scholarly journal to publish them. [Editor's Note: Lengthy excerpts are published in this issue on pages 1 and 36-44.]

From our discussions of Darwin and Olmsted, which sometimes involved recollections of how we each had worked with unpublished letters, Mel and I developed an intellectual friendship. In a review of the paperback edition of Mel's biography of Olmsted, I noted the "passionate, poignant, and emotionally moving way" in which some of the psychological vicissitudes of Olmsted's life had been written about. (*Journal of Psychohistory* 20 (3) Winter 1993, pp. 361-363) On the infrequent occasions when Mel came to New York from Florida, we would meet and talk about our current scholarly work, events in the meetings of the Psychohistory Forum, and a variety of books we were reading or had read in the past. Although I did not share Mel's belief in Zionism, I was interested to learn from him about the work of the American novelist, critic, and Zionist, Ludwig Lewisohn (1882-1955). I think that Mel would have worked on a biography of Lewisohn had he been able to live near the library which housed Lewisohn's writings.

Mel was an intense talker whose conversation often gave me a sense of intellectual exhilaration. When I would think of meeting with him I would anticipate experiencing this exhilaration. Now it is painful to know that our talks have

ended.

Carl Prince, PhD, recently retired as Professor of History from New York University to spend part of each year in the San Francisco Bay Area and to write a baseball biography of Bart Giamatti, the Yale University president and Boston Red Sox fan who became president of the National League and Commissioner of baseball. Professor Prince may be contacted at <cp2@nyu.edu>.

I'm saddened to hear about the death of Mel Kalfus. He was my student first and then my close friend. For about 15 years he fought cancer with courage, remarkable equanimity, and a dogged determination to go on with his professional life. How many of us would have walked away in the face of such pain? Not Mel. He was a vice president of the Muller Jordan Weiss advertising agency when he came to talk to me in his mid-40s and to talk his way into NYU's graduate history program. Kalfus could talk with the best of them, always and forever. He went on to take my courses, pass his exams with flying colors while working full-time and, with Alma, raise their three children.

To complete a dissertation on Frederick L. Olmsted, I told him, would require his tooling up with some graduate psychology courses, given his take on Olmsted's recounted dreams, his wispy memory of his sainted mother, and his many years in an asylum at the end of his life. I told him two psychology courses should do it. Naturally, Mel's obsessiveness (in the best sense of the word) led him to take eight graduate courses in psychology, transforming himself into a pioneering psychohistorian and psychobiographer with no help from me.

I helped Mel get his dissertation published, in an NYU Press series I co-chair. *Frederick Law Olmsted: Passion of a Public Artist* was and is a great piece of work, unique when it came out for

Praise for Clio's Psyche

"I like to think the [*Psychohistory*] Review has been reincarnated in **Clio's Psyche**!" Charles Strozier as quoted in "A Conversation with Charles B. Strozier on Heinz Kohut," (**Clio's Psyche**, Vol. 8 No. 2, September 2001, p. 90).

"Paul -- It's up to you now -- good luck with **Clio**. Larry" was a hand written note on the May 1, 1999, letter from Larry Shiner, Editor of *The Psychohistory Review*, advising that the Review was ceasing publication. (Published with permission)

the sophistication of the interpretation and a standard still for any work on Olmsted, even after 12 years in print. I prize what he said of me in his introduction to that book and what he wrote privately in the flyleaf of the copy he gave me.

Mel and I shared an enthusiasm for sports, though I could never understand his unfailing loyalty to the baseball Giants he had cheered for as a child. Sometimes we would go to Shea stadium together to watch the Jets play football. I will treasure the years of shared friendship with one of my very best -- and certainly my most determined -- PhD students. □

A Psychohistorical View of Anti-Semitism after September 11

H. John Rogers
Psychohistory Forum Research Associate

September 11 produced the defense mechanism of "infantile regression." Many people who experience a serious trauma will revert to an earlier stage of their psychological development. This is not a conscious process but an involuntary reaction of the psyche struggling to cope with a painful situation. People experiencing this regression are usually unaware of this dynamic.

Mature adults idolizing police and firefighters, as most of us did in childhood, is an example of this regression. Another instance is the desire for a strong father imago to protect them from the threat of harm. For example, Rudy Giuliani, one of the most abrasive politicians in recent times, has been transformed into the Churchill of the 21st century in the aftermath of the Islamists' attack, largely for -- in Woody Allen's words -- just "showing up." In August of 2001, President Bush was still being chided for being an "unelected" intellectual lightweight, who regularly mangled the English language. The 43rd President is now our "Great Helmsman," with an 80 percent-plus approval rating in the polls.

The simple, and fairly obvious, fact is that neither the former mayor nor the current President has changed his spots. It is our perception of these men that has changed. It is our need for the "man on horseback" that affects our view of them. The vastly differing personalities of Bush and Giuliani underscore this basic psychological alchemy.

Another familiar facet of regression is "scapegoating." Jews are well aware of this concept because their progenitors have been subject, for at least a millennium, to "blood libels" and the label of "Christ-killers." Many scholars date "modern" anti-Semitism to the Crusades.

Over the past six months, I have catalogued a marked increase in pro-Palestinian articles in both the national and local print media. Most of these articles stem from long-term opponents of the State of Israel, i.e., the Roman Catholic Church, the mainline Protestant denominations, and much of what might be loosely called the political left. (Parenthetically, I would note that most of these people do not consider themselves as being anti-Semitic but do sometimes define themselves as anti-Zionist.)

The gross number of these published complaints has increased significantly since September 11 and the rhetoric has become much more strident. The leitmotif of the majority of these articles is that if only Israel would be reasonable, there would be peace in the Levant. The subtext, however, is *au courant* but rarely unarticulated: the U.S.' pulling back from its support of Israel would reduce the likelihood of future terrorist attacks on the Homeland from Islamist fundamentalists. Not a single one of the articles that I have catalogued advocates any other changes in American conduct. I view this as "garden variety" scapegoating and, in my opinion, it is not only intellectually dishonest but, I would suggest, presumptively anti-Semitic. I shall expand on these latter assertions.

We have no credible statements about the motivation(s) for September 11 but we do have the self-report from its alleged mullah concerning the attack on the *U.S.S. Cole* during the latter months of the Clinton administration. In this missive, bin Laden voiced three basic complaints: the U.S. presence in Saudi Arabia, the continued U.N. sanctions against Iraq, and U.S. support for the State of Israel.

This raises a simple question: Why would someone seeking psychological security from further predations upon the Homeland only endorse the last item on the mullah's agenda? Why not also call for withdrawal from Saudi Arabia? Why not also oppose the sanctions against Iraq? Why do these critics only address what they see as Israeli intransigence -- and U.S. acquiescence in it -- as *the* problem that the U.S. has with the militant Islamists? When pressed, many of these critics reply, "I am not anti-Semitic but I am anti-Zionist"

as a rationale for their criticism.

This canard ranks with "some of my best friends are" and, I would suggest, was laid permanently to rest by Martin Luther King, Jr., in an article in the *Saturday Review* some six months before he died. King, who is now a national icon, wrote in 1967: "So know also this: anti-Zionism is inherently anti-Semitic, and ever will be so." As the old proverb puts it, "Israel is a three-legged stove: It rests on the people, the book, and the land." Dr. King recognized the truth of this aphorism and its rejection underlies many of the current articles criticizing actions of the State of Israel.

Even those critics who give lip-service to Israel's "right to exist" -- what arrogance in this phrase -- generally favor a postage stamp-sized nation, something akin to the boundaries set in the U.N. partition in 1948. The militant Islamists and their supporters in the Moslem world do not favor Israel's continued existence. Their manifest and oft-expressed goal is to "push Israel into the sea."

This is not to say, of course, that every person or entity who criticizes Israel is anti-Semitic but they do make common cause with the anti-Semites. Consequently, I would label some of the political critics, for example, former California Governor Jerry Brown and ex-pundit Pat Buchanan, as presumptively anti-Semitic.

One of the great unanswered sociological questions is why have the Jews, a small, non-descript tribe -- a people who could vanish without a trace on the steppes of Russia or on the Asian subcontinent -- generated such hatred over so long a period of time? I hesitate to even hazard an answer to this question but suspect that it has something to do with the divine mandate.

Susan Sontag poses another related question in her forward to Leonard Tsytkin's *Summer in Baden-Baden*. A Russian dissident who died in 1982 wrote the book but it was just recently published in the U.S. (and reviewed in *The New York Times* on March 3, 2002).

Both Tsytkin and Sontag meditate on the persona of Fyodor Dostoyevsky, a gross anti-Semite even by 19th-century Russian standards. They both ask, How can we love and revere a man who hates us from the very core of his being? Sontag ultimately concludes that if one loves literature, then one must love Dostoyevsky. Tsytkin ends his book with a pilgrimage -- no other word will suffice -- to Dostoyevsky's home in St. Petersburg and an imagined deathbed scene that Sontag calls "Nworthy of

Tolstoy." It is clear that Tsytkin, too, reveres this anti-Semite. Both Sontag and Tsytkin seem like battered spouses, people whose love for the oppressor overrides the ordinary hedonistic calculus.

In a similar vein, I have concluded that part of the great wisdom of *Bereshit* is that one cannot curse creation -- or any part of it -- without cursing the creator. If my premise is true then the converse is also true.

For those who prefer a mythological gloss in this matter, I would commend *Bemidbar* wherein a Moabite king engages a pagan soothsayer to curse the Israelites ("A people that dwells apart, not reckoned among the nations." Numbers 23:9) However, the plan goes disastrously array for both Balak, the king, and Baalam, the soothsayer. Louis Newman in *The Hasidic Anthology* (1987) puts this gloss on the story: "The secret of Israel's survival is that it has gone its way, regardless of what other nations might think or say in praise or scorn."

There has been no people in recorded history who have been more reviled and persecuted than the seed of Abraham and Sarah. Consequently, I would suggest that the latter-day critics of the State of Israel -- lest they be mistaken for and/or numbered amongst the anti-Semites -- have an affirmative duty to examine their position and set forth clearly *why* they are concerned with the Levant rather than, say, Bangladesh, Somalia, or Zaire. If they fail to do this, either as a matter of personal reflection or in print, then I have no trouble with labeling them as "fellow travelers" with Mohamed Atta (but not, of course, nearly so brave as the *shaheed*) and the network of Islamists.

H. John Rogers, JD, MDiv, MA (Sacred Theology), is a Harvard-trained West Virginia attorney and a minister with some psychoanalytic

Letter to the Editor

training and a profound interest in politics. As "Visiting Preacher" he delivered a longer version of these remarks to Congregation B'nai Israel in Charleston, West Virginia, during the regular Shabbat service on March 8, 2002. □

Rage and Victimization in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

To the Editor:

I feel compelled to respond to Michael

Call for Papers
Psychology of the Arab-Israeli Conflict & Terrorism in the Middle East
Special Theme Issue
December 2002

Some possible approaches include:

- The Nature and Causes of Terrorism: Comparative Middle Eastern Examples
- Applying Psychodynamic Concepts to the Israeli-Palestinian Struggle
- Factual, Historical Survey of Israeli-Palestinian Relations
- Finding Chosen Traumas and Chosen Glories in Israeli and Palestinian Histories
- Israeli Uses of the Holocaust in the Perpetuation of Trauma
- Identification and Ethnic Rituals in Large Groups
- Comparative Suffering and Victimization: Violence in the Name of Suffering
- Getting Beneath & Beyond Recrimination
- The Relationship Between Childrearing Practices and Political Behavior
- Women in Palestinian Society and the Intifada
- Unconscious Sadomasochistic Elements
- Mutual Self-destructive Behavior of Israelis and Palestinians
- Psychobiographical Studies of Arafat, Barak, Sharon, and Other Leaders
- The Changing Identity of Arab Israelis
- Leader-Follower Dynamics
- Orthodox Jews and Fundamentalist Muslims
- Internecine Clashes -- Violence Against One's Own
- Cycles of Violence and Exhaustion, War and Peace, Conflict and Resolution
- Journeys to Peace: Crossing the Psychological Borders to Conflict Resolutions
- Implications of the Israeli-Palestinian Dispute for the U.S. War on Terrorism
- Changing Views of Israel and the Palestinians in Europe and America
- Book Reviews, for example, Sharon's *Warrior*

500-1500 words, due September 15

Contact Paul Elovitz, Editor
<pelovitz@aol.com>

Nielsen's description in "A Window on the Middle East" (*Clio's Psyche*, March 2002, Vol. 8 No. 4, pp. 195-196) of his friend's "rage" at Israel's treatment of Palestinians.

I, too, am enraged. I am enraged at Islamic demonizing of Jews and Israelis. I am enraged at the Arabs and Palestinians for their utter and endless unwillingness to take on any of their responsibility in this tragic conflict for both peoples. I ask myself: What is this all about? The Palestinians' sense of honor seems to hinge on their never admitting any wrongdoing. This can only produce endless hatred and therefore catastrophe. As a consequence of their self-image as the innocent, injured party, the only acceptable position for the Arabs is that of victim. But suffering, rage, and recrimination are not enough.

As an Egyptian-born MD in his mid 70s, Professor Nielsen's friend is obviously fully aware that the war against the Jews was started in 1948 by the Arab world after the UN declared a small piece of Jewish-dwelled-on land as a Jewish homeland and a much bigger piece as Palestinian. Will the Arab world ever accept the reality of their responsibility in the Arab-Israeli conflict and the problem of Palestinian refugees? Had they accepted the UN declaration in 1948, we would certainly not have the carnage witnessed today in Israel and on the West Bank. Most Arab refugees would still be safely in their homes and there would not have been any "occupation." Arabs bear much responsibility for Palestinian flight during the Israeli War of Independence.

On a personal note, my aunt and uncle were first kept out of Palestine in 1939 when they were escaping Hitler's Europe. After years in British colonial detention camps, they found a haven in an Israeli kibbutz. The day of the UN declaration establishing a Jewish state, Palestinians threw grenades into their kibbutz. Were Jews supposed to let themselves be slaughtered then and in the subsequent 54 years without responding? If that is what the friend expects, he can expect Jewish rage in return. I hope he understands this.

Do Arabs prefer the carnage to peace, so they can kill and struggle to get rid of all the Jews? Is this the reason every time there is a pullout of Israeli troops, there is a new suicide bomber? How can Israelis think differently when they are constantly reminded of Palestinian slogans advocating their being thrown into the sea? How can they trust their Islamic co-inhabitants of the Holy Land when they are confronted with Palestinian children being

taught hatred of them as soon as they attend school? Such hatred and returned hatred just promote further bloodshed.

The struggle will end only through dialogue. The fears of Arabs and Jews must be acknowledged in the eyes of the "Other." Fear and hatred must give way to understanding and dialogue. The humanity of each side must be restored. Has the friend seen *Promises*, a wonderful documentary on Palestinian and Israeli children attempting reconciliation? Unfortunately, in this time of violence, who knows what has happened to all the participants in this movie of hope. As sad as it makes one feel, we certainly can learn a lot looking at this effort.

My passion regarding the troubles in Israel and the West Bank is based partly on my being a Holocaust survivor -- a hidden child during WW II who lost her parents during the war. I work with a group of survivors of the Holocaust and believe in healing and reconciliation with different people to resolve their conflicts. It should be noted that I am against settlements in the West Bank, for a divided Jerusalem, and for a Palestinian state. Finally, it is my firm hope that the Egyptian gentleman, after he reads this letter, will start a dialogue with me.

Flora Hogman
New York, New York

Flora Hogman, PhD, is a psychologist in private practice in Manhattan and a Research Associate of the Psychohistory Forum. She may be contacted at <HogmanF@newschool.edu>. □

Trauma and Change: Psychoanalysis in a Time of Crisis

Margery Quackenbush and Genevieve Izinicki
National Association for the
Advancement of Psychoanalysis

Two well-known psychoanalysts/psychohistorians, Vamik Volkan and Charles Strozier, joined with analyst Phyllis Cohen in presenting at the National Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis (NAAP) April 27, 2002, New York City conference on "Trauma and Change: Psychoanalysis in a Time of Crisis." The primary focus was on the psychoanalytic understanding of September 11 and its impact.

Dr. Volkan, the main speaker of the day,

said that you can't understand religious fundamentalism without understanding large group regression. He described it in some detail, noting 20 signs and symptoms starting with the group rallying blindly around the leader. For example, when Taliban leader Mullah Omar put on what followers believed to be Muhammad's cloak, the crowd went wild. Hitler's propaganda machine taught German children to love the Führer. However, divisions arise as the group regresses. Those who follow the leader are perceived as good while those who do not follow the leader are perceived as bad: perceptions become black and white. The adhering group's morality changes as it becomes involved in shared introjected and projected processes. The group accepts the leader's version of reality and as the group regresses, magical thinking arises. Many fundamentalist Christian ministers provided an example of group regression after September 11 when they said the terrorist attacks were caused by lax American morals, especially homosexuality.

The Center for Mind and Human Interaction at the University of Virginia, which Volkan founded, focuses on understanding and defusing enmities among nations and groups. The Cyprus-born psychoanalyst described how, when conflicting groups negotiate, each first lists its grievances. A group passes tasks onto the next generation which seeks to prove itself in terms of accomplishments: reference to past traumas holds a group together. For example, former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic reactivated the dormant trauma of the Battle of Kosovo that took place 600 years before and it became the fuel for ethnic cleansing and war. The enemy is seen in anal terms -- they become feces ("shit") as minor differences are exaggerated.

Group regression leads to attempts to purify the race. In the case of the Nazis, there was a preoccupation with blood. The language in Turkey is constantly changing as the result of efforts at purification. In Latvia under the Soviets, all people were buried in the same cemetery; when the Latvians wanted to purify the cemetery, they sought to remove all the corpses of Russians.

Volkan spoke about extreme, malignant, or regressed fundamentalist groups. He compared David Koresh's Branch Davidian extreme Waco Cult with the fundamentalist Taliban. Both had one leader who was the only one who knew how to interpret the "sacred" texts -- the true religion. Cult members victimized others who were different from them.

Dr. Volkan turned to Osama bin Laden, finding evidence of his humiliation that had to do with his mother, who was a Syrian rather than a Saudi. Her rich husband's other wives nicknamed her "the slave" and her only son, "the son of the slave." She was sent away without him, engendering in him a sense of needing to overcome dishonor in his life. The United States seeks to kill Osama bin Laden, because, when the leader dies there is chaos. Volkan pointed out that democracy is a good sign for progress in social organization but is not an antidote for regression to which no groups are immune.

Dr. Strozier discussed the apocalyptic or world-ending dimension of the World Trade Center disaster, drawing on the psychological interview study that he has been conducting since shortly after the attack. He developed several conceptual ideas, including the various ways people experienced the disaster in terms of "zones of sadness" reflecting the organic way the disaster unfolded; and the language of the victim in terms of underlying rhetorical structures of response. He also raised some psychohistorical questions about why the disaster was such a collective trauma. The terrorism of the World Trade Center attacks represents a new kind of violence in the world. In order to understand it, one must address the psychology of people such as Osama bin Laden but also grasp the evolution of terrorism itself in recent decades and its relationship to weapons of mass destruction.

Right after September 11, Dr. Cohen began her individual and group work near Ground Zero with victims of the disaster, including families, friends, co-workers, firemen, and policemen. She

feels that much of the media coverage has been mistakenly national and international in scope. Cohen sees the tragedy in the smaller frame of New York City and the lives of those who live here. Her theme was simple: look at the therapeutic value of the personal stories that came out. Everyone told their stories and used them as a way of expressing their fears and confusion in the face of terror. In doing this they were trying to make contact, to in some way create a sense of safety. "As Freud said many years ago," she stated, "people need to talk and so we found, or re-found, that one of the most effective techniques we could offer in working through trauma and the search for solace was to encourage them to tell their stories."

Over time, she realized survivors were beginning to see the effects of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and that more than the telling and retelling of stories was needed for recovery. For both survivors and rescuers the disaster was just too much to cope with without psychological help.

Cohen shared some of the victims' poignant stories and questions. One person asked, "How does one grieve when there is nobody specific I knew to grieve over?" She also shared the experiences -- her own included -- of those who had worked so closely with victims and rescuers. The word that stays in her mind is *courage*. The courage of ordinary people in extraordinary circumstances is what she believes will be remembered most.

Margery Quackenbush, PhD, is Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis (NAAP) and Genevieve Izinicki, MSW, is Managing Editor of the NAAP News. Both are graduates of the Center for Modern Psychoanalytic Studies, are in private practice in Manhattan, and may be reached at <NAAP72@aol.com>. □

Professor Charles Strozier recently established a new **Center on Terrorism and Public Safety** at John Jay College, CUNY. The purpose of the Center is to study terrorism in ways that are familiar and appropriate for a university but also to search for concrete applications of that research to make the world a safer place. Professor Strozier's own particular area of research is a psychological study of the World Trade Center Disaster through interviews with witnesses and survivors; his special concern is with the apocalyptic meanings of the disaster. The Center on Terrorism, in other words, seeks to blend scholarship and commitment in the context of traumatic historical memory. Professor Strozier may be contacted at <chuckstrozier@juno.com>.

Bulletin Board

The next **Psychohistory Forum WORK-IN-PROGRESS SATURDAY SEMINAR** will be on **September 21, 2002** when **Paul H. Elovitz** (Ramapo College), will present "**Psychoanalytic and Psychohistorical Approaches to the American Presidency.**" On **November 9, 2002**, **Mary Coleman** (Emeritus, Georgetown University School of Medicine) will present "**Some Thoughts on Violence and War,**" a chapter from her forthcoming book on the origins of war. Forum members are reminded that the annual program consists

of five or six seminars, normally held in mid-September, early November, late January, early March, and once or twice in April. Specific dates, presenters, papers, and locations are announced by mail, e-mail, and sometimes this Bulletin Board.

CONFERENCES: The **Research Group on Trauma, Mourning, and Clinical Practice** of the Psychohistory Forum is presenting a panel at the **International Psychohistorical Association (IPA) June 5-7, 2002**, meetings at New York University with papers by **Nancy Kobrin, Irene Javors, Ted Goertzel, and Paul Elovitz**. **Jacques Szaluta** is the chair. Some of the other members and subscribers presenting at the **IPA** are **Charles Strozier, Howard Stein, Robert Rousselle, Denis O'Keefe, Henry Lawton, David Lotto, Anie Kalayjian, Daniel Dervin, Lloyd deMause, and Sander Breiner**. Among members and subscribers presenting at the **International Society for Political Psychology (ISPP) Berlin July 16-19, 2002**, conference are **Herbert Barry, Paul Elovitz, Aubrey Immelman, and Nancy Kobrin**. At the July 4-7, 2002, international conference on "Hierarchy and Civilization" in St. Petersburg, Russia, sponsored by the Russian Academy of Science, Herbert Barry is presenting "Community Customs Associated with Political Subordination." Last February, Barry presented "Cultural Customs Associated with a Genital Operation on Adolescent Boys" to the Santa Fe Society for Cross-Cultural Research. The meetings of the **University of California Interdisciplinary Psychoanalytic Consortium** on May 3-5, 2002, focused on "Memory, Terror, and Generations: The Enduring Impact of Trauma." **Anne Marie Plane** was the coordinator. The **Kestenberg Holocaust Memorial Lecture**, sponsored by the Training Institute for Mental Health and Child Development Research, was held at the CUNY Graduate Center on May 6, 2002. **Eva Fogelman** served as moderator. **Judith Kestenberg**, the late advocate for children caught up in the Holocaust, child analyst, and member of the Psychohistory Forum, was memorialized at the meetings. **Montague Ullman** will be offering a Leadership Training Workshop in group dream work on July 19, 2002, in Ardsley, New York. For information, call (914) 693-0156.

PUBLICATIONS: Congratulations to **C. Fred Alford** on the publication of *Levinas, Psychoanalysis, and the Frankfurt School* (Middletown and London: Wesleyan University Press and Continuum Books, 2002) and to **Norman Simms** on *Sir Gawain and the Knight of the Green Chapel* (scheduled for release by the University of America Press on June 28).

AWARDS AND VISITING LECTURES: **Jacques Szaluta** received the **National Association**

for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis (NAAP) 2002 Gradiva Award in the category of Best Book-Psychohistory for *Psychohistory: Theory and Practice* and Charles Strozier received the Gradiva Award for Best Book-Biography for *Heinz Kohut, The Making of a Psychoanalyst*. Forum member **Robert Quackenbush** was among those serving on the NAAP selection committee. **Rudolph Binion** is on a European lecture and research tour. In May he lectured at the University of Glasgow's Department of Medieval History on "The Black Death and the Dance of the Dead." He is the Distinguished Speaker on "Traumatic Reliving" at a July psychohistory mini-conference in Vichy, France. Later in the summer, Professor Binion will speak at Clermont-Ferrand on the subject of European identity in psychohistorical perspective, under the patronage of Giscard d'Estaing.

CONDOLENCES: To **Fred Alford** on the recent death of his father. **OUR THANKS:** To our members and subscribers for the support that makes **Clio's Psyche** possible. To Benefactors Herbert Barry, David Beisel, Andrew Brink, Ralph Colp, and Mary Lambert; Patrons Peter Petschauer and H. John Rogers; Sustaining Members Kevin McCamant and Robert Pois; Supporting Members C. Fred Alford, Peter Loewenberg, and Jacqueline Paulson; and Members Ted Goertzel, Anie Kalayjian, Nancy Kobrin, Maria Miliora, Richard Morrock, Mena Potts, Howard Stein, Charles Strozier, and George Victor. Our thanks for though provoking materials to Herbert Barry, Ulrike Brisson, Elizabeth von Buchler, Mary Coleman, Ralph Colp, George Gonpu, Felicia Heidenreich, Flora Hogman, Genevieve Izinicki, Alma Kalfus, Michael Kalfus, Henry Lawton, Laura Levine, Kevin

Call for Papers
Psychoanalysis and
Religious Experience
Special Theme Issue, September 2002

Some possible approaches include:

- Personal Accounts on How Your Perspectives on Religion Have Been Changed by Psychoanalysis
- Religious Dreams and the Use of Dreams by Religious Leaders
- Terror in the Name of God (e.g., anti-abortionism, *jihad*)
- Sexual Abuse of Children by Priests
- Psychobiographic Sketches of Modern Preachers, Prophets, Messiahs

500-1500 words, due June 15

Contact Bob Lentz, <lentz@telusplanet.net>

Comments on the March Special Issue on Terrorism and "Home"

[Editor's Note: We do not normally keep track of comments on **Clio's Psyche** by readers. However, after the first half dozen e-mail or in-person remarks on our March issue, we kept a record of the next 10 which are listed below.]

- "The recent issue of **Clio's Psyche** was indeed great, especially [the article on] mourning ... superb." -A distinguished eastern professor
- "**Clio's Psyche** is absolutely what I was looking for to help me understand better the goings-on in this world. The recent issue ... is very illuminating. What amount makes one a Benefactor?" -From a new subscriber on the West Coast
- "**Clio's Psyche** always looks great! I like the shorter format articles because that means I at least have a fighting chance of reading some of them." -A West Coast professor
- "We all loved it." -A southern professor
- "Kudos on the issue ... the articles are very good." -A Midwestern psychoanalyst
- "I did want to let you know how valuable I found your issue on terrorism, bin Laden, etc. It is really helping me on my [IPA] paper." -A West Coast professor and psychologist
- "I thought the last issue of **Clio** was excellent. I especially enjoyed Nancy Kobrin's article on bin Laden and political violence." -A Midwestern professor
- "[The] article was very good and the issue in general was the same. Thank you for your hard work." -A history professor at a western university
- "...how much I've enjoyed **Clio's** last issue. The whole discussion about "home" interested me greatly." - An overseas subscriber
- "I am so impressed with the issue on terrorism that just came out and am looking forward to the [Psychohistory Forum] meeting [on terrorism] on April 13." -A New York City member of the Forum who is also a therapist

Please encourage your colleagues, libraries, and students to read **Clio's Psyche**. For information, they should contact: **Clio's Psyche**, The Psychohistory Forum, 627 Dakota Trail, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417 USA, (201) 891-7486, <pelovitz@aol.com>

McCamant, Sergio Medeiros, Carl Prince, Margery Quackenbush, Robert Quackenbush, Carol Raphan, John Rogers, Robert Rousselle, Junia de Vilhena, Bradley Waite, and Maria Helena Zamora. Our appreciation to Monika Giacoppe for style editing and to Anna Lentz and Vikki Walsh for proofreading. □

Call for Papers
Psychoanalysis and
Religious Experience
Special Theme Issue
September 2002

Some possible approaches include:

- Personal Accounts on How Your Perspectives on Religion Have Been Changed by Psychoanalysis
- Reconsidering Classic Thinkers Such as Freud and Weston LeBarre
- Religious Development in Childhood
- Religious Dreams and the Use of Dreams by Religious Leaders
- Terror in the Name of God (e.g., anti-abortionism, *jihad*)
- Sexual Abuse of Children by Priests
- Psychobiographic Sketches of Modern Preachers, Prophets, Messiahs (e.g., Robertson, Farrakhan, Koresh)

500-1500 words, due June 15

Contact Bob Lentz, Associate Editor

<lentz@telusplanet.net>

Book Review

There are no negatives in the unconscious.

Melvin Kalfus (1931-Feb. 24, 2002)

Mel Kalfus died of heart failure after a long struggle to maintain his health. There will be an extensive obituary in the next issue of **Clio's Psyche**. We urge friends and colleagues to **send us their memories** of this valued colleague, friend, and member of the Psychohistory Forum's Advisory Council. We wish to express our condolences to his wife Alma and their children.

"Home" Symposium

CFP: Psychoanalysis and Religious Experience - Sept. 2002 - See page 225

Call for Nominations: Halpern Award

for the
Best Psychohistorical Idea
in a

Book, Article, or Internet Site

Contact Paul H. Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>.

Call for Papers: Children and Childhood - June 2002 - See page 224

Call for Papers September 11 and the Psychology of Terrorism Special Theme Issue March, 2002

Some possible approaches include:

- Initial Emotions: Shock, Disbelief, Sadness, Anger, Hate, Humiliation, Victimization, and Frustration: Case Studies
- Fears, Fantasies, and Realities of Anthrax, Bio-Terrorism, and Nuclear Terrorism
- Group Feelings of Victimization and Entitlement in the Face of Trauma
- The Power of Symbols: Blood (Shed and Donated) and Flags in the Face of Trauma
- The Power of Altruism in the Face of Danger: The Psychology of Fireman and Other Relief Workers
- The Psychological Defense Mechanisms of Israelis and Others in Facing Terrorism
- Bush's Personalizing the Hydra-Headed Monster of Terrorism
- The Psychobiography of Osama bin Laden and Various Terrorists
- Islamic Fundamentalism: America as the Great Satan
- Why Many People Hate the U.S.
- Presidents Bush as War Leaders
- Psychohistorical Perspectives on Terrorism: Case Studies
- The Sense of Obligation to Avenge the Dead: Turning Anger into Vengeance
- Cycles of Terrorism, Retaliation, and Violence
- Denial and Disbelief in Facing Terrorism: Fortress America and "It Can't Happen Here"
- Why Intelligence and Security Were Negligent or Ignored
- Security, the Cloak of Secrecy, and the Open Society
- Effects on America's Children
- Nightmares, Dreams, and Daydreams of the Attack
- Mourning and Closure
- Survivorship and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

500-1500 words, due January 15
Contact Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Editor
<pelovitz@aol.com>

Forthcoming in Clio's Psyche

- Among the already submitted articles on "The Psychology of Terrorism, Tragedy, Group Mourning, Bio-Terrorism, and the War on Terrorism" are:
 - "Apocalypse Now"
 - "A Nation Mourns"
 - "Terror Victims"
 - "Enemy Images After 9-11"
 - "Pearl Harbor & World

Call for Papers Children and Childhood Special Theme Issue June 2002

Some possible approaches include:

- Changing Childhood
- What Is It Like to Grow Up in the Modern World?
- Growing Up With a Single Parent, With an Immigrant Parent, As a Refugee
- The Effects of Television or Video Games on Children
- Why American Students See High School as a Type of Prison
- Sonograms as a Prelude to Female Feticide (China, India, America, etc.)
- The Effects of Custody Disputes
- Children of Divorce
- Children in the Courts
- Children and Childhood Through the Ages
- Are Children Better or Worse Off in the Modern World?
- Cross-Cultural Childhood Comparisons

500-1500 words, due April 15

Contact Paul Elovitz, PhD, Editor

<pelovitz@aol.com>

Book Review

Inform colleagues of our March, 2002,
Psychology of Terror Special Issue.

Call for Papers Children and Childhood in The 21st Century June, 2002

500-1500 words, due April 15

Contact Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Editor
<pelovitz@aol.com>

CFP: Psychoanalysis and Religious Experience - Sept. 2002 - See page 225

There are no negatives in the unconscious.

Wanted: In-depth Insight during Wartime
See call for papers on page 162.

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting Saturday, January 26, 2002

Eli Sagan

"The Great Promise and Anxiety of Modernity"

Proposals for Psychohistory Forum Work-in-Progress Seminars are welcomed. Contact Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Editor, at <pelovitz@aol.com>

Nominate a graduate student or psychoanalytic candidate for a **Young Scholar Award Membership & Subscription**. Contact Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Editor, at <pelovitz@aol.com>.

Call for Papers
Psychobiography
 Special Theme Issue
 December, 2001

Some possible approaches include:

- Original psychobiographical vignettes
- Psychobiography-focused mini-interview with distinguished psychobiographers such as George, Mack, McAdams, Solomon, Strouse, and Tucker
- Symposium on Erikson's *Young Man Luther*
- Your experience in researching, writing, and publishing psychobiography
- Developments in psychobiography in the last 15 years
- Issues in doing psychobiography:
 - pathology and creativity

Call for Papers
Psychobiography
 Special Theme Issue
 December, 2001

Some possible approaches include:

- Original psychobiographical vignettes
- Symposium of the pros and cons of Erikson's *Young Man Luther*
- Your experience with psychobiography
- Recent developments in the field
- Issues in doing psychobiography:
 - pathology and creativity
 - the use of empathy
 - evidence and interpretation, reconstruction, and reductionism
 - countertransference
 - assessing childhood's influence
 - interpreting dreams
 - assessing living individuals
 - alternative approaches
- Reviews / review essays

Call for Papers
Children and Childhood in
The 21st Century
 Special Theme Issue
 March, 2002

500-1500 words, due January 15
 Contact Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Editor
 <pelovitz@aol.com>

- the use of empathy
- evidence and interpretation, reconstruction, and reductionism
- countertransference
- assessing childhood's influence
- interpreting dreams
- assessing living individuals

- alternative approaches
- Reviews / review essays of psychobiographies by others
- Woman's (or Feminist) psychobiography
- Your choice(s) for exemplary psychobiography(ies)
- Oral history as psychobiography
- Film and docudrama psychobiographies

The Best of
Clio's Psyche -
1994-2001

New for 2001.
 This 132-page collection of many of the best and most popular articles from 1994 to the September, 2001, issue is now available for only \$25 a copy.

It will be distributed free to Members renewing at the Supporting level and above

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting
 Saturday, September 29, 2001
 Britton, Felder, and Freund
 "Freud, Architecture, and
 Urban Planning"

Call for Papers
PsychoGeography
Special Theme Issue
March, 2001

"PsychoGeography is the study of human projections upon geographic space and the psychic interaction between people and geography" (Elovitz). It investigates "how issues, experiences, and processes that result from growing up in a male or female body become symbolized and played out in the wider social and natural worlds" (Stein and Niederland).

Some possible approaches:

- The gender of geography (e.g., "motherlands" and "fatherlands")
- Psychogeography of rivers, islands, mountains, etc.
- Borders and borderland symbolism
- Cities, states, and countries as symbols of

Call for Nominations
Halpern Award
 for the
Best Psychohistorical Idea
 in a
Book, Article, or Internet Site
 Contact Paul H. Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>.

Invitation to Join

Join the **Psychohistory Forum** as a Research Associate to be on the cutting edge of the development of new psychosocial knowledge. For information, e-mail Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Director, at <pelovitz@aol.com> or call him at (201) 891-7486.

Call for Papers
Psychological Uses of Law
Special Theme Issue
June, 2001

Possible approaches:

- The diffusion of law into every aspect of life (i.e., "the legalization of life")
- Emotional uses of law (e.g., legal expression of anger, law as intimidation)
- Jury psychology
- Law as a system of gridlock

Group Psychohistory
Symposium

- Insanity and the law
- Dysfunctional family courts

Presidential Election 2000

Book Reviews

There are no negatives in the unconscious.

Halpern Award

The Psychohistory Forum has granted a **Sidney Halpern Award** to Bob Lentz, Founding Associate Editor of **Clio's Psyche**, for Outstanding Work in Psychohistorical Editing.

Psycho-
biography
of
Ralph
Nader
Special

Call for Papers

Theme
March, 2001

Possible approaches:

- Psychodynamics and childhood
- Nader's appeal to intellectuals and Inde-

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting
 Saturday, January 27, 2001
 Jay Gonen, Mary Coleman, et al
"Role of Law in Society"

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting
Saturday, September 15, 2001
Britton, Felder, and Freund
"Freud, Architecture, and Urban Planning"

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting
Saturday, March 31, 2001
David Lotto

"Freud's Struggle With Misogyny: An Exploration of Homosexuality and Guilt in the Dream of Irma's Injection"

September 10, 2001
Forum Meeting
Confront the
Process

Call for Papers
Psychology and Law
Special Theme Issue
June, 2001

Possible approaches:

- The diffusion of law into every aspect of life (i.e., "the legalization of life")
- Emotional uses of law (e.g., legal expression of anger, law as intimidation)
- Jury psychology
- Law as a system of gridlock
- Insanity and the law
- Dysfunctional family courts
- Legal rights of children
- The law and individual freedom
- Humor in the law and lawyer jokes

500-1500 words, due April 10

Contact Paul Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>

Call for Papers
Crime, Punishment, and Incarceration

Special Theme Issue
September, 2001

500-1500 words, due July 10

Contact Paul Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>

Call for Nominations
Halpern Award
 for the
Best Psychohistorical Idea
 in a
Book, Article, or Internet Site

Contact Paul Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>

Call for CORST Grant Applications

The Committee on Research and Special Training (CORST) of the American Psychoanalytic Association announces an American Psychoanalytic Foundation research training grant of \$10,000 for CORST candidates (full-time academic scholar-teachers) who have been accepted or are currently in training in an American Psychoanalytic Association Institute. The purpose of the grant is to help defray the costs of psychoanalytic training. Payments will be made over three years of training in installments of \$3500, \$3500, and \$3000 directly to the candidate.

The application is: a) A brief statement of 1000 words about the research proposed, b) A letter from a scholar in the field (e.g., department chair, colleague, or dissertation advisor) attesting to the validity and significance of the research, c) A letter of endorsement by the Education Director of the institute certifying the candidate is in, or has been accepted for, full clinical psychoanalytic training at an institute of the American Psychoanalytic Association, and d) An up-to-date Curriculum Vitae.

Applications are to be submitted in three (3) copies by April 1, 2001, to Professor Paul Schwaber, 258 Bradley Street, New Haven, CT 06511.

The Psychology of

Call for Papers The Psychology of Crime, Punishment, and Incarceration

Special Theme Issue
September, 2001

Some possible approaches include:

- Emotion in the courtroom
- Jury psychology
- Children and women in prison
- Immigrants and the INS
- The crime of punishment
- Comparative international studies
- Case studies
- Crime and punishment on TV
- How cameras change the courtroom dynamics

500-1500 words, due July 10

Contact Paul Elovitz, Editor
<pelovitz@aol.com>

Next Psychohistory
Forum Meeting
Saturday, September
15, 2001
Britton, Felder, and

The Best of Clio's Psyche

This 93-page
collection of many of the
best and most popular
articles from 1994 to the
September, 1999, issue is available for \$20 a copy.

It will be distributed free to Members

Call for Papers

Our Litigious Society

Special Theme Issue
March, 2001

Possible approaches:

- Psychodynamics

The Makers-of-Psychohistory Research Project

To write the history of psychohistory, the Forum is interviewing the founders of our field to create a record of their challenges and accomplishments. It welcomes participants who will help identify, interview, and publish accounts of the founding of psychohistory. Contact Paul H. Elovitz, <pelovitz@aol.com>.

See Calls for Papers
on pages 164 & 165:
PsychoGeography
Psychobiography of Ralph Nader
Psychological Uses of Law
Crime and Punishment

The Best of Clio's Psyche

This 93-page collection of many of the
best and most popular articles from 1994 to the

Saturday, November 10, 2001
Psychohistory Forum Meeting
Psychoanalysts Confront the
Creative Process

Clio's Psyche of Psychohistory

Call for Papers

- Violence in Mass Mur-icide
- The Future the Third 2000)
- Assessing Millennial-2000
- Psycho-
- Election biographies Gore, et al
- The Psy-tion and
- Legalizing Society
- Psychobiog-
- Manias and nomics and
- The Role of server in
- Psychohis-

Volkan Honored

In honor of the retirement of **Vamik Volkan** and the work of the Center he created, the University of Virginia Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction (CSMHI) conducted a major conference entitled "Identity, Mourning and Psychopolitical Processes" on May 25-26. The featured presentations and discussions were on the human processes that lead to ethnic tension, conflict resolution, and the healing process. The speakers came from several disciplines -- psychoanalysis, psychiatry, psychology, political science, history, and anthropology -- and hail from the U.S and abroad. **Peter Loewenberg** of UCLA presented "The Psychodynamics of a Creative Institution: The Bauhaus, Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, 1919-1933" and **Howard Stein** of the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center, "Mourning and Society: A Study in the History and Philosophy of Science."

Volkan, who will retire later this year after 38 years on the University of Virginia staff, is currently the director of the CSMHI and a former president of the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP). Volkan founded CSMHI in 1987 as an interdisciplinary center to specialize in conflict resolution and peace work, primarily in Eastern Europe and subsequently the newly independent countries from the former Soviet Union. He has developed theories for caring for severely traumatized populations in the wake of ethnic tension. "At the Center, we study preventive medicine for ethnic issues. In that sense, the Center is very unique," Volkan said. "When large groups are in conflict, people die, they become refugees, they lose homes and their loved ones, and so they have to mourn. Without mourning, they cannot adjust. Ethnic identity is related to mourning. When people do not mourn, their identity is different." The Center is on the forefront of studies in large-group dynamics and applies a growing theoretical and field-proven base of knowledge of issues such as ethnic tension, racism, national identity, terrorism, societal trauma, leader-follower relationships and other aspects of national and international conflict.

For further information on Dr. Volkan and the Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction, visit the Web site, <<http://hsc.virginia.edu/csmhi/>>.

the Forum

American Life and
der as Disguised Sui-

of Psychoanalysis in
Millennium (June,

Apocalypticism and
ism Around the Year

Geography

2000: Psycho-
of Bradley, Bush,
McCain, Buchanan,

chology of Incarcera-
Crime

Life: Our Litigious

raphy

Depressions in Eco-
Society

the Participant Ob-
Psychohistory

torical Perspectives

Call for CORST tions

The Committee
cial Training (CORST)
choanalytic Association
can Psychoanalytic
training grant of \$10,000
(full-time academic
have been accepted or
ing in an American Psy-
tion Institute. The pur-
help defray the costs of
ing. Payments will be
of training in install-

Grant Applica-

on Research and Spe-
of the American Psy-
announces an Ameri-
Foundation research
for CORST candidates
scholar-teachers) who
are currently in train-
choanalytic Associa-
pose of the grant is to
psychoanalytic train-
made over three years
ments of \$3500,

Clio's Psyche of the Psychohistory Forum

Call for Papers

- Violence in American Life and Mass Murder as Disguised Suicide
- Assessing Apocalypticism and Millennialism Around the Year 2000
- PsychoGeography
- Election 2000: Psychobiographies of Bradley, Bush, Gore, McCain, Buchanan, et al
- The Psychology of Incarceration and Crime
- Legalizing Life: Our Litigious Society
- Psychobiography
- Manias and Depressions in Economics and Society
- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a Model for Healing
- The Processes of Peacemaking and Peacekeeping
- The Psychology of America as the World's Policeman
- Entertainment News

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting
Michael Britton
**"Countertransference:
 Royal Road Into the Psychology
 of the Cold War"**

Saturday, September 23, 2000

Contact Paul Elovitz, Editor
See page 51

- Television, Radio, and Media as Object Relations in a Lonely

Call for Papers

The Psychohistory of Conspiracy Theories

Special Theme Issue
 December, 2000

Possible approaches:

- Psychodynamics and childhood roots of conspiracy theories
- Case studies of conspiracy theories in American history
- Survey of the psychohistorical and psychological literature on conspiracy theories
- Film and television treatment of conspiracy theories

Contact Bob Lentz, Associate Editor
<boblentz@cliospsyche.com>

The Best of Clio's Psyche

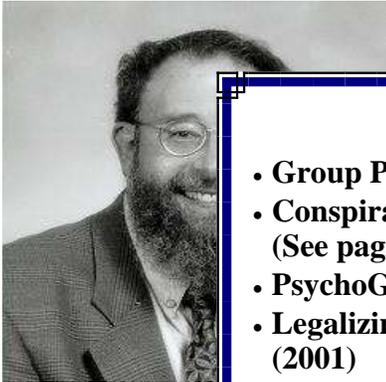
This 93-page collection of many of the best and most popular articles from 1994 to the September, 1999, issue is available for \$20 a copy.

It will be distributed free to Members renewing at the Supporting level and above as well as Subscribers upon their next two-year renewal.

Contact the Editor (see page three).

**Clio's
 Psyche**
 Now on

Letter to the Editor



Howard F. Stein

(Editor's Note: We welcome scanned pic-

Dreamwork Resources

The **Historical Dreamwork Method** is available to help the biographer better understand the dreams of the subject and other aspects of psychobiography. **Clio's Psyche** welcomes papers on historical dreamwork for publication and for presentation at Psychohistory Forum meetings. Contact Paul H. Elovitz (see page 51).

Call for Papers

- **Group Psychohistory (December, 2000)**
- **Conspiracy Theories (December, 2000) (See page 100)**
- **PsychoGeography (March, 2001)**
- **Legalizing Life: Our Litigious Society (2001)**
- **The Psychology of Incarceration and Crime (2001)**
- **Television as Object Relations**

**Contact Paul Elovitz, Editor
See page 51**

Book Reviews

**Life: Our Litigious Society
Contact the Editor (see page 3)**

Letters to the Editor

**Nader,
Political Nightmares, and
Leaders' Morality
Editorial Policies**

Invitation to Join

Join the Psychohistory Forum as a Research Associate to be on the cutting edge of the development of new psychosocial knowledge. For information, e-mail Paul H. Elovitz, PhD, Director, at <pelovitz@aol.com> or call him at (201) 891-7486.

**Call for Papers on
The Psychology of Incarceration and Crime
Contact the Editor (see page 3)**

The Best of Clio's Psyche

This 93-page collection of many of the best and most popular articles from 1994 to the September, 1999, issue is available for \$20 a copy.

It will be distributed free to Members renewing at the Supporting level and above as well as Subscribers upon their next two-year renewal.

**Psychohistorians probe the "Why" of
culture, current events, history, and
society.**

• **Letters to the Editor**

The History of Psychohistory

Clio's Psyche's interviews of outstanding psychohistorians (see "An American in Amsterdam: Arthur Mitzman," page 146) have grown into a full-fledged study of the pioneers and history of our field. Psychohistory as an organized field is less than 25 years old, so most of the innovators are available to tell their stories and give their insights. Last March, the Forum formally launched the **Makers of the Psychohistorical Paradigm Research Project** to systematically gather material to write the history of psychohistory. We welcome memoirs, letters, and manuscripts as well as volunteers to help with the interviewing. People interested in participating should write, call, or e-mail Paul H. Elovitz (see page 119).

Awards and Honors

Award

The Psychohistory Forum has granted a **Sidney Halpern Award** of \$300 to Bob Lentz, Founding Associate Editor of **Clio's Psyche**, for Outstanding Work in Psychohistorical Editing.

CORST Essay Prize • Professor Janice M. Coco, Art History, University of California-Davis, winner of the First Annual American Psychoanalytic Association Committee on Research and Special Training (CORST) \$1,000 essay prize, will present her paper, "Exploring the Frontier from the Inside Out in John Sloan's Nude Studies," at a free public lecture at 12 noon, Saturday, December 20, Jade Room, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City.

Sidney Halpern Award for the Best Psychohistorical

Idea • The Psychohistory Forum is granting an award of \$200 to Michael Hirohama of San Francisco for starting and maintaining the Psychohistory electronic mailing list (see page 98).

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting

Saturday, January 30, 1999
Charles Strozier

THE MAKERS OF PSYCHOHISTORY RESEARCH PROJECT

To write the history of psychohistory, the Forum is interviewing the founders of our field to create a record of their challenges and accomplishments. It welcomes participants who

Call for Nominations

Halpern Award

for the

Best Psychohistorical Idea in a

Book, Article, or Computer Site

This Award may be granted at the level of Distinguished Scholar, Graduate, or Undergraduate.

Contact Paul H. Elovitz, Editor -- see p.

THE MAKERS OF PSYCHOHISTORY RESEARCH PROJECT

Call for Papers

Special Theme Issues 1999 and 2000

- The Relationship of Academia, Psychohistory, and Psychoanalysis (March, 1999)
- The Psychology of Legalizing Life [What is this???)
- Psychogeography
- Meeting the Millenium

P
S
Y
C
H
O

Free Subscription

For every paid library subscription (\$40), the person donating or arranging it will receive a year's subscription to **Clio's Psyche** free. Help

The Psychohistory Forum is pleased to announce

The Young Psychohistorian 1998/99 Membership Awards

John Fanton recently received his medical degree and is doing his five year residency in Providence, Rhode Island. Currently, he is at the Children's Hospital, Women and Infants Hospital, and the Butler Psychiatric Hospital. His goal is to become a child maltreatment expert working in the area of Preventive Psychiatry. At the IPA in 1997 he won the Lorenz Award for his paper on improving parenting in Colorado.

Albert Schmidt is a doctoral candidate in modern European history at Brandeis University who plans to defend his dissertation in April when his advisor, Rudolph Binion, will return from Europe for the occasion. Rather than do a biography of SS General Reinhard Heydrich as originally intended, he is writing on the German protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia under Heydrich's dominance. In the last four years this talented young scholar has been awarded nine fellowships, grants, or scholarships.

Dreamwork Resources

The **Historical Dreamwork Method** is available to help the biographer better understand the dreams of the subject and other aspects of psychobiography. **Clio's Psyche** welcomes papers on historical dreamwork for publication and for presentation at Psychohistory Forum meetings. Contact Paul H. Elovitz (see page 43).

☆☆☆

Call for Nominations

Halpern Award for the Best Psychohistorical Idea in a Book, Article, or Computer Site

This Award may be granted at the level of Distinguished Scholar, Graduate, or Undergraduate.

There are no negatives in the

The Best of Clio's Psyche

This 93-page collection of many of the best and most popular articles from 1994 to the September, 1999, issue is available for \$20 a copy.

It will be distributed free to Members renewing at the Supporting level and above as well as Subscribers upon their next two-year renewal.

Contact the Editor (see page 51).

Letters to the Editor

Call for Papers

Special Theme Issues 1999 and 2000

- The Relationship of Academia, Psychohistory, and Psychoanalysis (March, 1999)
- Our Litigious Society
- PsychoGeography
- Meeting the Millennium
- Manias and Depressions in Economics and Society

Contact the Editor at

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting

Saturday, October 2, 1999

Charles Strozier

"Putting the Psychoanalyst on the Couch: A Biography of Heinz Kohut"

Letters to the Editor on
Clinton-Lewinsky-Starr

Book Review Essay

Next Psychohistory Forum Meeting

Saturday, January 30, 1999

Charles Strozier

"Putting the Psychoanalyst on the Couch: A Biography of Heinz Kohut"

Call for Nominations for the

Best of Clio's Psyche

By July 1 please list your favorite articles, interviews, and Special Issues (no

Clio's Psyche of the Psychohistory Forum

Call for Papers

- Violence in American Life and Mass Murder as Disguised Suicide
- Assessing Apocalypticism and Millennialism around the Year 2000
- PsychoGeography
- Election 2000
- Psychobiography
- Manias and Depressions in Economics and Society
- The Psychology of Incarceration and Crime

Call for Nominations for the

Best of Clio's Psyche

By July 1, please list your favorite articles, interviews, and Special Issues (no more than three in each category) and send the information to the Editor (see page 3) for the August publication.

- Legalizing Life: Our Litigious Society
- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a Model for Healing
- The Processes of Peacemaking and Peacekeeping
- The Psychology of America as the World's

Clio's Psyche of the Psychohistory Forum

Call for Papers

- Future of Psychohistory and Psychoanalysis in the Light of the Demise of the Psychohistory

The Best of Clio's Psyche

The Psychohistory Forum is pleased to announce the creation of The Best of Clio's Psyche.

This 94-page collection of many of the best and most popular articles from 1994 to the current issue is available for \$20 a copy and to students using it in a course for \$12.

It will be distributed free to Members at the Supporting level and above as well as Two-Year Subscribers upon their next renewal.

Call for Nominations

Forthcoming in the June Issue

- Interview with a Distinguished Featured Psychohistorian
- "The Insane Author of the *Oxford English Dictionary*"
- "Jews in Europe After World War II"
- "A Psychohistorian's Mother and Her Legacy"

Hayman Fellowships

The University of California Interdisciplinary Psychoanalytic Consortium announces two \$5,000 annual fellowships to aid psychoanalytically informed research on the literary, cultural, and humanistic expressions of genocide, racism, ethnocentrism, nationalism, inter-ethnic violence, and the Holocaust.

The

The History of Psychohistory

Clio's Psyche's interviews of outstanding psychohistorians (see "An American in Amsterdam: Arthur Mitzman," page 146) have grown into a full-fledged study of the pioneers and history of our field. Psychohistory as an organized field is less than 25 years old, so most of the innovators are available to tell their stories and give their insights. Last March, the Forum