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a magazine of women's culture



Chrysalis

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Chrysalis, like *The New Woman's Survival Catalog* and *The New Woman's Survival Sourcebook* from which it grew, takes its form and content from the women's movement itself. Feminism is not a monolithic movement, but rather includes the experiences, values, priorities, agendas of women of all lifestyles, ages, and cultural and economic backgrounds. Women building practical alternatives to patriarchal institutions, women developing new theories and feminist perspectives on events and ideas, women expressing their visions in verbal or visual art forms - women's culture includes all of this, and *Chrysalis* exists to give expression to the spectrum of opinion and creativity that originates in this diversity.

In its content, *Chrysalis* aims to combine the practical with the analytical, theoretical, visionary. A resource catalog in each issue will inform readers of practical alternatives. At the same time we will present analyses - such as Kathy Barry's article on Patricia Hearst or Florence Rush's on Freud - that challenge conventional assumptions by examining an issue or field of knowledge from a feminist theoretical perspective. The excerpt from Susan Griffin's book *Women and Nature* the poetry of Audre Lorde, Honor Moore, Adrienne Rich, Deena Metzger's fiction, and Mary Beth Edelson's visual work bring you a good sampling of the sensibility being generated by feminists today.

The design of *Chrysalis* also follows from the processes we have valued in our own interaction in the feminist movement. Written and graphic material has been designed so as not to compete for your attention, nor to entice, induce, or seduce you, the reader.

Those of us working on *Chrysalis* realize that to reflect the many different facets of women's culture, we require the broadest input possible. We are fortunate to have as the "eyes and ears" of *Chrysalis*, our contributing editors- feminist writers, thinkers, and creators from all parts of the United States and Europe. Only our continual connectedness with those feminists- past and present who are seeking to create a world based on feminist values- will enable us to publish the vital dialogue, ideas, visions that women today are producing.

To those supporters, contributors, and subscribers who have helped us to publish this first issue, we wish to give a special word of thanks. Your encouragement, energy, and financial support have enabled us to create a magazine that we hope will be a source of energy and inspiration to all of our readers.

We invite your reactions and response to this and all issues of *Chrysalis*.

When an insect emerges with struggle from its chrysalis state, how feeble are all its movements, how its wings hang powerless until the genial air has dried and strengthened them, how patiently the insect tries again and again to spread them, and visit the flowers which bloom around, till at last it enjoys the recompense of its labors in the nectar and fragrance of the garden.

This illustrates the present condition of Woman. She is just emerging from the darkness and ignorance by which she has been shrouded. She looks forth from her chrysalis and sees the natural and intellectual world lying around her clothed in radiant beauty, and inviting her to enter and possess this magnificent inheritance.

- Angelina Grimke, 1852

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"Did I ever have a chance?"
Patriarchal judgment of Patricia Hearst

Kathleen Barry

I am not arguing that woman is
evil and anti-moral; I state that
she cannot be really evil; *she is
merely non-moral.*

—Otto Weininger



Who is the real Patricia Hearst/Patty/Tania?

Is she, as many of her jurors said, the woman who was programmed by her attorneys? Is she the girl who would say anything just to save her life? Is she, as her attorneys contend, a neurotic, brainwashed? Is she, as her mother believes, a victim who was looking down the barrel of a gun? Is she a violent outlaw or a kidnapped heiress? Liar or loving daughter? Converted revolutionary or turncoat? Frightened, fragile lover of Soliah or former tentative fiancée of Weed? Rich kid out for adventure? Common criminal?

Is Patricia Hearst any one of these, or some, or all? Has her true identity been revealed through her trial or through her terrorism, by the USA or the SLA? Can we trust her to tell us who she is or where her loyalties lie?

Female slaves

Through all the confusion and continuing controversy surrounding the saga of Patricia Hearst, there has been no attempt to look at her simply as a woman – a woman caught in the violence of patriarchy against women. The closest parallel in women's experience is probably that of female (sex) slaves, women who are abducted and sold into brothels where they are forced to stay as prostitutes. Formerly known as white slavery, this practice is still prevalent today. It is widely believed that female ("white") slavery is a better forgotten, unpleasant element of the 19th century. On the contrary, incredible as it may seem, there still flourishes a national and international slave trade in women.* Female slavery has several different patterns, the most common invol-

*This is the subject of my book, *Female Slavery*. In it, I am documenting specific incidents of female slavery and presenting testimony from women who have survived and escaped slavery.

ving the abduction of women by men who will sell them into brothels after they have been "seasoned." The woman's will must be broken before she can be sold into prostitution. Initially, as a frightened kidnap victim, she is not useful as a prostitute. By breaking her will, her abductors make her completely dependent on them. Isolation, beatings, starvation, drugs, rape . . . After only a few days of continuing brutality, the woman is thankful for a drink of water or a meal. Her relationship with her abductors becomes one in which she eventually feels grateful for not being beaten or for some apparent small kindness. When she is raped, she is just thankful it wasn't murder. She is still alive!

By means of this "seasoning," the woman becomes totally dependent on her captors. She learns through it that she must please them if the pain of the "seasoning" is to stop. And at the same time the men deliberately keep her confused about their expectations of her so that she will try harder to please them. In this way, she learns to become what her abductors expect her to be. She learns to be a survivor in a situation she never expected to encounter. Her attempts to adapt to the expectations of her captors are the only ways available to her to handle her captivity. At first she may attempt to act, or "go through the motions," in meeting her captors' demands. But she is never quite sure whether she is pleasing herself as she continues to "try harder." By the time she is forced to prostitute herself, she is trapped in an overwhelming dependency wrought out of her attempts to survive.

While the woman is going through this, she knows that there is no returning. She has prostituted herself. She can no longer think of

escaping back to a life where that behavior – that level of need and dependency – either doesn't exist or is carefully covered. She is sold into prostitution and doesn't try to escape. Could her husband, boyfriend, mother, or even the police possibly believe she wasn't just another streetwalker? The sense of judgments being made upon her from the outside completely cuts her off from the possibility of return, if she *could* escape. There is no turning back. While she may have thought initially that she was being brutalized by her abductors, she now sees them as the ones who are keeping her alive. In that way, she becomes a slave.

It is not difficult then to understand why, after being placed in the Hibernia Bank robbery, Patricia Hearst could not return even if she could have escaped. She was indeed living in fear of the FBI as well as the SLA; but fear can coexist with dependency – especially for women. And as the months passed and her fear of the SLA began to wane, the dependency would not. Only slowly, with increasing freedom from her captors, could she try to reconstruct her life in the best way she knew. While she was enslaved by the SLA she was not only a victim, but also a survivor. For the former, Patricia Hearst has garnered much pity; for the latter, she has been condemned.

Her word

Whether before the U.S. courts or the SLA War Council, Patricia's life has depended on her word. And in her trial, her word – which ultimately was her only defense – counted for very little. At times it worked against her; it never seemed to work in her behalf. What would make her word so suspect? Regardless of her recent history with the SLA she had not proven herself by

any standards of criminality to be innately deceptive. It was remembered, of course, that she had evaded an embarrassed FBI for nearly two years, but it was quickly forgotten that her life as a fugitive was spawned by a vengeful kidnapping.

Patricia Hearst's life as an heiress, as a kidnap victim, as an alleged revolutionary, as a prisoner of the State, has set her apart from other women. That is a rare combination of roles for anyone. But while the description of her life appears to make her separate, special, and isolated, her treatment by the patriarchy has been, in fact, no different from that which any other woman experiences from patriarchy. Neither Patricia Hearst's word, nor that of the rape victim, nor that of the welfare mother, nor that of the prostitute can be accepted or believed without male corroboration in patriarchy, especially when it is being used to defend one's life or well-being. Various states require corroboration of a rape victim's testimony in order to prosecute rapists; midnight visits by teams of certified social workers to the homes of welfare mothers have been the method for determining whether the woman has a man living with her or not; nowhere can a prostitute report a rape, a beating, or a burglary and expect the complaint to be processed. Regardless of her circumstances, class, or social standing, a woman defending her life in and against patriarchy is not to be believed, especially without legitimized male corroboration.

While it was of negligible consideration in the trial of Patricia Hearst, her report of her kidnapping by the SLA was the only thing that all parties – defense, prosecution, judge, jury – accepted. Even though he didn't appear in the

courtroom or testify at the trial, Steven Weed had many times publicly described the kidnapping of his then-fiancée, Patricia. In this one instance, her word had been legitimately corroborated, and formal testimony wasn't necessary to believe her. For the rest of it – her life as a kidnap victim, as a fugitive – we have only her word, her testimony. Her life continues to hang on the worth of her word.

Patricia Hearst testified that after being abducted from her apartment in Berkeley, her life was constantly threatened while she lived first in one closet and then in another for 57 days. Bound and blindfolded, she endured the overwhelming heat of the closet. She was allowed to go to the bathroom only at her captors' will for two weeks, and later would be allowed to go when she knocked on the door. Her menstrual period stopped. She was fed periodically, but initially she couldn't eat. When she did, she often sat blindfolded outside the closet with the humiliation of knowing that her captors were watching her eat. After she had spent two weeks in the closet her hands were tied in front of her, and she was grateful that they no longer had to be tied behind her. She was allowed to bathe once a week – attended by her captors, who wore ski masks. She was allowed to see only while bathing, and she experienced extreme pain as the light struck her eyes. Everything was distorted. When music wasn't playing on the radio outside the closet door, she heard her captors' guns: "I would hear a lot of clicking noises; and it sounded like clips going in and out of guns and sometimes they'd make noises like they were shooting and I could tell like that they were standing right in front of the closet and doing it at me." During her 57-day confinement, the SLA moved from Daly City to the Golden Gate

apartment. Patricia was stuffed into a garbage can for the move.

She was told that she had to pay for the sins of her parents. In pain and humiliation, she was dependent on her captors for air, for food, for the opportunity to urinate, for her life. This dependency was reinforced when she was ordered to make the first taped message, telling her family "Mom, Dad, I'm OK," and asking her father to cooperate with her captors. A tape recorder was brought to her in the closet, and she was given instruction on how to make the first message. Later the SLA women berated her for not doing well enough and reported her to Cinque, who meted out her punishment by means of sexual abuse.

At one point she was approached in the closet by Angela Atwood. "She said I was going to sleep with William Wolfe," Patricia recalled. Later, Wolfe entered the closet and raped her. (The same act was perpetrated by Cinque about a week later.) During her trial, Patricia testified to her hatred for Willie Wolfe. Emily Harris called a news conference and denied that Wolfe could have stirred such negative feelings in Patricia, declaring him to be one of the sweetest, most gentle men she had ever known. But Mizmoon, who died in the Los Angeles shoot-out, recorded a feeling closer to that of Patricia's:

*Willy . . . I hate him
I want to scream
next time he touches me
Get your God Damned Hand Off
My Body!
(but his hands never were)
damned . . . he's bein' only
friendly . . . I'm not being
paid to have him maul me
Get your damned mind
off my body!
(Ref. 1, p. 230.)*

After 57 days she was allowed to leave the closet, and two days later, Patricia reports, her hair was cut by Nancy Ling Perry down to one inch all over her head. Prior to leaving the closet, she was probably allowed out occasionally for some exercise and political discussion. During these discussions she realized that the SLA knew more about her father's wealth than she did. She was endlessly interrogated with questions she could not answer and demands for information she did not have. This tactic kept her in the untenable position of trying to meet her captors' impossible expectations of her while increasing her sense of futility and helplessness and engendering guilt in her for the wealth and practices of the Hearst empire.

Certainly Patricia Hearst would succumb to the fear which we as women have learned when she was seized in her kitchen and dragged from the Berkeley apartment in February of 1974. And she would, as the minutes and hours and days passed, sink more deeply into that fear.

Males are socialized to fight against fear, not yield to its force. Females, on the other hand, learn at an early age to accept their fears. In a society that cultivates weakness in women, they frequently submit to their fears and then randomly—without design—try to fight their way out, usually becoming dependent on someone else to help neutralize the source of the fear.

But unlike most victims, Patricia did not have the opportunity to try one thing or another to alleviate her fear, to save herself. Fear usually tends to narrow options, but Patricia's options had not narrowed—she had no options. She could neither act on her fear nor be restrained by it. She could only in-

ternalize it. It affected her health, and it must have dominated her emotions. But through it all, despite the overwhelming impact her fear must have had on her, it did not destroy her will or her efforts to survive.

Lying

Did Patricia Hearst tell the whole truth, nothing but the truth, so help her god? It is argued that she lied to save her life; it is not argued that she told the truth to save her life; it is not argued that her attorneys gave her a story to fit their strategy; it is not argued that her defense attorneys developed a defense strategy based on her story.

It was, after all, known that Patricia Hearst stated in inflammatory rhetoric that she chose to stay with the SLA. Photographs placed her in the Hibernia Bank robbery. She admitted firing a gun to cover the Harrises at Mel's Sporting Goods Store in Los Angeles. Could she be telling the truth when she described these actions in terms of her own survival? Who would believe her?

Not the prosecution; it is the duty of the State to prosecute anyone engaged in criminal activity. But what about her lawyers? The defense strategy concocted by F. Lee Bailey was a clear statement to Patricia and to the world of his lack of confidence in his client's veracity. Would he have portrayed her as a neurotic, mindless, brain-washed victim if he didn't believe she was guilty as charged? He not only created a description of her that would remove her from any responsibility for her actions, but he provided a platform for legitimizing his picture of her by the experts. While Patricia was simply a witness in her defense, one psychiatrist after another exerted his expertise on her, attempting to assert or destroy, through that expertise, the credibility of her word. Ac-

cording to this strategy, she did not have to be believed. Legitimized male authority assumed that responsibility. And the judge and jury were asked not to believe the often contradictory words of Patricia Hearst, but instead to accept psychiatric testimony on her motivation for those words and actions. When neither judge nor jury accepted this strategy, all that was left was her word.

The Court was quick in moving to dismiss or at least diminish the impact on the jury of the experts' interpretation of Patricia Hearst's state of mind. When the case was handed over to the jury, it was clear that the only real evidence in her behalf was her own word. And her word, her description of her captivity with the SLA, was not believed. In fact, one male juror I interviewed had a significant respect for Patricia's captors. "It is difficult for me to conceive that all seven of those people were crazy, all mad dogs . . . These people appeared to treat her in some reasonable fashion." Those people he was referring to were members of the group that had taken responsibility for the brutal murder of Marcus Foster. Patricia Hearst's words paled in contrast to the integrity this juror attributed to her captors. Neither did the jury believe that she was raped. Another man on the jury stated he was not sure: "It could have gone one way or another," and, "It was only her word." And another juror, discussing Patricia's confinement in the closet, asserted, "We (the jury) didn't think she had been in the closet that long . . .

In deliberations we felt she had been in the closet *only two weeks.*" (Emphasis added.)

Each of the jurors I interviewed described Patricia as listless, empty, pale. In awaiting her answers to questions put to her by attorneys about the brutality she experienced from the SLA, the jury expected to hear emotional outbursts. But, as one juror said of her testimony on rape, "She described it so calmly and didn't have any emotion in her voice." This led another juror to assert that she had simply been programmed by her attorneys. "She fit exactly what she was portrayed to be—selfless, helpless, defenseless creature." And so, it was reasoned, Patricia was lying through her body as well as through her words. Her clothes, her tone of voice, her complexion, her sad eyes all meant—to the jury and to the vigilant public that followed this trial—something other than what they were. In a society that requires women to lie through their bodies with makeup, wigs, bras, girdles, and other affectations, it is assumed that women never look like what they really are. And yet, not to dress in the expected role may bring the wrath of society down on women by causing them to be labeled "loose" or deviant.

Shortly after her trial Patricia's lung collapsed, and after surgery her doctors reported that she was generally in a debilitated condition. A legitimate authority on her physical condition finally made her pale, listless state seem real, even believable. But it was too late. She had already been convicted for lying.

The only voice in this proceeding

that credited Patricia's word—a voice that was not officially heard in the deliberations—was that of Mary Neiman, an alternate juror. She would have held out for acquittal even if it had meant a hung jury. Agreeing that Patricia was listless in the courtroom, Mary saw this as a result of her experiences and an indication of her truthfulness. "She could have made herself look better if she were lying." Dramatics would have impressed the other jurors, while to Mary dramatic staging would have been more questionable. For example, when asked why she wrote on the wall of one apartment in Spanish and signed her name "Tania," she said only that everybody else did it and they expected her to do it too, so she did. She offered no dramatic stories of great force exerted on her. This was sufficient for Mary Neiman, but the impaneled jurors needed to see violent force governing *all* her actions.

Probably the pivotal question on which the credibility of Patricia's word rested was her willingness to join the SLA. On April 3, 1974, in a communique from the SLA, Patricia's voice pronounced:

I have been given a choice of, one, being released in a safe area, or, two, joining the forces of the Symbionese Liberation Army and fighting for my freedom and the freedom of all oppressed people. I have chosen to stay and fight.

On February 9, 1976, she provided in open court a description of the context in which that decision had been made. Recalling that her captors had notified her parents that she would be released only as an April Fool's joke, she went on to testify:

Well, a few weeks before, DeFreeze told me that the war council had decided or was thinking about killing me or me staying with them,

and that I better start thinking about that as a possibility. Then he came in later and said that I could go home or stay with them. I didn't believe them.

It is not fair to conclude that Patricia lied to DeFreeze when given the option of staying or being freed. Clearly, she saw her options as joining the SLA or being murdered. She had been kidnapped, struck with the butt of a rifle, raped, given black eyes several times, and told constantly, over a period of weeks, that she would be killed if she didn't cooperate in anything



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her captors asked of her. The SLA advocated revolution by murder and had already implemented that strategy once. Her decision was not to join the SLA, her decision was to stay alive. And it was for that decision that she was convicted.

Patrica Hearst, after being locked in a closet for 57 days, simply interpreted what was presented to her on the basis of previous information and acted on what she interpreted. But even though she engaged herself in this basic human interaction, she was expected – if she wanted to be considered *innocent* – to have gone against her perceptions and intuition and risked her life for freedom from the SLA. She didn't, and since then she has been publicly and privately condemned as being just a bored rich kid out for cheap thrills with revolutionaries.

To vindicate herself, Patricia was expected to fight to her death or at least to be able to walk away from her captors and into the hands of the FBI – even after witnessing on television the massacre in Los Angeles. She was expected to be able to extricate herself from her fear for her life at the hands of either her captors or the FBI, and to undo the dependency that had been cultivated with great calculation by her captors. To vindicate herself to the SLA, to the American Left, and to the other self-proclaimed revolutionary movements, she was expected to espouse to the death (*her* death) the cause of violent revolution through assassination. Had she refused to testify in her own behalf, she could have secured the support of the “revolution.” Considering all this, as a woman, I am forced to ask myself

what it means to have to be dead to prove yourself honorable in patriarchy.

Rape was one of the brutalities Patricia Hearst suffered while a captive of the SLA. But on another level, *rape* is the metaphor for her whole experience. Consider the woman held to the ground by the massive weight of a male body with a knife held to her throat. At that moment, her only thought is to survive this violence. Because of the knife she knows that the likelihood of her survival diminishes if she resists. She does not resist; she does what is expected of her and leaves with bruises and torn clothing, having been forcibly penetrated, but still with her life. She reports the rape to the police and the psychological torture continues.

Rapes are rarely witnessed. Therefore, when it comes to trial, the victim's word is usually the major evidence for the prosecution. And one quickly realizes from one rape trial to the next that in patriarchy a woman's word is hardly heard and that it is her loyalty to patriarchy that is being evaluated. And so the woman's character is assaulted. The ruthless, uninhibited attempts to destroy a rape victim's character in court parallel directly the portrayal of Patricia Hearst as being without moral integrity in her fight for her life. The defense attorney hurls at the rape victim, just as the prosecution and the public hurled at Patricia Hearst, “You can't have it both ways!”

In a rape case, the woman's husband may consider, as many men have, that he cannot forgive or accept this *infidelity*, forced though it may have been. The rapist in court is amazed that the woman thought of it as anything other than a sexual encounter into which she had lured him. And the judge will traditionally tell the jury that the testimony of the victim should

be taken with more caution than that of other witnesses. I am suggesting here that rape was, and continues to be, the experience of Patricia Hearst. It matters not at whose hand the abuse has been suffered or who is defendant and who is victim. *Patricia Hearst has been raped by the SLA, the American Left, the U.S. Courts, the defense, and the jury.* And each in turn has expected her loyalty and condemned her when she has changed it – to save her life.

Loyalty

From the moment Patricia Hearst's abduction became a national event, demonstrations of her loyalty were sought from each part of the patriarchal spectrum. She was, for the American Left, first a converted revolutionary and then a turncoat, a snitch. She was, for the U.S. Government, first a victimized heiress, loyal to the Great American Dream she inherited, then a common criminal – disloyal to her family, the law, and the American Way of Life.

But what, after all, is loyalty – that quality which has been so sorely tested and judged and found wanting in Patricia Hearst by all sides? Loyalty is first a dedication, a faithfulness, an allegiance to something – to one's country, to one's employer, to one's family. One is loyal to that which is in one's best interest, which is consonant with one's values. Loyalty is asked of those to whom certain rewards and privileges are given. In return, one adheres to a particular system of values and beliefs which determine the object of the loyalty as well as define the practice of it. Patriotism is loyalty to the fatherland for the rights and privileges it guarantees its citizens. On the other hand, measures of political correctness are used

to determine loyalty to male left ideology and politics which are in opposition to the fatherland. Above all, loyalty is patriarchal – it is the granting and protecting of rights and privileges to men, by men, for men. It is the bonding of the brotherhood.

One further note on loyalty – it should not be confused with assumptions that it is based on principles of morality. As the men of Watergate, the CIA, the corporate structure, and the brotherhood of Johns, pimps, and rapists all demonstrate, loyalty to government, the job, the family, all encompass room for violence, deception, swindling, and fraud. The brotherhood of patriarchy is confirmed in double and triple standards. Loyalty to one's wife is not inconsistent with beating a prostitute any more than loyalty to one's government prevents one from defrauding it in the name of protection of freedom.

Consider the question of female loyalty in the brotherhood of patriarchy – for that is where all women live. When I began to explore the problems of loyalty that Patricia Hearst has faced over the last two and a half years, it became immediately apparent to me that I could not speak from first-hand experience on the subject of loyalty except within the context of personal relationships. I could not speak of the privileges I have been granted or the protections I have been afforded for being loyal to a country, to a job, or to a political organization. As a woman, I simply can never receive from patriarchy that which has been set up for the brotherhood. There are no institutions, no politics, no government where those of my sex have not been dominated, subdued, and robbed of our potential and talents as we are excluded from patriarchal privilege.

What then does it mean for a woman to be loyal in patriarchy?

It means allegiance to a country that systematically denies women equal rights with men or to a revolution that promises to replace one group of men with another. It means allegiance to a medical establishment that has maimed and mutilated women in hysterectomies, mastectomies, and estrogen therapies. It means allegiance to a virility cult that asks the woman jurist not to convict young male rapists, thereby damaging their chances for a prosperous future. It means allegiance to a motherhood cult which raises that experience onto a pedestal and knocks it to the ground when there is no male present to validate it. It stems directly from the linear thinking which always and only allows for two opposite sides. It assumes that loyalty to one patriarchy means disloyalty to another. In linear thought, the world is ordered in dichotomies where there are only two sides to everything.

It was immediately assumed (except by her parents) that when Patricia announced “I've chosen to stay and fight,” she had shifted her loyalties to the other side. Everyone assumed she meant what she said on that tape, for there is no room in linear thinking for any other options or possibilities. Some believed she meant it and had become a revolutionary, while others believed she meant it, but was brainwashed, and so had no responsibility for it. Her mother, Catherine, alone believed that perhaps in addition to the brainwashing her daughter was just trying to survive: “She was looking down

the barrel of a gun.” But to the patriarchal parties in control of this scenario, she was either Tania, the revolutionary, or Patricia Campbell Hearst, alias Tania, common criminal.

The SLA had captured the attention of America by kidnapping this young heiress. Now, in order to continue to capitalize on her, they had to raise her from the status of a kidnap victim. As Tania, she would be a symbol of revolution. And as a symbol she would no longer be thought of as Patricia Hearst, a young woman. Symbols provide a way of removing attention from that from which the symbols are derived.

As quickly as Patricia became a symbol to the Left for the revolutionary cause, her symbolic value increased immeasurably for the Right, who pursued her now as a criminal. It should be recalled that, according to her own words, Patricia was not responsible for her elevation to this level. She chose to stay with the SLA out of fear of being murdered.

Of course one real coup for the SLA was the sympathy they received from a heretofore disapproving Left for having raised the consciousness of a woman of privilege, a member of the bourgeoisie, to the plight of the oppressed. Not only did they succeed in punishing Randolph Hearst personally and economically by the kidnapping of his daughter, but they embarrassed him for all the Left to see by having his daughter denounce him and the family as “the pig Hearsts.”

Because of the double standards afforded to the brotherhood, no one thought it strangely inconsistent that it was this group that had committed the racist murder of

Marcus Foster and the misogynist kidnapping of Patricia Hearst. What mattered is that they got her to identify on tape with the plight of the oppressed. It didn't matter that their moral values were not consistent with their political rhetoric. And, interestingly, no one ever asked, "What is in this for Patty?" But for those who were confused by the absence of this question, the answer came back from the American audience: "Just a rich kid out for adventure."

Through it all, the SLA has been exempt from scrutiny of the vast disparities between their idealistic political rhetoric and their ruthless, vengeful actions. Most often they have been considered well-intentioned but a little misguided. They have not been expected to account either for their violence or for their lack of loyalty to any principles. In contrast, the most absolute standards of loyalty have been demanded of Patricia—even though there was nothing in it for her. When she was arrested, she was expected to continue to support people, actions, and symbols that meant nothing to her. Her refusal to do so, her continued attempts to save her life, allowed the Left and the SLA remnants, along with liberals and radicals, to condemn her as morally bankrupt.

On feminism

Feminism, at least echoes of it, permeated the leftist rhetoric of the SLA. Shortly after Patricia was kidnapped and before it became clear who the members of the SLA were, theories were pronounced by reporters and investigators that the SLA was a feminist revolutionary organization. Having acquired some of the papers left in the house burned by Nancy Ling Perry, Marilyn Baker (then a reporter for San Francisco's KQED) asserted that "women are the dominant force, the leadership

of the Symbionese Liberation Army." (Ref. 2, p. 57.) She supported this assertion with references to the papers from the SLA house: "The only major editorial correction that appeared in them, again and again, was the reversal of the order of *man and woman*, and *men and women* every time they were typed." (Ref. 2, p. 57.)

This theory, being propounded by news reporters, investigators, and the FBI, fed directly into the image that the SLA was trying to exploit. The most viable, visible, and active social movement of the 1970's has been the Women's Movement. An image of solidarity with feminism could allow the SLA to get media attention based on the energy that the Women's Movement had created.

But the "feminist" rhetoric of the SLA was far removed from their political practices. And it is that discrepancy which must be challenged by feminists, for in that discrepancy are reflected some of the most misogynistic practices of patriarchy. Feminists must scrutinize the contradictions between the SLA's rhetoric and their political actions—a scrutiny from which they have been protected by the male Left. For example, while SLA women were claiming to go beyond the traditional male role of passivity, they were adopting the traditional male role of violence in the male model of militarism. Patricia Hearst's testimony revealed the large extent to which the SLA women were doing the bidding of their male leaders. And Emily Harris states:

We got ourselves into such a heavy military state of mind that we lost control of our conditions . . . It was safe for the men to think of

themselves as our teachers and political commissars . . . We behaved like the "Ladies Auxiliary of the Left." We were just so grateful to the men for taking the time to teach us—so we could help save their asses! (Ref. 3, p. 36.)

This contrite statement, coupled with other "feminist" rhetoric, clearly documents the false loyalty to male leaders apparent in the behavior of the SLA women. In reality, the SLA only created an image of feminism through superficial changes in language patterns and by adding women as a token appendage to their list of oppressed groups.

In fact, the SLA, while proclaiming themselves to be in support of feminism, violated in the most dangerous and vicious way the basic principles of feminism by *kidnapping a woman to punish her father* and justified it because she was from a privileged class. And so behind the shabby "feminist" rhetoric of the SLA we actually find *men against men over the body of a woman*.

Feminism, to the women of the SLA, has been a kind of self-improvement ideology, one that would take them from passive roles to active ones, improve their language patterns, and allow them to achieve recognition legitimately from the men in their group. But feminism was never seen as a force that must confront patriarchy. That is why the SLA did not recognize the threat Patricia Hearst's "conversion" represented to the patriarchal establishment. To the FBI and the general public, she was dangerous and threatening, not simply because of some abstract identification with another class, but because as a woman she was defying—for all the world to see—the sex role traditions in which she had been reared. She had been a loving daughter, but after her "conversion" she was a woman trampling

on all the female virtues to which she had been so carefully socialized. She had openly rejected wealth, her family, her fiancé, and the protection of the FBI. There were few female roles that tradition begs us to play that Patricia didn't challenge as "Tania."

What was assumed to be her ungratefulness and her defiance angered the public and enraged the establishment. The Attorney General denounced her as a common criminal. For two years she was hunted down with a vengeance that was carried into the courts, where the final stage was set in making an example of a woman who goes so far in rejection of what patriarchy has offered her. During that time there were no assumptions that she was just trying to survive. It is hard to imagine that degree of wrath or that level of insensitivity toward a *male* heir who tried as he might to survive a kidnapping; one presumes that he would be given the benefit of the doubt.

It was not just because Patricia defied sex roles that this wrath was brought down on her; it was the further implications of her role rejection. In a patriarchy set up to protect and thereby confine women, Patricia Hearst had turned her back on rather elaborate offers of protection—her father's wealth and the FBI's support (even though accepting could have meant her death). Try as they might, Emily Harris, Camilla Hall, Patricia Soltysik, Angela Atwood, or Nancy Ling Perry could never have rejected so much, for they never had so much patriarchal love, support, and protection offered to them. As a child of wealth, Patricia had inherited in total the Great American Dream for womanhood. The other women were only on the fringes of such a

patrimony. But Patricia could have had it all. It was her rejection of this inheritance, her defiance against the offerings of patriarchal protection, which brought down the wrath of the FBI in the form of an anti-feminist backlash. And the backlash was directed against Patricia, who was not at that time intentionally a feminist, through her involuntary involvement with the SLA—a group that, ironically, had no genuine commitment to feminism.

The judgment of Patricia

As the first trial of Patricia Hearst came to a close, the parallel between her experiences and those of the female slave became pronounced. Not only had she undergone a violent and brutal abduction and "seasoning," but as she was "turned out" as an SLA revolutionary, she was—and continues to be—condemned by the Government, the courts, and the public. Patriarchy has proven again that there is no room in it for a woman who, as a victim, tries to survive. It was tragically ironic to see Patricia Hearst brought from her jail, chained and cuffed by the U.S. Government, at the same time that the SLA fringes and the New World Liberation Front were threatening her life and bombing her parents' property to punctuate the seriousness of their threats. It was even worse to hear that Federal marshals, in attempting to remove her (without her doctor's permission) from the hospital near Marin to Los Angeles, threatened to wrap her in a sheet and drag her out over the objections of her attorney. This not only recalled her original abduction two and a half years earlier—it was a threat to reenact it!

Because the Court had effectively dismissed Patricia's word—counting it as worthless—the judge was able

to sentence her to a full seven years, noting that *her* conduct could not be condoned, that a lesson must be made of *her* to serve as a deterrent to others. As the SLA's vengeance against women shades and blends into the USA's, we find that the lesson to be learned—from Cinque to Judge Orrick—is that a woman who tries to survive men's violence against her will pay the full price of patriarchal wrath. Recognizing this at the time of her conviction, Patricia Hearst said simply, "Did I ever have a chance?"



Hibernia Bank



San Francisco Examiner

Postscript

Since this article was written, Patricia Hearst has been released from jail in the custody of her parents. The Hearsts provided \$1.5 million bail and an elaborate security system to bring their daughter home. Patricia subsequently granted a half-hour interview to CBS News at the Hearst ranch at San Simeon. Both events provided poignant displays of the wealth and power of the Hearsts.

And both events are sources of new judgments against Patricia. Again she has been found guilty by the American Left and the American Public - guilty of using her family's wealth to her advantage, guilty of using her power to command apparently sympathetic TV network attention, guilty of true upper-class insensitivity in her statement that those SLA members who died in the Los Angeles shootout "got exactly what they deserved."

While these charges speak to the false demands for loyalty from women in patriarchy, it remains a fact that the SLA has effectively made a symbol of Patricia Hearst - a symbol of the evils of wealth. When her parents' wealth worked to her disadvantage, it was said *she* got what she deserved. Now that their wealth is bringing her some advantage, it is said that she is getting special privileges she doesn't deserve.

A new round of accusations and judgments testify to the strength of the symbol Patricia Hearst has become of the unfair privileges and abuses of the corporate upper class. As before, when her symbolic value heightens, her victimization is obscured. Across the political spectrum, those who resent wealth and feel anger at corporate abuses can vent their resentment and anger on Patricia Hearst. This process is developing into a national phenomenon of vicarious and symbolic assault on Randolph Hearst and the Hearst Corporation. The political impotence of those who would challenge Hearst is pathetically focused on his daughter, leaving his corporate practices virtually unchallenged.

There is nothing new in politics "getting off" on attacking women as a substitute for attacking men and male institutions. Susan Brownmiller, in her book *Against Our Will*, eloquently discusses the rape of black women by white men as a way of acting out racist hostility against black men. And she describes black men's retaliation, with the rape of white women substituting for violence against the white male oppressor. In rape, as in the kidnapping and enslavement of Patricia Hearst, we find the ultimate statement of woman as male property.

But after all, Patricia Hearst has demonstrated a vigorous and admirable will to survive. She survived beatings, rape, and incarceration by the SLA as well as by the State. She survived for more than two years without knowing whether the "people you're with (are) going to kill you because you outlived your usefulness to them." Through all her struggles to survive, her family's wealth has worked against her.

And now, as a survivor, she has been returned to the many privileges of wealth and the love and protection of her parents. (Ideally we would like to see women survive without dependency and paternalistic protection, but women have not yet gained that kind of power and self-sufficiency.) For the first time in three years Patricia Hearst is in the daily company of people who love her.

Finally, my hope for Patricia Hearst's ultimate survival was significantly strengthened by her statement that those killed in the Los Angeles shootout "got what they deserved." While I personally would prefer to have seen those people captured and in some way made answerable for their crimes, I applaud the ability of any kidnap/rape victim to express truly justified anger and hatred for her captors and rapists. This is where women begin in ending violence against themselves.

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1. Fred Soltysik, *In Search of a Sister* (New York: Bantam Books, 1976).
2. Marilyn Baker, *Exclusive* (New York: Macmillan, 1975).
3. Howard Kohn and David Weir, "The Lost Year of the SLA," *Rolling Stone*, April 22, 1976.



1. Domestic work in a communal family:
Oneida Perfectionists' dining room, 1870. (From *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Newspaper*, April 9, 1870.)

By what art, what charm, what miracle, has the twentieth century preserved alive the prehistoric squaw!
—Charlotte Perkins Gilman, 1903

*I'm not your little woman
Your sweetheart or your dear,
I'm a wage slave without wages,
I'm a maintenance engineer!*
—Combine, London, England,
folk song, 1974

The private home

A rosy glow suffuses the portrayal of domestic life in much American and European visionary architecture of the past century. Economic and technological developments have subjected offices, factories, and transportation systems to cycles of design and redesign while the plans of dwelling units have remained much the same. Whether the private home is a freestanding house in Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City or a high tower flat in Le Corbusier's Radiant City, domestic work has been treated as a private, sex-stereotyped activity, and most architects continue to design domestic workspaces for isolated female workers. Political revolutions have not shaken the home either. In most socialist countries housekeeping remains private, "women's" work. Although extensive child-care facilities allow women workers to extend their hours in the factory, nothing has changed their jobs at home.

The feminist economist Charlotte Perkins Gilman satirized home worship in a short poem:

*Oh! the Home is utterly perfect!
And all its works within.
To say a word about it—
To criticise or doubt it—
To seek to mend or move it—
To venture to improve it—
Is the unpardonable sin!¹*

Gilman was perhaps reviewing her own unpardonable sins. Between 1898 and 1903 she laid out the lines of an attack on the home which is still valid today: "The two main errors in the right adjustment of the home to our present life are these: the maintenance of primitive industries in a modern industrial community, and the confinement of women to those industries and their limited area of expression."² A good number of 19th-century feminists had anticipated Gilman in these views; many contemporary feminists are still working along these two lines. Unwaged female labor in primitive domestic industries is the subject of Mariarosa Dalla Costa's "Women and the Subversion of the Community" and Selma James' "A Woman's Place"; the sex-stereotyping of domestic work is the subject of Patricia Mainardi's "The Politics of Housework."³ These contemporary manifestos have been translated into political campaigns—some groups demand wages for housework, while others encourage men to assume an equal share of housework and child care. Ultimately these two political movements must converge, calling for drastic changes in traditional "women's" work and drastic redesign of the environments in which domestic work is conducted.

This essay surveys some social and architectural aspects of feminist agitation for domestic reform in the United States and Europe between 1800 and 1915. The designs and buildings are aimed at restructuring domestic work. They are not presented as solutions to the problems of "women's" work, but as critiques of the traditional home developed in architectural form rather than in words. In many respects they suggest more significant social options than the ideal family housing of the same period. Promoters of company towns often constructed "ideal" factories along with "ideal" workers' housing, demonstrating the role of the housewife and the house in keeping

workers happy on the job. Tenement house designers played a similar role in late 19th-century cities. In contrast to those reformers who promoted domestic stability through improved family housing, the utopian socialists and cooperative housekeepers discussed in this essay challenged the traditional single-family home. They questioned the appropriateness of isolated domestic work. They criticized the separation of work and home, production and reproduction, brought about by the development of industrial capitalism.

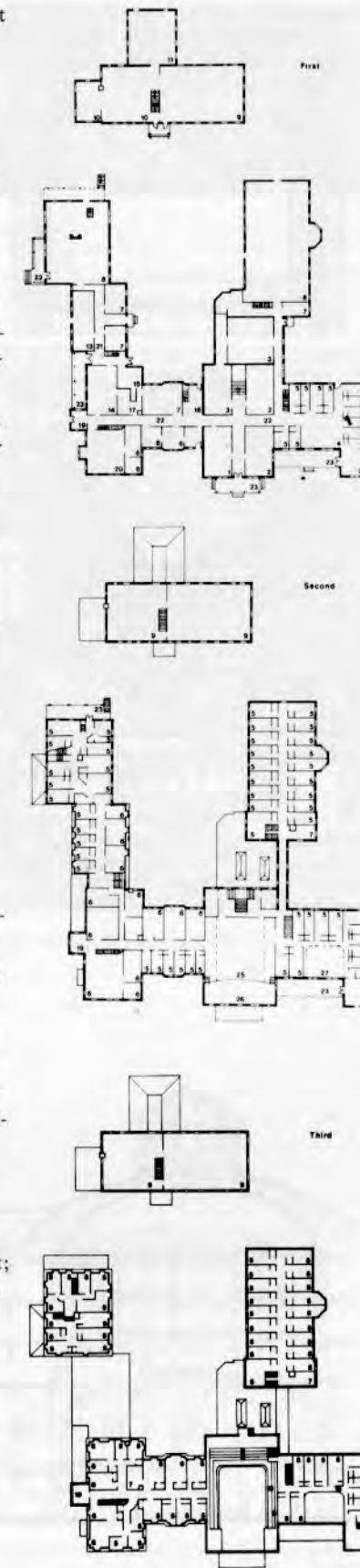
Utopian socialist alternatives

The earliest campaigns against private domestic work in the United States and Europe were launched by utopian socialists committed to building model communities as a strategy for achieving social reform. Both Robert Owen (1771-1858) and Charles Fourier (1772-1837) supported collective housework and child care to assist in the development of equality between men and women, and each of them inspired some 20 to 30 American experiments in model community building, as well as a few European experiments. As Fourier put it, the Associationist movement would introduce communal facilities which would make the most elegant conventional private home appear "a place of exile, a residence worthy of fools, who after three thousand years of architectural studies, have not yet learned to build themselves healthy and comfortable lodgings."⁴

Fourier's followers and other advocates of cooperative housekeeping criticized private houses as isolated, wasteful, and oppressive. John Humphrey Noyes, founder of the Oneida Community (1847-1881), complained of the "gloom and dullness of excessive family isolation," or the "little man-and-wife circle," where one suffered

"the discomfort and waste attendant on the domestic economy of our separate households."⁵ Alice Constance Austin, architect of the Llano del Rio Community (1914-1938), described the traditional home as a "Procrustean bed" which maimed women, an "inconceivably stupid" arrangement which confiscated their labors.⁶ Other domestic reformers who were not themselves utopian socialists echoed these sentiments. Melusina Fay Peirce, founder of the Cambridge Cooperative Housekeeping Society (1869-1872), claimed that all the best years of her life were sacrificed to the "dusty drudgery of house-ordering"—"a sacrifice so costly and unnatural" that she started organizing.⁷

In contrast to the private houses which these domestic reformers denounced as isolated, wasteful, and oppressive, they hoped to build communal or cooperative facilities for domestic work—tangible, architectural demonstrations of the workings of a more egalitarian society. The architectural form which various arrangements took was determined by the economic and social structure of the communities they served, so that the problems of mechanizing and measuring domestic work were met with a great variety of ingenious solutions in urban, suburban, and rural situations. To begin with, at least three types of economic and social organizations must be distinguished: the rural utopian socialist community functioning as a large family; the rural utopian socialist community containing nuclear families within it; and the urban or suburban cooperative housekeeping society whose members included both nuclear families and individuals.

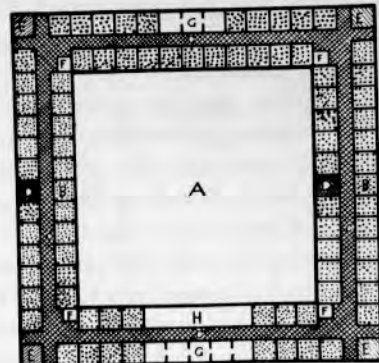
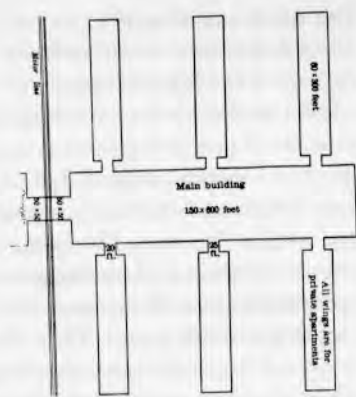


The communal family

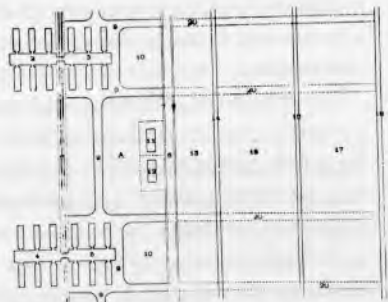
Utopian socialist communities organized as large families often wished to abolish the nuclear family in order to promote greater attachment to a shared communal ideology. Total economic communism and a commitment to free love (viewed as the sexual counterpart of economic communism) were often required by such groups. They often preferred large communal dwellings where members were housed in rooms or dormitories connected to a communal kitchen, dining room, and nursery.

Some communal families and their architecture are well known. The Oneida Perfectionists, led by John Humphrey Noyes and Erastus Hamilton, the community's architect, built a very substantial communal home for 200 members, beginning in 1846 in central New York State. The masthead of their paper, *The American Socialist*, dedicated it to "the enlargement and improvement of home," and in 1862, with the dedication of their Second Mansion House, they claimed that "Communism in our society has built itself a house."⁸ Views of Perfectionist communal housekeeping facilities were widely published in popular illustrated magazines between 1850 and 1875 (fig. 1 and 2).

2. Plans of communal dwelling for 200 Perfectionists at Oneida, New York, 1861 - 1881: 1, office, cloakroom; 2, reception room; 3, library; 4, lower sitting room; 5, single bedroom; 6, shared bedroom; 7, bathroom; 8, lounge or workshop (?); 9, workshop; 10, dining room; 11, dining room addition; 12, balcony of hall; 13, west sitting room; 14, home parlor; 15, nursery kitchen; 16, balcony of upper sitting room; 17, nursery; 18, "hub"; 19, south tower; 20, children's parlor; 21, west avenue; 22, ground corridor; 23, porch; 24, north tower; 25, hall; 26, stage; 27, upper sitting room. (From Hayden, *Seven American Utopias*.)

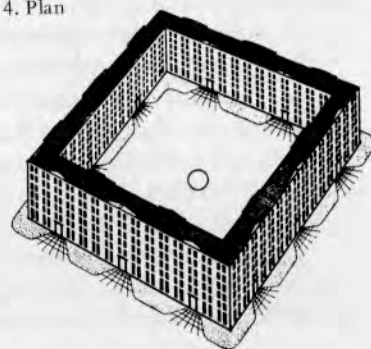


4. Plan



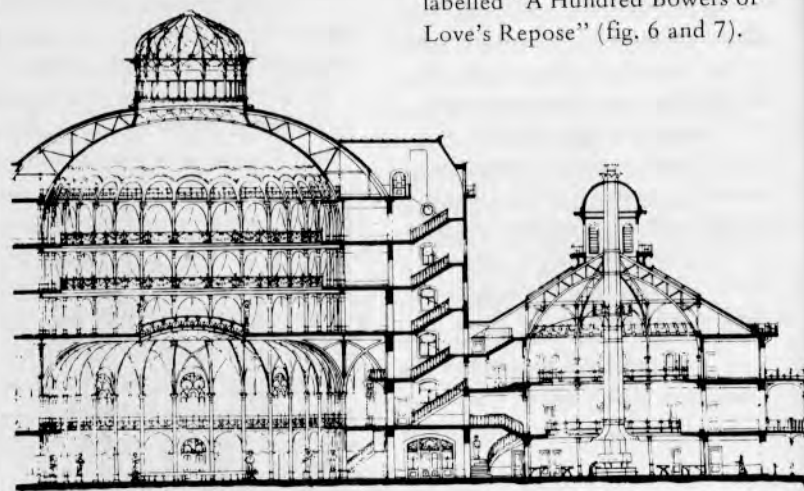
3. Henry Olerich, diagram and site for "big houses," 1893.

A, a park ¼-mile wide, extending from motor line to boulevard all around community; 1, a double-track motor line; 2, 3, 4, and 5, "big houses"; 6, a 100-foot-wide boulevard; 7, 8, footpaths; 9, a 100-foot walk leading through and around "big houses" from one to another; 10, two outdoor nurseries for little children; 11, 12, two artificial lakes for bathing and swimming; 13, a 500-foot-wide conservatory and greenhouse; 14, a walk between greenhouse and garden; 15, a 1,000-foot-wide garden; 16, a walk between garden and orchard; 17, a 1,000-foot-wide orchard; 18, a walk between orchard and field; 19, field, extending clear across to opposite side of orchard; 20, walks extending across park, greenhouse, garden, etc., from "big houses" to field. (From *A Cityless and Countryless World*, 1893).



5. View

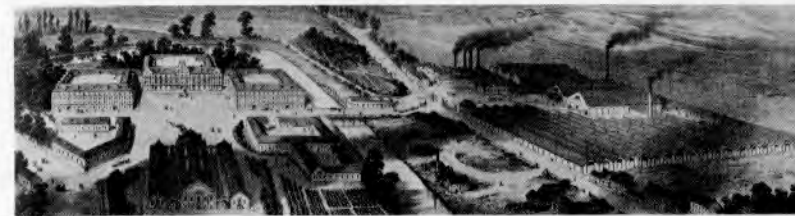
Henry Olerich, cooperative mansion showing private apartments: A, the 300-foot open court; B, private apartments; C, 10-foot halls; D, public nurseries; E, public toilets; F, self-running elevator elevators; G, suites of three- and five-room apartments; H, large compartment for five roomers. (From *The Story of the World A Thousand Years Hence*, 1923.)



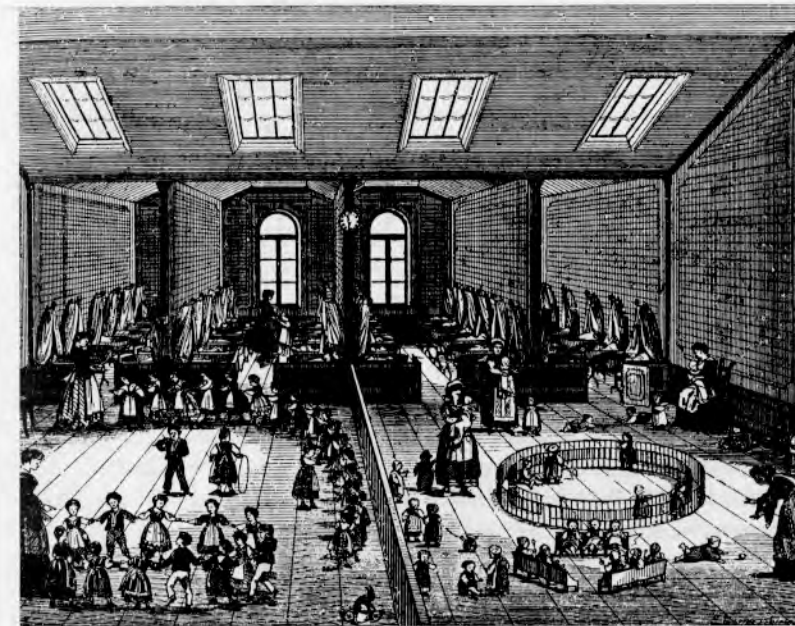
6. Section of "Social Palace," showing communal kitchen and dining facilities, with "A Hundred Bowers of Love's Repose." (Courtesy Horrman Library.)

Compared with the eclectic Victorian mansion of the Oneidians, the housekeeping arrangements of *A Cityless and Countryless World* seem rather diagrammatic. Based on free love and nonsectarian utopian socialism, these plans for "big houses" (figure 3) were published in 1893 in Holstein, Iowa, by Henry Olerich, who argued that "a family of husband, wife and their children, living alone in a country home, are largely wasting their lives, socially and economically."⁹ Single bedrooms for every individual line broad corridors leading to communal service areas. The "big houses" are surrounded by mills and factories. Olerich described his later designs as "modern paradise" and predicted they would form the living arrangements of "the world a thousand years hence."¹⁰ (See fig. 4 and 5.)

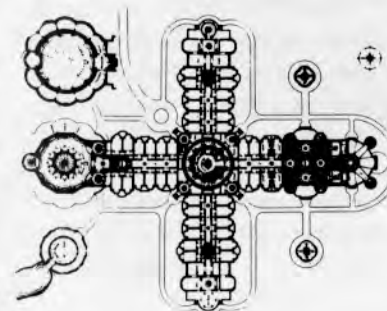
Another plan for a "Social Palace" for a spiritualist community, headed by Thomas Lake Harris at Fountain-grove, California, in 1894, suggests the possible whimsies of collective housekeeping in a communal family practicing free love. Facilities for "special household arts and crafts" are balanced by those for "light industry"; one has a view of a menagerie, another a view of an aviary. A section through the communal kitchen and dining facilities shows curtained banquettes in tiers, labelled "A Hundred Bowers of Love's Repose" (fig. 6 and 7).



8. Domestic life in a community including families: view of the Familistere, housing 1,200 people, Guise, France. At right is the iron foundry. At left, in the rear, the dwellings; and in the foreground, bakery workshops, cafe, nursery, school, theatre, restaurant, butcher shop. (From J.A.B. Godin, *Social Solutions*, New York, 1873.)



9. Nursery at the Familistere. (From Godin, *Social Solutions*, 1873.)



7. Plan for a "Social Palace" at Fountain-grove, California, 1894, anonymous. (Courtesy Horrman Library, Wagner College, Staten Island, N.Y.)

The communal organization including families

In contrast to those utopian socialist communities where specific social, religious, or sexual practices were enforced among members of the communal family living under the communal roof, the utopian socialist communities which contained nuclear families within them offered more diverse housekeeping and child-care arrangements. Usually nuclear families had some private territory to themselves as well as access to communal kitchens, dining rooms, and nurseries. Some organizations wished their housing to take the form of a "unitary dwelling," which contained all of these disparate communal and private facilities; others developed networks of related buildings, including private family houses or small apartment houses and various communal housekeeping facilities.

Fourierists, or Associationists, favored the Phalanstery, a single building containing both communal housekeeping facilities and private apartments for resident families. The Familistere at Guise, France, built by Jean-Baptiste-André Godin, beginning in 1859, provided innovative housing for several hundred iron foundry workers and their families. Apartments included private kitchens, but the Guise complex contained a large dining hall and cafe as well (fig. 8 and 9). Some earlier Fourierist communities in the United States built an even greater range of dwellings. At the North American Phalanx—a community of about 125 members established in New Jersey in 1843—a communal kitchen, laundry, and bakery were contained in the same building as private apartments (without kitchens) and dormitories, but members were also permitted to build private houses (with kitchens) on the domain.¹¹

In contrast to the Fourierists' "unitary dwellings," coherent villages composed of private apartments and communal housekeeping facilities were built by other groups. The Harmony Society, led by George Rapp, built three towns in the United States between 1805 and 1824. Nine hundred members at Economy, Pennsylvania, lived in small communal houses and dormitories, each with its own kitchen, but they also had a large communal kitchen and "Feast Hall" used on special occasions. The Amana Inspirationists built 52 communal kitchen houses, each serving about 50 people, in the seven communal villages which they established in Iowa in 1855 (fig. 10). Residents dwelt in family apartments (usually four apartments to a house) and in dormitories. Schools, kindergartens, and other workshops were located near the residences and kitchens.¹² Similar arrangements prevail in the Bruderhof and Hutterian communities which are still active in the United States and Canada: small buildings containing several family apartments, some with minimal private kitchens, are served by communal cooking and dining facilities. This is also the arrangement most common in Israeli *kibbutzim*, although communal residences for children replace day-care facilities, giving parents even more freedom to take part in other aspects of communal life.



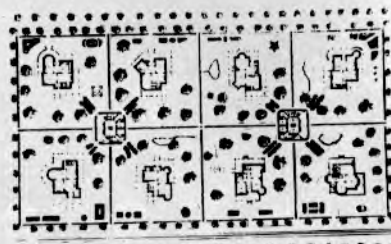
10. View of small apartment houses and kitchen houses in Amana, Iowa, 1875. (From Charles Nordhoff, *The Communist Societies of the United States*, New York, 1875.)

The cooperative housekeeping service

The organizers of cooperative housekeeping services were not utopian socialists. They believed in private property and the private home. They hoped to imitate the utopian socialist housekeeping arrangements previously described and transplant them to urban or suburban neighborhoods. These organizers expected nuclear families to subscribe to a cooperative housekeeping service as a matter of rational self-interest. Of the three approaches to domestic reform, this one required the least in the way of social and economic conformity, but proved the most difficult to finance and control in practice.

Melusina Fay Peirce and members of the Cambridge Cooperative Housekeeping Society, middle-class women, many of them the wives of Harvard professors, organized the first such cooperative housekeeping service in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1869. In 1870 they established a cooperative store, laundry, and bakery for 40 subscribing households, but they did not provide child care, since the scheme was intended to give women the opportunity to spend more time with their children. The members argued for the inclusion of cooperative housekeeping services in the apartment houses which were at that time being introduced for middle-class residents in the United States, but architects and developers opposed any measures which would involve the owners of multiple dwellings with the problems of domestic cooperation. In 1871 the Cambridge experiment was discontinued, but Peirce continued to lecture and write for the cause, publishing *Cooperative Housekeeping: How Not To Do It and How To Do It, A Sociological Study*, in 1884. Although Peirce herself was not an architect and never published plans of the cooperative housekeeping

facilities she described, Marie Howland, a feminist and a former resident of the Familistere in Guise, France, collaborated with an engineer, Albert Kimsey Owen, and an architect, John Deery, to produce architectural plans for cooperative neighborhoods around 1885. One plan shows four single-family houses grouped around a building with kitchen, dining room, laundry, and bakery (fig. 11).



11. Plans for single-family houses and with cooperative housekeeping facilities, Howland, Deery, and Owen, 1885. (From A.K. Owen, *Integral Cooperation*, New York, 1885.)



12. Bradford Peck, public restaurant building, 1900. (From Bradford Peck, *The World A Department Store*, Lewiston, Maine, 1900.)

In *Women and Economics*, published in 1898, the economist Charlotte Perkins Gilman recommended kitchenless houses of a similar sort, suggesting that they can be linked in urban rows or connected by covered walkways in a suburban block. Like Peirce, Gilman also recommended the construction of kitchenless apartments with collective dining facilities for women with families.¹³ Two later books added to this vision: *Concerning Children*, 1900, described the benefits of professional day-care arrangements; *The Home, Its Work and Influence*, 1903, provided a detailed critique of private, inconvenient domestic architecture.

Cooperative housekeeping schemes were not only supported by feminist reformers; they also became the subject of popular utopian novels at the end of the 19th century. In 1874, in *Papa's Own Girl*, Marie Howland described a Familistere transported to Massachusetts. Edward Bellamy's best seller of 1887, *Looking Backward*, dealt with a socialist Boston in the year 2000, when families dwell in luxurious private apartments and dine in communal halls served by communal kitchens. A slightly later novel, *The World A Department Store*, published by Bradford Peck in Lewiston, Maine, in 1900, included illustrations of such an arrangement. Private apartments were restricted to parlor, bedroom, and bath, and the city was dotted with "public restaurant buildings" looking very much like many city halls built at that time (fig. 12). Peck's housing was similar to that built in Amana, Iowa, described in the previous section, but he expanded a communal system to include a whole city of cooperative consumers.

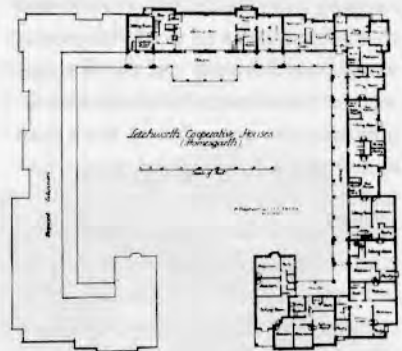
English enthusiasm for cooperative housekeeping was as keen as American. Melusina Fay Peirce, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Edward Bellamy all had English disciples as well as American ones. Raymond Unwin advocated cooperative housekeeping arrangements in his influential treatise written in 1901, *The Art of Building a Home*, and he seems to have interested Ebenezer Howard in cooperative housekeeping as well; Howard organized extensive experiments in cooperative housekeeping at the Garden Cities of Letchworth and Welwyn, England. "Homesgarth" included 32 kitchenless units built in 1909, while "Meadow Way Green" included 23 kitchenless units built in Letchworth between 1915 and 1924. Residents shared a common dining room and kitchen, where they ate one cooperative meal a day, prepared at first by the women tenants on a two-week rotation and later by a hired cook. The experiments (fig. 13, 14, 15, and 16) lasted at least 30 years. Guessens Court at Welwyn was a similar venture including 40 kitchenless units served by cooperative housekeeping facilities which functioned until the time of World War II.



13. H. Clapham Lander, architect, Homesgarth, Letchworth, England, view; built in 1909. (From C.B. Purdom, *The Building of Satellite Towns*, 1925.)



14. View of tenant's dining room, Homesgarth. (From Purdom.)



15. H. Clapham Lander, Homesgarth, plans. (From Purdom.)

This brief review of housing arrangements designed by utopian socialist communities and cooperative housekeeping societies can only begin to suggest the variety of plans for domestic reform devised in hundreds of utopian socialist experiments and dozens of cooperative housekeeping societies. It is difficult to assess the effect of such unorthodox domestic architecture on the female and male domestic workers who participated in these innovative projects. Nevertheless, one can examine evidence from various experiments relevant to Gilman's two demands: an end to primitive domestic industries and an end to women's confinement within domestic industries.

Most experiments in utopian socialism hoped to seize economic initiative in three areas: agricultural, industrial, and domestic work. By combining the labor of many workers, male and female, they proposed to end the isolation of the individual farmer, industrial worker, and housewife, improving efficiency through some division of labor while keeping all individuals involved with these three areas of work. Improved work environments and equal wages were often advertised to make such communities attractive to both men and women, farmers and industrial workers. This was the ideal: the reality for female workers often included improved work environments but rarely equal pay, and only occasionally an end to confinement in domestic industries.

More efficient domestic work

The major achievement of both utopian socialist communities and cooperative housekeeping societies was ending the isolation of the housewife. Shaker women sang funny songs about cooking and cleaning while they worked; Moravian women and men working together in a communal bakery reported that "If you have pleasure and love for anything, all effort and labor are light." Workers in the 52 kitchen houses which were built by the Amana community claimed that they were the "dynamic centers of the villages." Besides being places for village celebrations, the Amana kitchen houses, with eight or ten women working under a *Kuchenbas*, became centers of news and information. A resident described going to the kitchen house "for the only social life we know, for snatches of gossip and legitimate news, and just ordinary companionship."¹⁴

Sociable work usually implied more efficient work through the division of labor. One of the difficulties of private housework which Melusina Fay Peirce and the Cambridge Cooperative Housekeepers protested was the lack of specialization. According to Peirce, a young bride with a traditional home was not setting up housekeeping, but undertaking to practice "three trades at once," cooking, laundering, and sewing.¹⁵ Cooperative housekeepers found, however, that new approaches to the division of labor were difficult to reconcile with traditional concepts of private property, which might include both the home and the wife. "What!" exclaimed the husband of one of the Cambridge Housekeepers. "My wife cooperate to make other men comfortable?"¹⁶

Societies with some commitment to utopian socialism were able to exploit the division of domestic labor most effectively. Kitchens became shops serving the entire

community, like other facilities. Gardening, preserving, cleaning, baking, cooking, ironing, gathering herbs, and caring for children were all skills required within the communal economy which could be learned. Activities aimed at reproducing the community's labor power took their place on organizational charts parallel to agricultural or industrial production. All members, male and female, were required to put in a certain number of hours per day, and all work areas were designed to a certain standard.

Economies of scale in domestic life provided an obvious justification for better design and equipment: 50 private families might need 50 kitchens and 50 stoves, but a communal family, with one large kitchen and one large stove, had the resources to invest in additional, more sophisticated labor-saving devices. Both utopian socialist communities and cooperative housekeeping societies took pride in providing themselves with the latest in heating, lighting, and sanitation devices, designed to ensure the health of their members and lighten domestic labor. And what they didn't acquire, the men and women of the group might invent.



16. Shaker ironing room, showing conical stove to warm flatirons, 1873, New Lebanon, N.Y. (From *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Newspaper*, Sept. 13, 1873.)

The Harmony Society constructed floors which could be removed so that it was never necessary to carry furniture up and down stairs, and they devised special insulation and ventilation for their houses. The Oneida Perfectionists installed gas light, steam baths, and steam heat in their communal Mansion House in the 1860's. This last comfort caused almost hysterical excitement: "Good-bye wood sheds, good-bye stoves, good-bye coal scuttles, good-bye pokers, good-bye ash sifters, good-bye stove dust, and good-bye coal gas. Hail to the one fire millennium!"¹⁷ Yet, significantly, the Oneidans retained one wood-burning stove in a small room they called their "Pocket Kitchen." The warmth of a direct heat source in a small space was appreciated as having nurturing qualities which couldn't be improved upon. Here was the community medicine chest and a place for telling one's troubles.

Charles Nordhoff, a travelling journalist who visited many American communes in the 1870's, commented that "A communist's life is full of devices for ease and comfort."¹⁸ Lists of domestic inventions produced by members of various utopian socialist communities are equalled only by the lists of inventions in their other industries. The Shakers have to their credit an improved washing machine; the common clothespin; a conical stove to heat flatirons (fig. 16); the flat broom; a removable window sash, for easy washing; a window-sash balance; a round oven for more even cooking; a butter worker; a cheese press; a pea sheller; and an apple parer which quartered and cored the fruit. Members of the Oneida Community produced a lazy-susan dining-table center, an improved mop wringer, an improved washing machine, and an institutional-scale potato peeler. (Their community

policy was to rotate jobs every few months, so that a technique learned in one community shop might be the source of inventions to speed another sort of task.) Members of cooperative housekeeping societies designed different types of containers to keep cooked food warm for delivery to subscribers, and sometimes their inventiveness was applied to the design of special wagons and vans for delivery as well.

Inventiveness also extended to developing equipment and spaces for child care. The Amana Inspirationists built large cradles which could hold up to six children for their kindergartens. At the Familistère in Guise, France, great care was spent on designing the perfect individual cradle—one which was finally devised was a cradle filled with bran, screened to eliminate dust (fig. 17). Moisture caused the bran to form pellets, which could easily be removed without the need to bathe the child or change linen. Bran was changed once a month. The same community devised a special device for teaching young children to walk, a circular structure of supports surrounding a center filled with toys and games (fig. 18). Other communes had specially designed furniture at child scale, a novelty not to be found in most 19th-century homes. One commune, the Bruderhof, still supports itself today by manufacturing "Community Playthings." Outdoor spaces might be designed with children in mind as well: the Oneida Community had an extensive landscaped play-space; the Shakers created model farms and gardens for their boys and girls; the Llano del Rio community organized their teenagers to build a clubhouse and dormitory called the "Kid Colony."

Commercial extensions of domestic work

Utopian socialist communities often found it profitable to manufacture and market their domestic inventions, such as the Shakers' improved washing machines, their sash balance, and the Bruderhof's toys, but this was not the only commercial extension of their domestic life. Once domestic "women's" work was officially recognized, timed, and costed it might become a source of revenue to extend these domestic services to customers outside the community. Thus a communal sewing room might begin to manufacture cloaks, or a communal kitchen might also function as a restaurant. Among the Shakers, well-equipped facilities for spinning, dyeing, weaving, sewing, and ironing made it possible to fill a demand among outsiders for warm Shaker cloaks. And the Oneidans, by the 1870's, were serving hundreds of visitors meals every week. Members of the Woman's Commonwealth, a community in Belton, Texas, actually made hotel and laundry management their major source of income, taking over a hotel in their town as both a communal residence and a profit-making venture.



17. Nurse preparing a cradle, Familistère, Guise, France. (From Edward Vansittart Neale, *Associated Homes*, London, 1880.)

Women's confinement to domestic industries

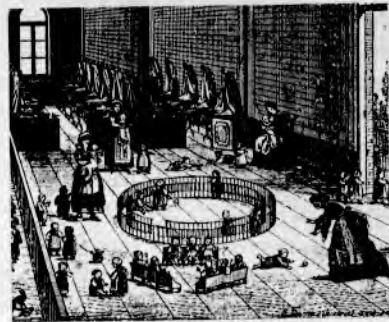
If the first goal of domestic reformers was efficiency in domestic industries, the second was ending the confinement of women to domestic work. This could be achieved in part by allowing women more time to themselves, but full achievement required the involvement of women in many traditionally "masculine" areas of work.

In most of the experiments described, cooking, cleaning, and child care remained "women's" work, despite some limited participation by men in these activities. But, because of the division of labor and the introduction of labor-saving devices, women's overall hours of work were limited. Rather than being on call day and night, like the average wife and mother, most utopian socialist women had leisure to develop their interests—reading, writing, participating in musical or theatrical performances, developing friendships, enjoying amorous relationships. This gave them a degree of freedom unimaginable in the larger society. Women involved in cooperative housekeeping societies enjoyed increased leisure as well, especially if their organization provided day-care facilities, but many urban and suburban societies did not develop such programs.

Although most experiments managed to limit the hours of work for women, utopian socialists did not always grant equal pay for domestic work compared with other communal industries, and they did not always encourage women to enter other areas of work. The celibate Shakers kept all areas of work restricted by sex; men and women never worked together. Other communes, like Oneida, the North American Phalanx, and the Llano del Rio community, made gestures toward encouraging women to enter administration, factory work, and other nondomestic jobs.

(Llano, however, offered women only 75 percent of male wages, whatever jobs they did!) Consciousness of the problems of socialization for "women's" work was high at Oneida, where young girls were told to get rid of their dolls lest they learn to be mothers before they had learned to be persons.¹⁹ Consciousness was not enough, however, for although some Oneida women worked in the community factory, most worked in domestic industries, apparently by choice, and the situation was the same in most other utopian socialist communities, especially those which encouraged women to perfect domestic skills. One old photograph of a sewing class at Guise showing only young women in attendance suggests the kind of community pressures which countered some groups' official proclamations on "women's" work.

If the utopian socialists had problems in ending the sex-stereotyping of domestic work, the cooperative housekeepers had even greater difficulties in overcoming both sex and class divisions in urban and suburban communities. Some cooperative housekeepers like Melusina Fay Peirce attempted to restrict their experiments to women participants, arguing that domestic work was women's proper sphere, and that women must develop domestic industries without male interference.



18. Children learning to walk, Familistère, Guise, France, 1873. (Detail of fig. 9.)

Other groups did include male participants. Many cooperative housekeeping societies, however, accepted hierarchical organizational structures which put educated, middle-class managers at the top and paid less skilled dishwashers and laundry workers rather poorly. As a result, there was often much more conflict among the cooperative housekeepers than in the communal "families" of the utopian socialists.

What, in the end, did all these attempts to develop convincing domestic alternatives actually achieve? The typical houseworker today, in Europe or the United States, is still isolated in the home, a workplace relatively unchanged since the 1860's. A recent sociological study estimates that the housewife puts in, on an average, 70 hours of work per week, experiencing monotony, fragmentation, and speed-up in her work which exceed that of assembly-line workers.²⁰ Yet most assembly-line workers at least have labor unions which can demand that their labor be recognized and compensated; the housewife works on an invisible assembly line, and she is expected to deliver a "labor of love."

The experiments described in this paper did not have much influence because these plans were only suitable for a socialist, feminist society, the like of which we have not yet seen. The most convincing experiments are the utopian socialist ones; when private property gets in the way, cooperative housekeeping either falls apart or is relegated to servants, and middle-class women (and men) purchase their freedom at the expense of working-class women. Even in the most consistent experiments, there is a sense of unreality—it is all too perfect, with round ovens, clever tables, and ingenious cradles. Everyone is so

busy working out the details of the new arrangements that they have no time to think about the world outside the experiment. Nevertheless, it is essential to know that a domestic architecture developed on a collective rather than a private basis has existed, in workable and complex forms as well as in fantastic and unrealistic ones.

The problem of isolated female domestic labor is not one which can be solved by architects, but architects can refuse to collaborate in idealization of the private home with the "little woman" smiling over the stove. A collage by the collective of Italian architects, Superstudio, satirizing the "Happy Island" with the woman isolated behind the ironing board, provides effective criticism of private housing. Even more pointed is "Woman-house," an exhibition of environments designed by the Feminist Program at California Institute of the Arts in 1971. A collection of satirical domestic environments was arranged within a single house to demonstrate the fusion of women's identity with the dwelling as workplace. The linen closet was portrayed as a prison, with a woman shut behind the shelves. The kitchen shocked visitors with surrealistic fried eggs turning into nurturing breasts, and a simple comment on the sex-stereotyping of the kitchen as a place for woman's work. Every appliance, every workspace, and every tool was painted light pink, that "feminine" color.

These artists and architects are extending men's and women's consciousness of the home as a workplace where women are traditionally exploited as unpaid workers. The historic plans and experiments of previous generations of domestic reformers may not seem particularly practical now, but they are part of a long history of revolt against the single-family home. They suggest

our power to imagine something better; they revive a sense of possibilities, urgencies, and priorities. We can no longer take the housewife, or the house, for granted. The angry refrain of the patronized, unpaid woman echoes through a ballad composed of worker's demands: "I'm not your little woman, your sweetheart or your dear, I'm a wage slave without wages, I'm a maintenance engineer!"

Acknowledgements

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Footnotes

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8. John Humphrey Noyes, address on "Dedication of the New Community Mansion," *Circular*, Oneida, N.Y., Feb. 27, 1862, p. 9. Further details of this project are discussed in Dolores Hayden, *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790 - 1975*, Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1976.

9. Henry Olerich, *A Cityless and Countryless World*, Holstein, Iowa: Gilmore & Olerich, 1893.

10. Henry Olerich, *Modern Paradise*, Omaha, Neb.: Olerich Publishing Co., 1915, and *The Story of the World a Thousand Years Hence*, Omaha, Neb.: Olerich Publishing Co., 1923.

11. See "The Architecture of Passional Attraction," in Hayden, *Seven American Utopias*.

12. See "Communes Within Communes," in Hayden, *Seven American Utopias*.

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14. Barbara S. Yambura, with Eunice Bodine, *A Change and A Parting: My Story of Amana*, Ames, Iowa, 1960, p. 79.

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16. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

17. Oneida *Circular*, Feb. 14, 1870, p. 380.

18. Charles Nordhoff, *The Communist Societies of the United States* (1875), New York: Dover Press, 1966, p. 401.

19. Judith Fryer, "American Eves in American Edens," *American Scholar*, Vol. 43, Spring 1974.

20. Ann Oakley, *The Sociology of Housework*, London: Martin Robertson, 1974, gives average figures for hours of housework (p. 94) and develops an argument about monotony, fragmentation, and speed, based on a survey of housewives in London (p. 87).

In 1905 Dr. Sigmund Freud presented the world with his theory on infant sexuality. He informed a society still deep in Victorian prudery that very little children had strong erotic drives. His theory shocked middle-class sensibility at first, but eventually this same middle-class society came to find Freud to be quite right. Today it is almost generally agreed that children have erogenous zones and sexual feelings, but, since Freud's interest focused on the psychosexual aspects of human development, he gave little attention to other infantile endowment. He chose not to notice that just as children are sexually aware, so are all their other faculties intact, and therefore they know when they have been humiliated and exploited. So when Freud claimed that children who reported sexual abuse by adults had imagined or fantasized the experience, he was quite wrong. Children know the difference between reality and fantasy, often with more accuracy than adults, and sexual advances are in fact made to children in the course of everyday life. To insist that these advances are imagined is to under-

estimate a child's perceptive capacity, create doubt and confusion, undermine self-confidence, and provide the food upon which nightmares are nourished.

I remember that as a child I struggled with a nagging fantasy in which I pleaded desperately with disinterested adults to acknowledge my fears. Considering that I had been told that my tonsillectomy was "not that bad" or that the dentist whose hands were between my legs was really "fixing my teeth," my concern was not unfounded. Somehow I knew even then that if one is ignored or not believed too long and too often, one can lose one's bearings, panic, and even go mad. As I grew older it was some consolation to learn that I had no monopoly over the theme of my nightmare; many were so intimate with its horror that it became a favorite motif in literature and art. Franz Kafka was a master at communicating the anxiety resulting from general disregard of personal fear and sense of danger. Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* found the lack of recognition of his feelings so unbearable that he installed countless electric light bulbs in his room to illuminate and verify his existence. The world of science and suspense fiction is per-

meated with the eerie loneliness of distorted reality, and the theme has captivated a coast-to-coast television audience with the everlasting *Twilight Zone*, *Star Trek*, and *Chiller Theater*. But my favorite, still enjoyed by late-show insomniacs, is the 1944 film *Gaslight*, a tale which so impressed public imagination that still today the word "gaslight" is used to describe an attempt to destroy others' perceptions of reality and, ultimately, their sanity.

In summary, the plot - set in the Victorian era - has Charles Boyer marrying Ingrid Bergman, not for love, but to gain access to her home, where precious jewels were hidden. Once ensconced in her house and impatient to embark on his treasure hunt, Boyer planned to get rid of his wife. He calculated to unnerve her so that eventually she would agree to be "put away." To accomplish this, he simply altered the world in which Bergman lived and trusted. When she sent a servant on an errand, he assured her that the order had never been given; a pair of scissors placed on a table could not be found there, only to turn up elsewhere; and when the gaslight flickered, he convinced her that it was not the light but her

perceptions that were failing. Gradually she became unsure and unsteady, and soon was so shaken that she could barely function. Boyer pretended concern, suggested a doctor, a rest cure, but just as she was on the brink of total collapse Joseph Cotten (always vaguely in the background) arrived to expose the scoundrel and rescue Bergman's reality, confidence, and sanity.

Because so many identified with the victim, this movie enjoyed great popularity. Personally I know I have been "gaslighted" frequently in my lifetime, not the least traumatic instance being the denial of my own molestation. I recognize, however, that the gaslighting procedure, as it applies to the subject of sexual abuse, is far more serious than a Victorian suspense story and more effective than one man's treachery. It evolves from widespread indoctrination. Sigmund Freud, whose theories have enormous influence on modern thinking, knew that the sexual abuse of children existed, but he could not reconcile the implications of that abuse with either his self-image or his identification with other men of his class, and thus he altered his telling of reality. Eventually he succeeded in gaslighting an age into ignoring a devastating childhood reality and a very serious social problem.

A Freudian discretion

Early in his career Freud believed that little girls often experienced sexual abuse because his patients, predominantly women, consistently reported childhood instances of sexual molestation. Many of Freud's patients suffered from hysteria, a common Victorian ailment affecting middle-class women. The symptoms included loss of voice or appetite, compulsive vomiting, sneezing, coughing, temporary blindness, deafness, paralysis, or epilepsy, and these symptoms, with no discernible

organic base, were resistant to medical treatment.* Since his hysterical patients repeatedly reported sexual abuse, most often naming their fathers as the abusers, Freud drew a causal connection between sexual abuse and neurosis.** Before he formulated his better-known theories he framed the "seduction theory," in which he pointed to a direct connection between sexual abuse in childhood and adult hysteria. But this repeated and persistent incrimination of fathers by his patients made him uneasy, and, never quite comfortable with the seduction theory, he mentioned it publicly only in the year 1896 and not again until much later (1933), when he was able to reassign the abuse to female fantasy and disavow it as erroneous:

Almost all my women patients told me that they had been seduced by their father. I was driven to recognize in the end that these reports were untrue and so came to understand that the hysterical symptoms are derived from phantasies and not from real occurrences. (Ref. 1, p. 584.)

More at ease with the fantasy rather than reality of sexual abuse, Freud was even more comfortable when he could name the mother rather than the father as the seducer. When he implicated the mother, however, he assured us that maternal seduction was based on reality:

It was only later that I was able to recognize in this phantasy of being seduced by the father the expres-

* Hysteria is different from organ neurosis or psychosomatic illness. Though both are derived from psychological causes, in psychosomatic illness there is an actual physiological change in the affected organ. In hysteria or "conversion hysteria," function is impaired but the organ is unaffected.

**The term "neurosis" is used to describe all disturbances arising from psychological rather than physical cause.

sion of the typical Oedipus complex in women. And now we find the phantasy of seduction once more in the pre-Oedipus pre-history of girls; but the seducer is regularly the mother.* Here, however, the phantasy touches on the ground of reality for it was really the mother who by her activities over the child's bodily hygiene inevitably stimulated and perhaps even aroused for the first time, pleasurable sensations in her genitals. (Ref. 1, p. 584. Emphasis added.)

Before Freud could conclude that seduction by fathers was a fantasy, he had to be rid of his earlier theory. Since men did not complain of maternal seduction Freud limited the "imagined" abuse to a specific female problem: "I was able to recognize in this phantasy of being seduced by the father the typical Oedipus complex in women." To remove the onus from fathers, Freud found it necessary to undermine the perceptions of his female patients. Unable to accept the father as seducer, he exchanged female veracity for female fantasy. And perhaps this shift can be better understood if we look at Freud the man, who, endowed with his share of human imperfection, had a history of withholding or altering information that did not suit him.

In the process of exploring the human psyche, Freud courageously exposed personal weakness, conflicts, anxieties, and neurosis, but he withheld facts and feelings in two major areas — areas he established as vital to the understanding of the human personality: childhood and sex. At age 29, in anticipation of a curious posterity, he destroyed all his early work, notes, and diaries because he said he "couldn't have matured or died without worrying

* That is, before the age of three.

about who would get hold of those old papers." (Ref. 2, p. 11.) But even in later life, when fortified by success and prestige, he was still unable to trust a scientific and interested public, and so the story of Freud's childhood is unknown to us. And if little is known about his childhood, less is known about his sex life.

Freud formulated the Oedipal complex, the theory of innate erotic attraction of children to parents of the opposite sex, and he gave us the "libido theory," or sex energy as a vital life force. Yet this man who saw the sex drive as a dominant factor in personality development, and the struggle to sublimate sexual gratification as essential to practical survival, to the mature psyche, and to all of civilization, for that matter, told us nothing of his own sexual impulses, sexual conflicts, or experiences.* What makes this concealment even more surprising is the fact that Freud used his life, his conscious and unconscious being, as a prime tool for understanding and explaining all of human sexuality. His theories evolved from self-analysis and the interpretation of his own dreams, yet he never once revealed a masturbatory fantasy, or a sexual passion, nor did he ever associate "one of his dreams with an erotic desire or a woman." (Ref. 2, p. 63.) Andre Breton, French poet and essayist, criticized Freud for the stubborn and illogical silence that surrounded his own sex life, and even ventured to call him dishonest, but Freud never took up the challenge nor addressed himself to this issue. It should come as no surprise, then, that Freud also saw fit to censor what he thought was other ill-advised information. In a

* In his private letters to his friend, Wilhelm Fliess, published after his death (1950), Freud did reveal some sexual desires, dreams, and feelings. He did not intend, however, that these letters be brought to public attention.

footnote to the 1924 edition of his *Studies on Hysteria* (1895), he confessed that he had altered some studies for reasons of discretion. In two cases he had substituted an uncle for a father as sexual abuser:

I venture after the lapse of so many years to lift the veil of discretion and reveal the fact that Katharina was not the niece but the daughter of the landlady. The girl fell ill, therefore, as a result of sexual attempts on the part of her own father. (Ref. 3, p. 174.)

And he added a similar footnote to the case of Fraulein Rosalia H. : "In this instance, too, it was in fact the girl's father, not her uncle," who was the seducer. (Ref. 3, p. 211.)

It is customary in all professional relationships to protect a client or patient by disguising individual identity in a public presentation, and Freud adhered to this practice meticulously. He carefully changed names, places, and other revealing clues, but to camouflage an entire group such as parents or "fathers" was not required or necessary, and such alteration could change the essential dynamics of the case history. In evaluating a case, whether it is the father or uncle who molests a child is of utmost importance, since a child's relationship with her father has much different meaning than that with an uncle; by altering this fact, Freud altered the case itself. Freud claimed to have made this significant change in the name of discretion, to protect fathers from unfair bias, but he was not moved to exercise the same discretion for the honor of daughters. In an age in which the sexual feelings of women were considered unseemly or even revolting, Freud freely exposed the sexual emotions of his female patients. In his presentation of "Dora" (1905), he did not hesitate



Sigmund Freud, in 1891, age thirty-five.

to examine, in print, the reaction of a 14-year-old girl to the "erect member" of the married man who accosted her. Freud described a detailed discussion of oral sex with Dora at 18 and even recorded his suggestion that she enter into a relationship with the man, who also happened to be the husband of her father's mistress. In the light of Freud's rather arbitrary employment of discretion, his conclusions regarding female fantasy or the female personality can reasonably be questioned. (Ref. 4.) And were it not for the accidental recovery of Freud's correspondence with his one-time friend and colleague, Wilhelm Fliess, the story of his very subjective need to cover for the sins of the fathers and renounce the seduction theory would have been lost to us.

The Fliess caper

The account of the Fliess letters is a lively and exciting tale in itself. From 1888 to 1902, when they quarreled, Sigmund Freud and his good friend, W. Fliess, a Berlin nose-and-throat specialist, engaged in prolific correspondence. Central to their friendship was a mutual interest in the sexual aspects of the human condition, and Fliess had developed his own sex theory, which he felt would "explain the phenomena of life and death." Freud admired Fliess tremendously and found in his friend a man of supreme intellect and impeccable judgment. He welcomed his comments and criticisms regarding his theories, findings, and even his writing style. But as Freud became more secure in his work, he looked to Fliess less, and finally the men separated over scientific differences. Freud destroyed all his correspondence from Fliess, but his own letters, which included elaborate and detailed drafts and notes, were retained by Fliess. After Fliess's

death in 1929, his widow sold a packet of 284 pieces of correspondence to a Berlin bookseller, Reinhold Stahl. Knowing that Freud would destroy the letters if given the chance, Frau Fliess gave Stahl instructions that they were not to fall into Freud's hands. Later, when the Nazi regime forced Stahl to flee to France, he offered the letters to Mme. Marie Bonaparte, a student and disciple of Freud, who perceived their value and happily purchased them for 100 pounds. She took the packet to Vienna and apprised Freud of the letters' existence and of the transaction, but, indignant that they had been brought to light, he ordered them destroyed, and even after Bonaparte read portions to him to convince him of their scientific importance, he was adamant. "I don't want any of them to become known to so-called posterity," he said. (Ref. 5, p. 2.) Bonaparte defied this order and deposited the correspondence in a safe deposit box at the Rothschild bank in Vienna during the winter of 1937-1938. When Hitler invaded Austria, she employed her status as a Greek princess and was permitted, under Nazi guard, to remove the contents of the box. She then placed the documents with the Danish legation in Paris, but when their security was again threatened by Nazi invasion, the letters, wrapped in waterproof, bouyant material (in case of a mine explosion), finally crossed the channel and reached England in safety. There they were transcribed and edited by Anna Freud and Ernst Kris, and finally a volume of 168 letters and notes, selected from a total of 284 pieces of correspondence, was published in 1950 under the title *Origins of Psychoanalysis* - eleven years after Freud's death.

As a result of access to the Fliess letters, Ernest Jones, Freud's biographer, described the "Fliess period" as the most extraordinary experience in Freud's life, and others have thought it to be his most creative time. The editors of *Origins* felt that the documents amplified the early history of the psychoanalytic movement and offered insight into Freud's intellectual process, but to justify his reluctance to have them revealed, they explained that it was Freud's habit to publish personal material only to demonstrate unconscious connections. (Ref. 6, editors' note, p. x.)

I found the correspondence, more than any history or intellectual process, the work of an extremely complicated, imaginative, and talented human being. Nowhere does a novel reveal as artistically the ambivalence, ambition, courage of a man in a personal struggle. These letters, more than any information officially released by Freud, precisely demonstrated his unconscious connections, and from beginning to end tell why he could no longer abide his own seduction theory.

Father Freud and Oedipus Rex

During the early years when he published *Studies on Hysteria*, in collaboration with Joseph Breuer, Freud was already well into the exploration of the human unconscious in search of the secrets of neurosis. Having discovered "free association," a method whereby both he and his patients could explore hidden emotions in an atmosphere free of judgment and censure, Freud listened carefully and intently to his patients. But however clearly he recognized the existence of repressed thought and feeling, he did not, at that time, doubt that a real experience was the cause of hysteria. "I have come to the opinion that anxiety is to be connected, not

with a mental, but with a physical consequence of sexual abuse," he wrote to his friend Fliess. (Ref. 6, pp. 79-80.) Freud later pinpointed vulnerability to sexual trauma as occurring during "primary sexual experience (before puberty) accompanied by revulsion and fright." (Ref. 6, p. 126.)

In the year 1896 Freud presented his seduction theory in a group of three papers broadly titled "The Aetiology of Hysteria." This work was a public challenge to heredity as the cause of hysteria, and, in bold opposition to general medical opinion, Freud named social rather than biological causes of neurosis. He identified the specific excitement of the genitals resulting from sexual abuse in childhood as the trauma that brought on hysteria and cited 18 cases, not one lacking in a sexual experience, to support his theory. (Ref. 7, p. 203.) Moreover, in addition to this case evidence, Freud certainly realized that his Victorian world was notorious for its sexual license, particularly in the sexual abuse of children. He could not have avoided news scandals exposing the existence of large numbers of children in the brothels of Europe, the active international white-slave traffic in children, or the available statistics on increased sex crimes against children. Hardly ignorant of the social climate, Freud cautioned, "It seems to me certain that our children are far oftener exposed to sexual aggression than we should suppose." (Ref. 7, p. 203) To Fliess, Freud continued to present case material to further substantiate his hypothesis. He named seduction by fathers as the "essential point"

in hysteria,* and in one particular case uncovered a veritable nest of incestuous abuse. After persuading one patient to speak, he related her story to Fliess:

Then it came out that when she was between the ages of 8 and 12 her allegedly otherwise admirable and high-principled father used regularly to take her to his bed and practise external ejaculation (making wet) with her. Even at the time she felt anxiety. A six-year-old sister to whom she talked about it later admitted that she had had the same experience with her father. A cousin told her that at the age of 15 she had had to resist the advances of her grandfather. Naturally she did not find it incredible when I told her that similar and worse things must have happened to her in infancy. In other respects hers is a quite ordinary hysteria with usual symptoms. (Ref. 6, pp. 195-196.)

Despite continued evidence, Freud never again, after the 1896 presentation, publicly promoted his seduction theory. True, his theory was poorly received, and Krafft-Ebing ridiculed it, but Freud's reticence was hardly the result of adverse opinion; even then he was prepared to create a disturbance. (Ref. 8, pp. 303-304.) It was Freud's own faltering conviction that prevented risk of further exposure. Though staunch on sexual trauma as the cause of neurosis, he was extremely unhappy with the father as seducer, and though able to name him in the privacy of the

* Freud sent Fliess elaborate drafts, diagrams, and theses in which his theories on infant sexuality, repression, the unconscious, and libido were developing. For example, he suspected that "hysteria is conditioned by a primary sexual experience (before puberty) accompanied by revulsion and fright; that obsessional neurosis is conditioned by the same accompanied by pleasure." However, for the purposes of this article, the simple relationship between early sexual abuse and neurosis is sufficient.

"Sigmund Freud . . . knew that the sexual abuse of children existed, but he could not reconcile the implications of that abuse with either his self-image or his identification with other men of his class."

Fliess correspondence, he was unable to do so publicly. Consequently, his 1896 papers were weak on identifying the perpetrators of the sexual trauma; he cited almost as many categories of sexual abusers as he cited actual cases, and created a series of unlikely contradictions. The grown-up stranger as sexual abuser was the most infrequent offender, he said; nurses, maids, governesses, teachers, and near relations were more often responsible. But children of the same age (or very close) and of the opposite sex, such as brother and sister, most frequently created sexual trauma. (Ref. 7, pp. 203-204.) This large category of predominantly female offenders did not fit the illness in question. Hysteria* was primarily a female affliction (a "male hysteric" was hard to find), and the sexual assaults Freud mentioned were heterosexual. Furthermore, in general discussion of sexual assault and hysteria, he always referred to the abuse of children by adults. Suddenly to claim that the largest number of offenders came from among children of the same age was a contradiction. The only credible abuser was the "near relation," whom Freud mentioned in passing but did venture to say "initiated sexual intercourse" more often than one thinks. (Ref. 7, pp. 203-204.) That Freud's inconsistencies reflected his need to protect fathers was substantiated as more than a possibility by the editors of the Standard Edition (a collection of Freud's work). They noted that in his 1896 papers on hysteria, Freud intentionally omitted and suppressed the role of

*Hysteria, derived from the Greek word meaning uterus, was then a strictly female disorder. Freud did manage to come up with an example of a "male hysteric," but medical opinion of the day related this disease only to women.

fathers just as he had in the earlier *Studies on Hysteria*.

In his early discussions of the aetiology of hysteria Freud often mentioned seduction as among its commonest causes . . . But nowhere in these early publications did he specifically inculpate the girl's father. Indeed, in some additional footnotes written in 1924 for the . . . Studies on Hysteria, he admitted to having on two occasions suppressed the fact of the father's responsibility. (Ref. 1, pp. 584-585.)

The subjective reason for Freud's cover-up was revealed to him (and us) when he began to explore his own disturbing and complex reactions to his father's death.

The 1890's was for Freud a troubled time. He was afflicted with what he termed "anxiety neurosis." He was worried about his heart and about dying; he endured painful migraine, urinary tract irritation, a spastic colon, and gastronomical symptoms, plus agoraphobia and a neurotic fear of missing trains. But his father's death climaxed his anxieties. When Jacob Freud died in October 1896, Sigmund Freud wrote to Fliess:

My dear Wilhelm, I find it so difficult to put pen to paper at the moment that I have even put off writing to you to thank you for the moving things you said in your letter. By one of the obscure routes behind the official consciousness the old man's death affected me deeply. I valued him highly and understood him very well indeed, and with his peculiar mixture of deep wisdom and imaginative light-heartedness he meant a great deal in my life. By the time he died, his life had long been over, but at a death a whole past stirs within one. I feel now as if I had been torn out by the roots. (Ref. 6, p. 170.)

His father's death evoked in Freud such intense conflict and suffering that he felt compelled to examine himself - to search inward for the cause of his extreme reaction. This journey resulted in self-analysis, interpretation of his dreams, and the beginning of the psychoanalytic process. It brought him to his own unconscious motives and drives by taking him back to memories of childhood experiences. It was these memories that made him aware of his own early sexual feelings. He told Fliess that at age two he had seen his mother naked and recalled that his "libido towards *matrem* was aroused." (Ref. 6, p. 219.) The knowledge of his own youthful sexual feelings destroyed for him forever the myth that children were sexless; children, he now knew, had erotic feelings.

As he traveled further into his past, he found that his desire for his mother had stirred hostility toward his father, and when he looked at this complex of infantile sexuality - desire for his mother and hatred for his father - he understood his own extreme anxiety as guilt resulting from an unconscious paternal death wish. Conscientious now that he harbored deep paternal antagonism, Freud confided to Fliess in an unpublished letter (dated February 11, 1897) that the number of fathers named by his patients as sexual molesters had truly alarmed him; with the father as prime abuser he had "inferred from the existence of some hysterical features in his brother and several sisters that even his father had been thus incriminated." (Ref. 9, p. 211.) But when it was later revealed to him in a dream that he was feeling overly affectionate toward Mathilda, his daughter, he understood that "the dream of course fulfills my wish to

pin down a father as the originator of neurosis and put an end to my persistent doubts."

May 31, 1897

I do not want to do any more work. I have laid even dreams aside. Not long ago I dreamt that I was feeling over-affectionately towards Mathilda, but her name was "Hella," and then I saw the word "Hella" in heavy type before me. The solution is that Hella is the name of an American niece whose photograph we have been sent. Mathilda may have been called Hella because she had been weeping so bitterly recently over the Greek defeats. She had a passion for the mythology of ancient Hellas and naturally regards all Hellenes as heroes. The dream of course fulfills my wish to pin down a father as the originator of neurosis and put an end to my persistent doubts.

And in some notes included in this letter, he added:

Hostile impulses against parents (a wish that they should die) are also an integral part of neurosis . . . It seems as though in sons this death-wish is directed against their father and the daughters against their mothers. (Ref. 6, pp. 206-207.)

Freud was becoming convinced that the suspicion he directed against his own father and himself and his acceptance of his patients' stories of seduction were prompted by his need to "pin down the father as seducer." Based on personal inclination, he presumed that all his patients had the same need and therefore came to suspect that their stories of fathers as seducers were "defensive fictions." Freud continued to delve, and with the discovery of his death wish toward his father and the ensuing guilt, he quite assured himself that he had reached the roots of his own "neurotica." As he solved his own problems, how-

ever, he simultaneously relegated his patients' testimony to fantasy, discarded his seduction theory, and replaced it with the incipient Oedipal complex. He was not at all unhappy to make these changes, and, in October 1897, one year after his father's death, he wrote to Fliess that his conviction of his patients' seduction as fantasy left him feeling triumphant:

September 21, 1897

Let me tell you straight away the great secret which has been slowly dawning on me in recent months. I no longer believe in my neurotica. That is hardly intelligible without an explanation . . . So I shall start at the beginning and tell you the whole story of how the reasons for rejecting it arose. The first group of factors were the continual disappointment of my attempts to bring my analyses to a real conclusion, the running away of people who for a time had seemed my most favorably inclined patients, the lack of the complete success on which I had counted, and the possibility of explaining my partial success in other, familiar ways. Then there was the astonishing thing that in every case . . . blame was laid on perverse acts by the father, and the realisation of the unexpected frequency of hysteria, in every case of which the same thing applied, though it was hardly credible that perverted acts against children were so general. . . Thirdly, there was the definite realization that there is no "indication of reality" in the unconscious, so that it is impossible to distinguish between truth and emotionally-charged fiction. (This leaves open the possible explanation that sexual phantasy regularly makes use of the theme of parents) . . .

It is curious that I feel not in the least disgraced, though the occasion might seem to require it. Certainly

I shall not tell it in Gath or publish it in the streets of Askalon, in the land of the Philistines - but between ourselves I have a feeling more of triumph than of defeat (which cannot be right). (Ref. 6, pp. 215-217.)

As he approached the source of the neurosis, and evolved the now-famous Oedipal complex, Freud freely applied his particular personal discovery to everybody, to all cultures, and to females as well as males. He said to Fliess:

October 15, 1897

I have found love of the mother and jealousy of the father in my own case too and now believe it to be a general phenomenon of early childhood. . . If that is the case the gripping power of Oedipus Rex, in spite of all the rational objections to the inexorable fate that the story presupposes, becomes intelligible, and one can understand why later dramas were such failures. . . The Greek myth seizes on a compulsion which everyone recognizes because he has felt traces of it in himself. Every member of the audience was once a budding Oedipus in phantasy, and his dream-fulfillment played out in reality causes everyone to recoil in horror, with the full measure of repression which separates his infantile from his present state. (Ref. 25, pp. 223-224.)

So, as the son loved the mother and hated the father, so did the daughter love the father and hate the mother, he said. But he found the daughter's desire and need for the father so much more powerful than those of the son for his mother so that the daughter's wish to be seduced found its fulfillment in fantasy and fictitious seduction stories.

Today "Oedipus complex" is a household term; however, the Oedipal myth as representative of a universal pattern of family interaction was a rather capricious selection. Though Freud associated the story with his own experience and that of some of his Viennese patients, its interest as a specifically Greek experience is surprisingly slight. Oedipus killed his father and married his mother quite by accident, and there is no suggestion, even in the play by Sophocles, that he was responding to some unconscious desire or reflected a universal pattern.

The answer to the question of whether Oedipus suffered deep pangs of guilt depends on the version of the tale. In the earliest rendition by Homer, Oedipus, though upset by his unwitting behavior, neither blinded nor exiled himself and continued to rule over Thebes until the end of his days. His wife/mother, Jocasta, did, however, hang herself. Considering the prevalence of brother-sister marriage, the early Greeks did not regard incest with much horror.* The family curse did not arise from the crime of Oedipus, but rather from the crime of his father, Laius, who abducted and raped the beautiful youth, Chrysippus, son of Pelops. Pelops cursed Laius for his deed, and this curse "descended gloomily from generation to generation, dominating the son and grandchildren of Laius until it found its end in the death of Oedipus, who, after a long life full of sorrow, was cleared of sin by the powers of heaven." (Ref. 10, p. 134.)

* In one case of father-daughter incest, the daughter of Thyestes killed herself after her father ravished her. Herodotus tells the tale of an Egyptian king who also raped his daughter, and she too committed suicide. The shame and suicide always seemed to fall to the female rather than the male.

A far more dominant theme in Greek mythology is parental fear, hatred, and slaughter of children. Ouranos, the cosmic sky god, imprisoned his children in a cave until his son Kronos castrated and supplanted him. Kronos, fearful of competition from his children, ate them all as soon as they were born. Rhea, unhappy mother, rescued Zeus; Zeus conquered and supplanted Kronos, but took the same precautions as his father and swallowed Metis, whom he had impregnated. Laius pierced the feet of his son Oedipus and left him exposed to die; Agamemnon sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia to the gods; Medea slew her children to avenge her husband's infidelity, and the daughters of Cadmus, founder of Thebes, also violently destroyed their children.

If Freud had been inclined to view neurosis as the result of fear of the unconscious wish of parents to eliminate their offspring, he might have suggested the "Heracles complex." Heracles, famed Greek hero, in a period of temporary madness, killed his beloved wife and their six children. When he regained his sanity, he took upon himself the "Herculean" challenges of the Twelve Labors in repentance. Although I hardly advocate this story as an example of universal parent-child relationships, it would seem that anxiety growing out of childhood dependency and fear of adult authority and destructive powers is a much more plausible cause of neurosis than guilt from the questionable unconscious wishes imputed to children by Freud.

As long as Freud held to his own experience and unconscious motives, his discoveries were credible. That he desired his mother, competed with his father, and found this conflict at the root of his neurosis, I believe. But to suppose from these personal insights that

the testimony of his patients was fictitious requires mental acrobatics. It is much more reasonable to attribute Freud's denial of the reality of female sexual abuse to his own subjectivity, which he projected into a universal infantile-parental hostility. Freud, no matter what he felt, never actually incriminated fathers; he never mentioned them publicly as sexual abusers and even took upon himself to alter information in order to protect them. His conflicts about his father may have caused him anguish and guilt, but he never once incriminated other fathers.

Frankly, I do not see how patients' testimony implicated Freud or his father, but he did take their stories rather personally. Perhaps if Freud had not been the first analyst, he might have been able to go to someone for help, and that someone, less emotionally involved, might have led him to examine his own extreme defensiveness and subjective reasons for feeling tainted by his own theory.

It is too bad that Freud was so resistant to the possibility of female childhood seduction, for, had he followed through, he might have come to believe - as I and many others do - that there were, in addition to sexual assault, other causes of female neurosis. He might have come to see that the middle-class Victorian woman afflicted by hysteria suffered from many abuses that frustrated and repressed her normal inclinations toward human growth and achievement. Freud's patients were talented, bright, and ambitious women, who, in addition to being sexually exploited, were discouraged from activity and deprived of rewards or recognition commensurate with their energy, interests, intelligence, and skills. Though influential in removing hysteria from the sphere of physiological disturbance, Freud

was unable to admit that women could contribute beyond the role of passive wives and mothers, and he too held that they were inherently defective. As a result, he could not acknowledge that they suffered from sexual abuse and social inequality and discrimination. I am as weary as anyone of belaboring Freud's misogyny, but his theories on sexual abuse of children and female deficiency are so closely allied that his bias cannot be avoided.

The female - without a penis - was biologically inferior, Freud contended, and therefore she could only achieve an approximation of human completion by the "acquisition" of the penis through sexual intercourse and by eventually bearing a child (preferably male). When the male child matured, no matter how severe his castration anxiety, with his penis still intact he could manage to overcome castration fears, but the female, forever penisless, must always look to a man to achieve any degree of human status; her fantasy of being seduced therefore represented an actual biological need to make up for her natural deficiency. The seduction fantasy represented her everlasting desire for the coveted penis and was implicit in her biology. Therefore, Freud found that the incestuous wish of little girls for their fathers was a "predisposition into traumas giving rise to excitation and fixation." (Ref 8, p. 300.) As the child was biologically ready, any external stimulation such as masturbation, sex play with other children, a dream, or a wish could trigger the seduction fantasy, or the wish for a penis.

With the elimination of the seduction theory and the adoption of the Oedipal complex in females, Freud had come full circle. The seduction theory maintained that hysteria was a neurosis caused by sexual assault, and it incriminated incestuous fathers, while the Oedipal

theory insisted that seduction was a fantasy, an invention, not a fact - and it incriminated daughters. When Freud replaced the seduction theory with the Oedipus complex he relieved himself of his "neurotica" and vindicated fathers, but implicated daughters. However, one must remember that when Freud arrived at the seduction theory, he did so by listening carefully and intently to his female patients; when he arrived at his Oedipal theory, he did so by listening carefully and intently to himself. His monumental *Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), the result of self-analysis and the basis for all his later theories, came from his memories, his dreams, and his experiences, and, unfortunately, his theories strongly bear the stamp of his personality and his time, sex, and class. The value of certain Freudian insights is not here denied, but in his attempt to shape a particular personal conflict into a universal mold, he reverted from a cultural to a biological determination of neurosis. This shift was damaging to the female, for it was she, not the abuser, who bore the brunt of her own seduction. This so-called "seduction fantasy," this myth of the incestuous wish for the father, became integral and inevitable to the woman's nature, and therefore, even if actually assaulted, the problem was not the assault but the result of her innate compulsion to possess a penis.

If a female child developed normally (that is, had faith that someday she would grow up, be married, get the penis, baby, and all), Freud assured us, she would not be overwhelmed by the flood of anxiety and guilt coming from the incestuous desire for her father, and an external stimulus - an actual seduction - would be harmless. Freud therefore cautioned the world never to

overestimate the importance of seduction and the world listened to Freud and paid little heed to the sexual abuse of children. (Ref. 11, p. 118.)

A Freudian gaslight

The Western world, America particularly, took Dr. Freud very seriously indeed and, in compliance with his instructions, was careful not to overestimate a real seduction - or the importance of any concrete reality, for that matter. In fact, the complex of inner drives gained such ascendancy in the public mind that the psyche was considered capable of dominating the external world. One psychiatrically oriented man I knew claimed that he "licked cancer" because he had been able to deal with his own "death wish." A student, sluggish, tired, and unable to work, was diagnosed as depressed when he was in fact suffering from hepatitis. His therapist later easily explained that it was actually depression and deep self-destructive tendencies which rendered the young man susceptible to the disease in the first place. The work of Dory Previn, song writer and performer, was a "revelation of fantasies" to her psychiatrist - particularly the lyrics of her song "With My Daddy in the Attic." Previn was surprised by her doctor's interpretation. She explained that her father really did live in the attic of their home because that was where he wanted to be. "He thinks I took a metaphor but I took a reality . . . I lived through it," she says. (Ref. 12.) And a reviewer of Quentin Bell's biography of Virginia Woolf preferred the Freudian "fantasy" interpretation of Woolf's molestation by her older half-brother, George Duckworth: "Though Mr. Bell does not, for me at least, settle the question of the fantasy component in Virginia Woolf's memories of

fraternal incest, to the reality of the incest fantasy he brings important evidence, if evidence is needed." (Ref. 13.)

Disciples of Freud who accepted penis envy as axiomatic soon surpassed their master and firmly established female "organ inferiority" as the crucial problem of molested children. Melanie Klein, known for her psychoanalytic work with the very young, held that little girls, even under ages two and three, were governed by the primacy of the penis and were desperately driven to possess the coveted male genital. (Ref. 14, pp. 94-112.) Helene Deutsch told us that the organless female child was endowed with an "erotic-passive attitude toward the father" and so saw him as her seducer. (Ref. 15, p. 258.) While Karl Abraham, one of Freud's earliest followers, readily conceded the reality of sexual abuse, he argued that since *not all* little girls were molested, there must be something very wrong with those who were. The abused child, he assured us, was preinclined toward her own violation. Sexual assault could not be regarded as the "cause of the disease" for the woman who suffers from hysteria. As a child she "yields to the trauma" (ref. 16, p. 53) of sexual assault, and "already has a disposition to neurosis or psychosis in later life" (ref. 16, p. 62). This particular contribution by Abraham was applauded by Freud and has since become the rationale identifying the peculiar personality needs of sexually abused little girls. (Ref. 8, p. 300.)

What can be the consequences of such thinking? Only confusion, resulting in a distortion of reality, total misunderstanding of female sexuality, and extensive damage to the confidence, pride and self-worth, and dignity of children.

The reasoning is illogical. It categorically assigns a real experience to fantasy, or harmless reality at best, while the known offender — the one concrete reality — is ignored. With reality sacrificed to a nebulous unconscious, the little girl has no recourse. She is trapped within a web of adult conjecture and is offered not protection, but treatment for some speculative ailment, while the offender — Uncle Willie, the grocery clerk, the dentist, or the child's father — is permitted further to indulge his predilection for little girls. The child's experience is as terrifying as the worst horror of a Kafkaesque nightmare: her story is not believed, she is declared ill, and, worse, she is left at the mercy and the "benevolence" of psychiatrically oriented "child experts."

The extent of Freudian influence can hardly be ignored, and the length to which some followers will go to conform — even at the expense of reality — can be, if not frightening, amusing. I can scarcely resist telling of a small deception by one of Freud's devoted followers. Freud, of course, attracted a coterie of notables. In his circle was one Dr. Hermine Hug-Helmuth, who in 1915 anonymously published *A Young Girl's Diary*, and the master enthusiastically endorsed it. "This diary is a gem," he wrote to her publisher. "Never before, I believe, has anything been written enabling us to see so clearly into the soul of a young girl. . . We have a description at once so charming, so serious, and so artless, that it cannot fail to be of supreme interest to educationists and psychologists. It is certainly incumbent on you to publish the diary. All students of my own writings will be grateful to you." (Ref. 17, preface.) And his students and Freud were appreciative, for the work substantiated every detail of Freudian theory. Dr. Hug-Helmuth had

reworked her own childhood memories in the light of psychoanalytic theories on female sexuality. The child in the diary, Greta, between the ages of 11 and 14, assures us on almost every page that she was far from innocent; that the behavior of a lecherous uncle was more "giggly" than disturbing; that she very deeply loved her father; that she was conveniently jealous of her mother and sister (charmingly, of course); and that at the proper time she was obsessed with getting married and having babies. The book, such an obvious accommodation of Freudian concepts, was declared a fraud, created an embarrassing scandal, and was soon removed from German publication. (Ref. 18, pp. 442-443.)

When I point to this story as an example of a mechanical adaptation to Freudian thinking, I am often reminded by today's experts in the new psychologies that Freud's theories are now outdated. With the advent of ego, group, and reality therapies and the miracle of weekend marathons, we are told that Freud is *passé*, the Oedipal complex is a period piece, the idea of penis envy is quite gauche. But though the words may have changed, the melody lingers on and Freudian concepts are more popular today than ever. Just as loyal as his pupil, Dr. Hug-Helmuth, students of the human services today — doctors, nurses, educators, social workers, and parents, who perhaps never heard of "infant sexuality" or "penis envy" — readily accept that children are sexy; that they participate in, and even instigate, their own molestation; and that, in the famous words of every child molester, "the kid really asked for it." From a 1970 book on sex education, we have a variation on the main Freudian theme:

There is the incontrovertible fact, very hard for some of us to accept, that in certain cases it is not the man who inaugurates the trouble. The novel Lolita . . . describes what may well happen. A girl of 12 or so, is already endowed with a good deal of sexual desire and also can take pride in her "conquests." Perhaps, in all innocence, she is the temptress and not the man. (Ref. 19, p. 118.)

In 1968 a book entitled *Vulnerable Children*, by Cindy Burton, discussed some 30-odd studies on the sexually assaulted child from the mid-1930's to the mid-1960's. The conclusion emphasized the prevalence of victim participation and the harmless nature of the assaults. As a matter of fact, one could soon be convinced that the molester was the real victim and, further, that the victims were not victims at all, but juvenile delinquents acting out their pathology. Burton suggested that the pathology found in the delinquent girl "may also account for the participation sometimes apparent in sexual assault cases." (Ref. 20, p. 98.) Since the sexually abused child could so easily be classified as delinquent, her victimization could be viewed not as a social injustice, but as her deviant and antisocial behavior. And those trained to understand and help are grounded in and generate an inordinate amount of anti-female bias:

Every therapist is aware of emotional reactions that work against spontaneous sympathy with the delinquent girl. Her behavior is seductive, impulsive, fickle, insincere, vengeful and capricious, hard to take, difficult to understand, impossible to predict and frustrating. This behavior fits the American delinquent girl. In contrast, the boy's aggression, his negativism and offenses are tolerated by the therapist with far greater equanimity . . .

We must never lose sight of the fact, clinically borne out, that female delinquency is far more profoundly self-destructive and irreversible in its corrosive consequences than is male delinquency. With the aggressive and retaliatory use of her body and her reproductive functions, the delinquent girl deeply violates the protective and caring attributes of her maternal role. (Ref. 21, pp. 103-109.)

It is indeed strange how psychology is used not to help, but to trap and ensnare the female. The myth of consent — that is, the female desire to get a man, to have a penis — is used to explain victim participation and therefore accepts as inevitable the sexual abuse of children. The tragedy is that this myth is believed and that so often the victims are punished. Once a child has been raped or molested, no matter how impressive the psychological nomenclature describing her plight or how sophisticated her caretakers, the little girl is an outcast, a nymphomaniac, a whore.

I worked as a social worker with children for many years and during one period in a home for dependent and neglected girls. The children were between 7 and 17, and not one had escaped sexual abuse. If a child showed no visible scars, it was assumed that the experience was harmless, but if she had problems, was difficult, angry, failed in school, attracted boys, or got pregnant, she was diagnosed as acting out her incestuous wish for her father or other sexual fantasies. Here, in very condensed form, is a case history, cited from my records, of a girl who was sexually violated all her life, but, because she was abused, was presumed to be sexually promiscuous and finally, for absolutely no fault of her own, was sent to a reformatory.

"Freud was . . . more comfortable when he could name the mother rather than the father as the seducer. . ."

Mary, 16, was raped at 8 by her step-father. Later, her mother – who never believed the story – abandoned her, and Mary was placed in a foster home. She did fairly well until adolescence triggered repressed hostility and sexual acting out. She got the reputation for being “easy”; it was also rumored that she had been “had” by five boys (gang-bang). Mary denied the story, but a local physician found that she had been penetrated more than once. The foster parents could not tolerate local gossip, and at age 15 Mary was sent to the Jane Bloomington Home for Dependent Girls.

At first Mary was sullen and nasty, but later she relaxed, became friendly and trusting, and brought in dream material. Her fantasies revealed confused sexual identity, so it was not surprising when the cottage mother reported that Mary had not menstruated for two months. She was tested for pregnancy, was found positive, and despite her insistence that she could not be pregnant, was sent to Brown Memorial to have her baby.

One month later, Brown Memorial called to say that Mary was not pregnant and sent her back. Although everyone apologized, Mary was angry, fought, broke a chair, and became otherwise physically destructive.

Diagnosis: Adjustment reaction of adolescence with tendency to act out hostility and repressed sexual fantasies.

Recommendation: As a result of increased negative behavior, hostility, and sexual aggression, Mary must be moved to a closed institutional setting where she can be controlled – an institution for delinquent girls.

What was Mary’s offense? She was raped, sexually assaulted, suspected of a nonexistent pregnancy, and despite the crimes perpetrated against her, it was Mary – not her assailant – who was branded with the “tendency to act out sexual fantasies.” This story is repeated constantly.

Despite the enormous importance psychotherapy places on sexual experience, I was taught never to deal directly with the sexual abuse of a child in treatment. Annie, age 12, had been in an incestuous relationship with her father for two years before she came to the Bloomington Home. The father was in prison, not for incest, but for robbery, and Annie’s mother, in deep depression, was hospitalized. The children knew that the social worker had access to case records, and I made it a point not to pretend I knew nothing of their past. I told Annie that I was aware of her relationship with her father. She hung her head, but when I suggested she talk about it or not, as she wished, she moved on to other things. I reported the interview to my supervisor, a psychiatrist, who was appalled. “She can’t talk about it. She’s too guilty and ashamed,” he explained. I thought I might help her to understand that her father was the guilty one, and he was the one to be ashamed. But my supervisor would have none of that, and he handed me the formula straight from the book. The actual event did not shame her, he continued. It was her deep, unconscious, incestuous wish for her father that made her feel guilty. One must listen carefully, be sensitive to the nuances of the child’s fantasies, and at the right moment help her to understand that her shame evolved from her own deep sexual desires.

Although women – young women and even children – do not talk freely about their molestation, there are few who consciously, or otherwise, avoid the subject. For women who have not been believed or had the opportunity to confront their molester (with adult support), there is always a sense of unfinished business; there is always the rancor of boiling humiliation and rage that remains after an unchallenged insult. When the subject of sexual abuse of children received some media exposure as a result of feminist discussions on the radio, in lectures, and in articles, many women approached me and finally found an opportunity to ventilate their long-festered secret. In their stories, the psychiatric conspiracy of avoidance or distortion of the sexual-abuse problem was prevalent. One young woman, 15 years old, gave the following account:

From 9 to 14 I was constantly “felt up” by my orthodontist on my breasts during my weekly visits. He tried to be sneaky and pretend that he was wiping the instruments off – but I knew. The day of the last visit, after five years, I told my mother. She didn’t call the orthodontist, but sent me to a therapist. I told my therapist, but he hardly talked about it, and finally said I was disturbed because deep down I really enjoyed it. I didn’t talk about it any more.

I discovered that women were as shocked and disturbed by the lack of sympathy and acknowledgment of the problem as by the incident of sexual abuse itself. When Sigmund Freud ventured to explore the cause of his neurosis, and uncomfortably suspected his father to be his seducer, he took great pains to ferret out the reality

of something he vaguely remembered. He checked into his past and was relieved to discover that “my father played no active role,” but that an elderly, ugly nursemaid “was my instructress in sexual matters.” This supposedly took place when Freud was under age 2, but Max Shur, in his study of Freud, found the possibility of any actual seduction very unlikely. (Ref. 22, pp. 125-136.) Freud’s effort to verify the cause of his own anxieties has been hailed as courageous, whereas a similar investigation by a child or a woman is today discouraged.

Alice B., with the same driving curiosity as Freud, and with much greater cause and anguish, tried to reach the roots of her “neurosis” and anxiety, but her psychiatrist would have none of it. By the age of 25, without the ego or status of a Dr. Freud, she was rebuffed:

I don’t remember when it started. I was so little. My father was always putting his hand under my dress and messing around, and he would come into my bed at night and fondle me. He never had an erection, but I could feel his wetness. He was gentle and he never lied. I mean if it hadn’t been for him I wouldn’t have survived, but I suppose if it hadn’t been for him I wouldn’t have had to worry so much about surviving. Everything was destroyed because of him. I didn’t know what he was trying to do. School was destroyed because I couldn’t learn. When I was 13 I actually had an orgasm, but at first I thought he was trying to kill me.

I’m sure my mother knew. Since I’ve grown up, my aunts have told me he was always feeling them, and my cousin had an experience with him too. I used to try to scare him away, make noises and stuff. I felt dirty and my mother didn’t like me; she liked my brothers better.

My father is now dead. Before he died I wrote him a letter about what happened. I wanted to confront him with it, to talk to him and ask him why he did it. And he wrote me this incredible letter. He said he didn’t know what I was talking about and that it wasn’t nice for a girl to write a letter like that to her father.

I really feel that this thing with my father destroyed my life. I have no confidence, I never did. At 24 I went to a psychiatrist, but you know they don’t talk. But I was upset and talked about it so very much that he finally said that what happened to me was very common, but he said, “I think your most important problem is your mother. Your father didn’t have anything to do with your unhappiness.”

(This and the following testimony are cited from personal interviews conducted by the author over the past four years.)

With no less courage than Freud and brave enough to confront her father-molester, Alice tried to rescue herself and her sanity. But, with the exception of her aunts, she was engulfed in a world bent on covering up for fathers, no matter what the cost to human reason and dignity.

In another testimony, told in the third person in an attempt to keep distance from the trauma, another child actually groping for protection also found only insult and frustration at the hands of her psychiatrist and family:

A girl of 10 is alone in a quonset hut. The front door slams and her father enters – a handsome man with a ready smile. She runs to hug him. He sheds soggy gloves and a flight suit, and they talk of trivial things. How nice to have a warm, affectionate father.



Sigmund Freud, age eight, with father, Jakob Freud, in 1864.

"The sexual abuse of the child is the best kept secret in the world."

Later he stops her in the narrow hallway and hugs her again. It feels different. But why? This happens several times, always when they are alone. One morning he kisses her on the mouth. Why does it seem so different than the kiss on the cheek? He tells her not to mention this to her mother. She can't understand why it must be a secret.

Late one night she is sleepily aware of him slipping into her bed. His large warm hand gently rubs her stomach, caressing her beneath the flannel nightgown . . . her chest, her thighs, her genitals. Something is wrong. Would he do her harm? Not daddy! She wakes alone. Was he there?

This recurs regularly for two years. She wants to tell her mother but cannot. It has been going on for so long, and she is ashamed. She does not know why. She tries to avoid her father. She is 12 now. When he touches her it makes her sick.

She is 13. She is taking a bath. When she comes out her father corners her. She is very frightened. She hates him, loathes him. She runs and hides under the house. When her mother returns she tells her. She tells how her father had sexually molested her for three years. Her mother turns quite pale.

"Do you realize what you are saying?"

"Yes."

"Don't tell your grandmother."

A week later, the girl is sent to the Navy psychiatrist. He puts his hand on her leg and tells her that all little girls attempt to seduce their daddies. The next morning she is sent to live with her grandmother in Alabama.

Is Freud to blame?

To hold Freud responsible for a 70-year "gaslighting" episode is pointless. He lived in an age in which logic, reason, and science supposedly supplanted religious mysticism—an era which required scientific rather than religious authority to justify brutal social injustice and inequities. Freud filled the bill. His theories, surrounded by scientific aura, allowed for the suppression and concealment of the sexual exploitation of the female child.

Bronislaw Malinowski, the noted anthropologist, discovered that among the Trobriand Islanders sex relationships between members of the same kin and clan were regarded with horror. But he was surprised to learn that despite the incest taboo, affairs that were carried on *sub rosa* and with decorum might provoke gossip but did not demand punishment. However, should the affair be exposed (by a jealous lover, perhaps), the public disgrace was answered by the suicide of those who broke the taboo. (Ref. 23, pp. 77-80.) Just as in Trobriand custom, the Freudian cover-up—the refusal to name the offender—was more than one man's attempt to hide illegal or immoral sex practices. Victorian men were permitted to indulge in forbidden sex provided they managed to keep their activities hidden. Adultery, practised with impunity, was kept under wraps, and prostitution, which operated with police sanction, simply had to avoid public exposure and scandal. Within Freud's own circle, his biographer Ernest Jones was implicated in sexual adventures with his patients and little girls, but he managed—at some financial cost and the resignation of a job—to avoid public scandal. (Ref. 18, p. 355.) The

excesses of the loving and exuberant Ferenczi, known to be intimate with his patients and his wife's daughter, were tolerated by Freud and his circle. (Ref. 18, pp. 359.) Freud, who regarded the incest taboo as vital to the advance of civilization, appeared to demand only that forbidden sex be practiced with tact and discretion so that surface Victorian respectability was in no way disturbed.

The little girl, then, with her innate passion for a penis, is—as in Christian doctrine—the temptress Eve, and, if she is violated, the nature of her sexuality renders her culpable. Any attempt on the part of the child or her family to expose the violator also exposes her own alleged innate sexual motives and shames her more than the offender; concealment is her only recourse. The dilemma of the sexual abuse of children has provided a system of foolproof emotional blackmail: if the victim incriminates the abuser, she also incriminates herself. The sexual abuse of the child is therefore the best-kept secret in the world.

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I
 Faces surround me that have no smell no colour no time
 only strange laughing testaments
 vomiting promise like love
 but look at the skeleton children
 advancing against us
 beneath their faces there is no sunlight
 no darkness
 no heart remains
 no legends
 to bring them back as women
 into their bodies at dawn.

Look at the skeleton children
 advancing against us
 we will find our womanhood
 in their eyes
 as they cry
 which of you bore me
 will love me
 will claim my blindness as yours
 and which of you marches to battle
 from between our legs?

Sister I have seen you
 spit on my image behind your mirror
 but you screamed for me
 as the knife cut out your young
 we stand convicted
 of asking each others' name and age
 before we give blood.

II
 On the porch outside my door
 girls are lying
 like felled maples in the path of my feet
 I cannot step past them nor over them
 their slim bodies roll like smooth tree trunks
 repeating themselves over and over
 until my porch is covered with the bodies
 of young girls.
 Some have a child in their arms.
 To what death shall I look for wisdom?
 Which mirror to break or mourn?

Two girls repeat themselves in my doorway
 their eyes are not stone.
 Their flesh is not wood nor steel
 but I cannot touch them.
 Shall I warn them of night
 or offer them bread
 or a song?
 They are sisters. Their father has known
 them over and over. The twins they carry
 are his. Whose death shall we mourn
 in the forest
 unburied?
 Winter has come and the children are dying.

One begs me to hold her between my breasts
 Oh write me a poem mother
 here, over my flesh
 get your words upon me
 as he got this child upon me
 our father lover
 thief in the night
 do not be so angry with us. We told him
 your bed was wider
 but he said if we did it then
 we would be his
 good children if we did it
 then he would love us
 oh make us a poem mother
 that will tell us his name
 in your language
 is he father or lover
 we will leave your words
 engraved on a whip or a golden scissors
 for our children
 to tell them the lies
 of their birth.

Another says mother
 I am holding your place.
 Do you know me better than I knew him
 or myself?
 Am I his daughter or girlfriend
 am I your child or your rival
 you wish to be gone from his bed?
 Here is your granddaughter mother
 give me your blessing before I sleep
 what other secrets
 do you have to tell me
 how do I learn to love her
 as you have loved me?

An introduction for *Happy Birthday America*

Arlene Raven

This is a pivotal moment for the women's movement.

The mass enthusiasm of the early 1970's has ebbed, and instead we now face considerable backlash against

feminism. Internal fragmentation of many of our feminist organizations has been accompanied

by the withdrawal in anger or exhaustion

of some of our most talented spokeswomen.

*My process is circular

Yet, in this same period we are also

because I go over the same ground;

building new, more inclusive structures

spiral because I go over the same

and contexts in which we can utilize our best

ground on different levels.

energies, sort out our ideas, and implement

our strategies in a unified feminist movement.

Feminist artists make a vital contribution

to the current concerns of the women's movement.

The art process

A feminist artist is a new artist, because her

is like the birth process -

experience has been radically transformed by the

choosing another,

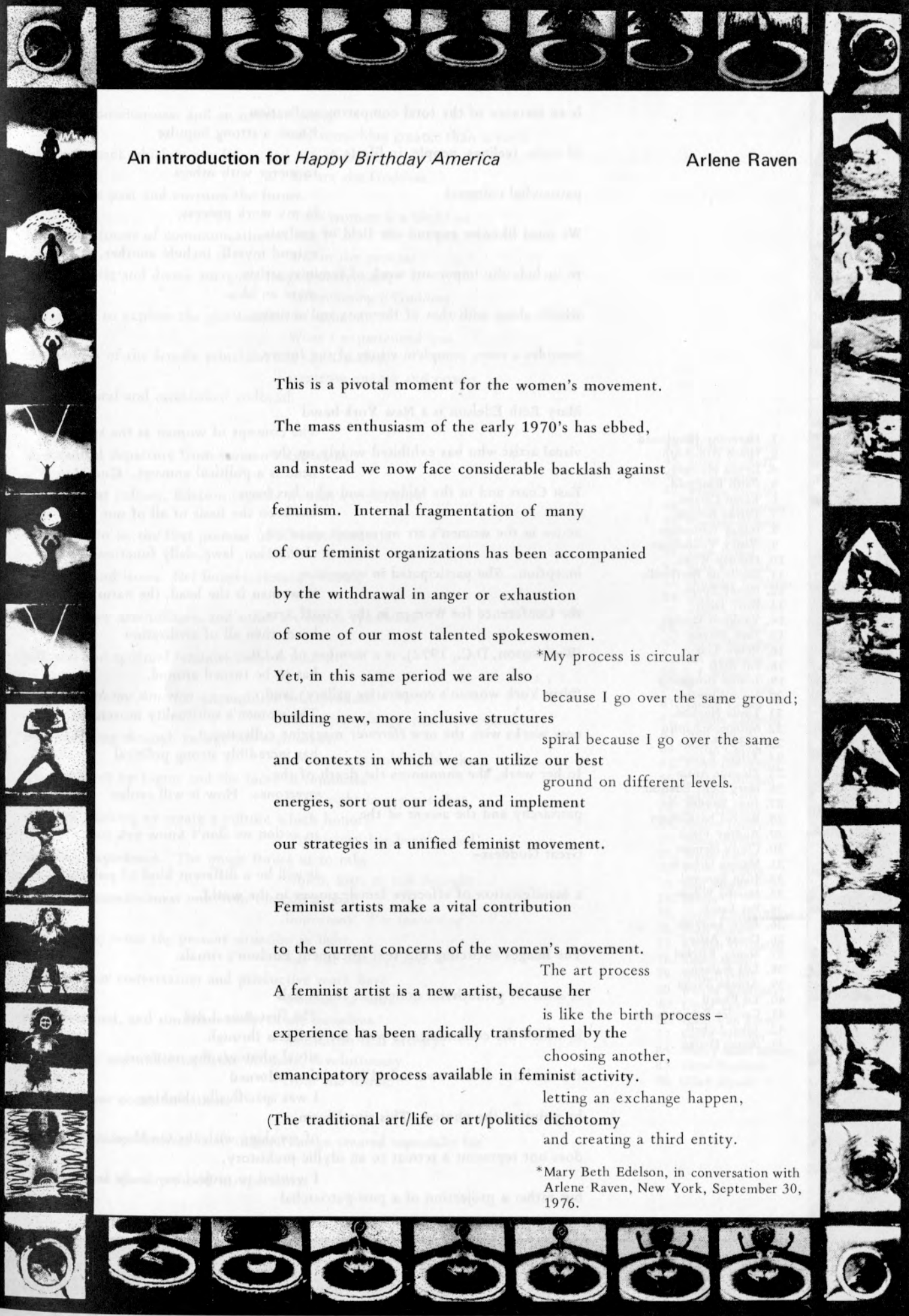
emancipatory process available in feminist activity.

letting an exchange happen,

(The traditional art/life or art/politics dichotomy

and creating a third entity.

*Mary Beth Edelson, in conversation with Arlene Raven, New York, September 30, 1976.



is an instance of the total compartmentalization
of tasks, feelings, people, in life in a
patriarchal culture.)
We must likewise expand our field of analysis
to include the important work of feminist artists
which, along with that of theorists and activists,
provides a more complete vision of the future.

Mary Beth Edelson is a New York-based
visual artist who has exhibited widely on the
East Coast and in the Midwest and who has been
active in the women's art movement since its
inception. She participated in organizing
the Conference for Women in the Visual Arts
(Washington, D.C., 1972), is a member of A.I.R.
(New York women's cooperative gallery), and
now works with the new *Heresies* magazine collective.
In her work, she announces the death of the
patriarchy and the ascent of the
Great Goddess—
a manifestation of effective female power in the world.

The images encircling this text document Edelson's rituals.

A sense of primitivism underlines the rituals
in which she communicates with the Goddess through
the medium of her own naked body, then adorned
by painting the photos. This ritual form
does not represent a retreat to an idyllic prehistory,
but rather a projection of a post-patriarchal

spiritual consciousness and an understanding
of the present which is non-linear and can thus
include the past and envision the future.
Her ritual forms of communication utilize
female erotic and divine energies, images, movement,
and sound to explore the glorification of women,
the powers of the female principle, and the Goddess
as the natural and established godhead.

In a radical departure from women's experience
in dominant culture, Edelson regards woman's experience
of herself to be the first premise of all interpretation
of events and issues. Her images, rituals, posters,
participatory assemblages, and other art forms synthesize
political and spiritual feminist subject matter.

Happy Birthday America exemplifies this synthesis
by combining through collage the arch-sexist
enormous stumbling blocks.
Turkish Bath by Ingres and the faces of feminists
who are working to create a culture which honors
women's experience. The image forces us to take
a leap of consciousness out from the patriarchal
mindset— to sense the present situation in light
of which our conversation and productive work have
been devalued, and simultaneously to see ourselves
respectfully and understand the intimate, revolutionary
nature of our communication.

Happy Birthday America is an original image created especially for
Chrysalis and the sisterhood it represents.

44. Michelle Stuart
45. Joyce Kozloff
46. Jacki Apple
47. Roslyn Drexler
48. Judith Bernstein
49. Corinne Robins
50. Jacky Skiles
51. Judy Seigal
52. Jane Kaufman
53. Dorothy Gillespie
54. May Stevens
55. Anne Healy
56. Anita Steckel
57. Joyce Weinstein
58. Pat Tavennner
59. J. J. Wilson
60. Karen Petersen
61. Janice Lester
62. Joanne Leonard
63. Ann McCoy
64. Caron Colvin
65. Lynn Hershman
66. Carol Kaufman
67. Marion Palfi
68. Edie Daniele
69. Sherry Brody
70. Susan Rennie
71. Maria Karras
72. Faith Wilding
73. Nan Meyer
74. Bruria
75. Joyce Cutler Shaw
76. Joan Brown
77. Kirsten Grimstad
78. Susan Mogul
79. Fran Raboff
80. Wanda Westcoast
81. Linda Levi
82. Ellen Van Fleet
83. Susan Brenner
84. Nancy Maas Mosen
85. Ilene Segalove
86. Gilah Hirsch

Happy Birthday America is an ad hoc guerilla action on the rigid design of patriarchy,
a daring offense to celebrate the new time.

Mary Beth Edelson transforms, through collage, the sloe-eyed faces of harem women
in Ingres's 1863 *Le Bain Turc* to portraits of contemporary feminist art workers.

Not a passive act, but a denial of the patriarchy and a re-creation
of our own image, energy, self, situation, time, space,
Ingres's women, kept naked and idle for the sexual diversion of a Turkish potentate,
and our own interpretation of these events.
are said to illustrate the five senses.

Do we know what the origin of the harem really was?
Yet they are not the authors of their own sensuous experience.

The Goddess had sacred prostitutes— highly regarded and
Ability to create the sensate world, by looking at the image,
socially prominent women who earned money for Her temples.
has been explicitly given by the (male) artist to the primary spectator,
the (male) buyer (female coin passed from man to man).
Harem women could represent the Venus, the sexual side of the Goddess.

Some remember their ancient posture, pleasuring in the company of
To create women's culture within a dominant environment
wondrous, fleshy women. They do not look over their shoulders
is to speak of the future.

waiting for a male caller but transcend their painter, their time
Happy Birthday America is for feminist spectators.
and their bondage.

We see our snapshots collaged/transposed/joined with and encircling
the lascivious images of our century-old harem sisters.
Collage is not a process of redesigning but of placing over, layering.

We recognize that replacing them with us
Our dialogue will not be garbled by a context which would make us
is not an "after-the-revolution" dissociation from those women but
whorish and mute, trapped in the roundel by circumscription
and the voyeur's eyes.
a bond with them. The Matriarchal Second Age of the Goddess

is here, and we and our sisters are still cast as the culture's whores.
We are speaking brilliantly, sensuously, intimately, gleefully together
We hold these two thoughts because both are true.
as we weave the cloth for a new pattern.

That is the complexity of realism, reality and art which we share.
Happy Birthday America expresses our aspiration to build
We are taking our energy and giving it back to ourselves
a woman's culture in honor of ourselves.

as we move toward creating our own culture.
What will the world be like when it is, all of it, made in our image,
We can see the *Turkish Bath* as a complete world in and of itself.
according to our nature and design?

Seeing for ourselves is part of our recreating feminist process.
We hunger to taste, touch, smell, feel, see our own unique
We are the primary circle and environment.
creative forms, a language and territory in which our visions materialize
Our visions are for every woman.
and are communicated.

—Collage in letters, poems, and conversations between Arlene Raven and Mary Beth Edelson



H a p p y B i r t h d a y A m e r i c a

A simple thought runs through this writing: that is that the predominant civilization of the West, this patriarchy, has always regarded and treated women and nature in the same way. We are less than human men, in the regard of patriarchy, less intelligent, less spiritual, less rational. And under the sway of this regard, the fathers have decided that we cannot decide for ourselves (and, yes, that we are even dangerous when, by chance or struggle, we break free of their control). And so patriarchy accepts our existence as legitimate only when we are subjected to male power, a power in the word which objectifies us, both women and nature, and a power in the act which dominates us.

Women and Nature: The Roaring Inside Her is a record of this relation of patriarchy to woman and nature, and in the telling of this record the metaphors by which nature is so often compared to or personified by a woman, and with which women are revealed as more a part of nature, or closer to the earth than men, are used to a different purpose, because now the old story is retold by a woman and so turns around to face its origins.

The book begins in a parody of the objective voice - I call it the voice of patriarchy - that voice which rarely uses pronouns as the subject of any sentence and thus utters sentences and phrases such as, "It is decided . . ." or "it is declared . . ." or "it is discovered that . . ." In this voice a history of scientific opinion about the nature of matter (or ultimately the nature of nature) is traced and woven in chronologically with a history of opinions (from Saints, philosophers, poets and psychoanalysts) about the nature of woman.

Slowly in the midst of this "objective" unravelling of history another voice, faint and muffled, begins to appear. This is the object herself, the dominated one speaking out, and in the course of the book, her voice

becomes stronger, but that is the dramatic plot of the story: now, in this book, woman and nature, formerly shamed by our mutual association, become allies, assume a voice and question the inquisitors (I shall not reveal who wins).

The writing in this book is less linear than it is constructed or made, like a poem is made, and is not analytical but moves by the force of echoes and choruses, counterpoints and harmonies, and sings more than argues. Several small dramas or records proceed after the history of matter, and these reflect what has happened to woman and nature under patriarchal power. Still in the section called "Matter," one of three sections in the book, I write of the Land, of Timber, of the Wind, of Cows, of Mules, of Show Horses, and of woman's body (called "Her Body"). In the second section of the book, called "Separation," I juxtapose all the separations patriarchy has imposed: mind from body, emotion from intellect, mother from daughter, wildness from the city ("The Zoological Garden"), soul from flesh ("The Anatomy Lesson").

The third and last part of this book - called "Her Vision" - mirrors back all that preceded it, but now in a different voice and from a different angle of perception. Timber becomes again trees and the trees talk as a forest. "Her Body" becomes "The Years" in which the story of woman's resistance to domination is brought back from silence. "The Zoological Garden," a story of a caged lion, is reflected back as "The Lion in the Den of the Prophets." Like the cycles of nature, of which this writing is only one reflection, all the old materials of our past are reshaped into something new, as nitrogen, oxygen, carbon, soil, plants and flesh are reformed in birth and death, yielding to one another, and nothing is lost.

Susan Griffin, Berkeley, January 3, 1977

1382

Thomas Brawardine, in *Treatise on the Proportions of Velocities in Moving Bodies*, proposes a mathematical law of dynamics universally valid for all changes in velocity.

1431

Joan of Arc, age 22, "placed high on the fire so the flames would reach her slowly," dies. *She is asked why she wears male costume.*

1468

Pope defines witchcraft as *crimen exceptum*, removing all legal limits to torture.

1482

Leonardo da Vinci moves to Milan and begins his notebooks on hydraulics, mechanics, anatomy; he paints the *Madonna on the Rocks*. *Does she see the body of Saint Michael, they ask her? Did he come to her naked?*

1500 – 1525

1000 witches are burned every year in the diocese of Como.

1543

Vesalius publishes *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*.

1543

Copernicus publishes *De Revolutionibus Orbium Celestium*. *She is asked if she is in a state of grace. She is asked if Saint Margaret speaks English.*

1571

Johannes Kepler is born.

1572

Augustus Pious issues *Consultationes Saxionicae*, stating that a good witch must be burned because she has made a pact with the Devil. *She confesses that she falsely pretended to have revelations from God and his angels, from St. Catherine and St. Margaret.*

1585

Witch-burnings in two villages leave one female inhabitant each.

1589

Francis Bacon is made clerk of the Star Chamber. *He says that nature herself must be examined.*

1581 – 1591

Nine hundred witches are burned in Lorraine. *That nature must be bound into service, he persuades.*

1600

Gilberte publishes *De Magnete*.

1603

William Harvey serves as physician to King James I and assists at the examination of the witches.

1609

Galileo, on hearing a rumour of the invention of a glass magnifying distant objects, constructs a telescope. *It is urged that nature must be hounded in her wanderings before leading her and driving her.*

1609

Kepler publishes *Astronomica Nova*.

1609

The whole population of Navarre is declared witches. *He says that the Earth should be put on the rack and tortured for her secrets.*

1615

William Harvey lectures on the circulation of the blood at the Royal College of Physicians.

1607 – 1618

William Harvey assists at the examination of witches.

1619

Kepler publishes his third law, *Harmonies Mundi*. *She is asked if she signed the Devil's book. She is asked if the Devil had a body. She is asked who she chose to be an incubus.*

1622

Francis Bacon publishes *Natural Experimental History for the Foundation of Philosophy*.

1622 – 1623

Johann George II, Prince Bishop, builds a house for the trying of witches at Bamberg, where 600 burn.

1628

158 witches are burned at Würzburg.

1637

Descartes publishes *Discours de la Methode*. *She is asked what oath she made. What finger she was forced to raise. Where she made a union with her incubus. What food she ate at the sabbat. What music was played, what dances were danced. What Devil's marks were on her body. Who are the children on whom she cast spells; what animals bewitched. How she was able to fly through the air.*

1638

Galileo publishes *Two New Sciences*.

1640

Carbon dioxide is obtained by Helmont.

1644

Descartes publishes *Principia Philosophiae*.

1670

Rouen witch trials are held. *She confesses that every Monday the Devil lay with her for fornication. She confesses that when he copulated with her she felt intense pain.*

WE are the mules. Off-spring of the he-ass and the mare. We cannot procreate our own kind together; Nature did not create us: we were bred for domestic labor. Though we work hard, our very name signifies obstinacy and stupidity. Yet that is the very nature of our work, obstinate and stupid. We have the strength of staying power. Though our labor is necessary and though we were bred for that purpose, no one envies us; no one yearns to do the work we do as finely as we do it. We are despicable. If we go on, cleaning the toilets, washing the floors, dusting the furniture, lugging the groceries, cutting the beans, folding the laundry, if we go on, bearing the children, washing their faces, their asses, their noses, carrying their feces away, feeding them from our own bodies, if we go on, our hair pulled up in bandanas, our hands smelling of garlic, our noses filled with dust, our backs bent close to the earth, our ears hearing only inarticulate cries, our eyes hard with obstinate labor, our mouths shut for all but necessity, our brains only calculators for simple quantities, three cups of flour, 10 yards of flannel, 14 pounds simmered in butter, vinegar and rags, water and rags, pins in the soap, vegetables on Tuesday, cotton in hot water, wool in cold, if we go on, changing the sheets, administering dosages, we are despicable, and if we stop in our tracks, speech not having been bred in us, we articulate nothing, our nature is mysterious, mulish, but that is what we are bred for, we are a useful beast, you who feed us and house us in exchange for our labor say, but difficult to handle, still, men count mules among their riches and among their God-like accomplishments, to have ordered Nature, to have made an animal.

We are told Nature intended us to be mules. Still, did Nature intend us to be mulish? But Nature, like women, and the parts of mules that cannot be bred away (mulishness), is mysterious and illogical. Hurricanes (Helen, Sadie, Maude) appear without rhyme or reason. Unruly. Wild. Savage. Nature can be all these. Earthquakes split the earth without warning. For no apparent reason. Like women crying. Weeping suddenly. Wailing. For no apparent reason. Or excessively, over small things, little details, simple calculations, needles in soap, polish on the floor, screaming, or shrieking. We shriek, turn red, throw treasured glasses or cups against the wall. Become hysterical. Rock our bodies back and forth for no apparent reason.

EXCEPT that it is said we are closer to the earth and take on more of its nature. Because we put our hands in shit, we are more like shit. Because the stench of urine rides up our noses, we are like urine. And all the apertures of our bodies leak. Despite all the solutions we are taught to apply and all the scrubbing of cloth and wood and porcelain and skin, still we make stains. Red on the sheets. White and yellow in our clothing. And because of this we are fit only for brute labor and not for thought. And because we cannot think, we obey the thoughts of others not so filled with the stench of excrement, because we clean their excrement from them, and from their clothes. And then we clean the smell of their excrement from our hands. Because we provide them with food, and clean the table, and then we clean the smell of their food from our hands. And thus we toil constantly, laboring and by that labor creating only more labor, such is the very sign of our stupidity, of our entrapment in the flesh, of our singular obsession with survival, of our dumb repetition, our mute cycles, our bestial comprehension, that we labor, and do nothing else, we labor like mules.

But the mule has a certain grace. She is sure-footed. She can turn, with the plow harnessed to her, her weight pulling the blade through the soil, on the steep side of a mountain, not sliding or stumbling at the incline. She can follow men up through the steepest mountain pass, carrying food and water. (So that the mule driver is as necessary to an army as is the gunner.) And is this grace bred into her?

Bred or not, it is the grace of labor. It at least is a strength and has that spare beauty of function, of things that are what they are, the definition, the line, the movement, essential.

AND if we find this grace through our labor, with our fingers finding the loose thread in the garment, our ears late at night hearing the cries no one else hears, catching the milk in the pot as it begins to boil, the body bent over rocking, rocking, the pieces of cloth sewn together in patterns, the taste of thyme with rosemary and the different odour of oregano, or the grace, the grace of crisis, the fever, the steady application of cold cloths, the grace of economy, the soup of leftovers, the reuse of the bed covering in a skirt, or the seeing of the barely seeable, the unnamed, the slight difference in the expression of the eyes, the mood, the slow opening, the listening, the small possibility, barely audible, nodding, almost inarticulate, yet allowing articulation, words, healing, the eyes acknowledge, this grace of the unspoken, spoken in movement, the hand reaches, the blanket is wrapped around, the arms hold this mulish daily grace, without which we do not choose to continue, and if we find this, we have something of our own.

This is our secret grace, unnamed, invisible, surviving.

Yet for outward show, the mule is not considered graceful or beautiful apart from her labors. But the genus called Equus can in a different breed, be taught to make movements pleasing in themselves. And she is known as the Show Horse.

Show Horses

The Bit

"Be ye not like to horses and mules which have no understanding: whose mouths must be held up with bit and bridle, lest they fall upon thee."

The Book of Common Prayer

THE right thumb of the rider holds the center of the bridle in front of the horse's face and above her head so that the bit is in front of the horse's mouth. The right hand is placed under the horse's jaw. If the horse does not open her mouth when the bit touches her teeth, if she clenches her teeth, the rider presses his left forefinger on the toothless bars of the lower jaw which will make the horse open her mouth and accept the bit. The thicker the bit the milder its effect on the mouth of the horse. The bit should neither pull up the corners of the mouth nor touch the teeth. The noseband must be tight but not so tight that the horse cannot breathe. And she must be able to accept tidbits from the rider's hand. The throat latch however should be fastened loosely.



Nature

"[The horse] is by Nature a very lazy animal whose idea of heaven is an enormous field of lush grass in which he can graze undisturbed until his belly is full, and after a pleasant doze can start filling himself up all over again."

*Captain Elwyn Hartley Edwards,
From Paddock to Saddle*

"A perfect hostess in a household with servants gives the impression that she has nothing whatever to do with household arrangements, which apparently run themselves. In a servantless household, she has the cleaning, marketing and as much cooking as possible done in advance, so that an absolute minimum of her time is spent on these chores while her guests are with her."

Emily Post, Etiquette

IT is the horse's extreme sensitivity to pain, especially in the mouth but also all over her body which allows the rider to control her with the pressure of his own weight, the movements of his legs, and with the aid of the bit, the bridle and the rein, the riding whip, long whip and the spur.

It is the timorous nature of the animal coupled with this sensitivity that allows her to be trained. The horse is not aggressive; her only defense is to flee. Therefore the horse reacts to pain by running away from the pain. If the rider stands at the horse's head and taps her flank with a long whip, the horse will move away from the discomfort.

In addition the horse has a prodigious memory, is a social animal, has a desire to please and a need for security, and all these qualities are used in her training. Her faults are nervousness, laziness and an excitability that is at times unpredictable.

Education

"To train horses, it is essential that we have a very clear understanding of the way in which their small minds work and appreciate how limited they are in this department."

Captain Elwyn Hartley Edwards,
From Paddock to Saddle

"Oh how lovely is her ignorance!"

Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Emilius*

THE horse is not designed for carrying weight; she has a structure similar to a rectangular box with a leg at each corner, and the rider places his weight on the weakest part, the unsupported center. Her legs and feet are not designed for trotting on hard roads or galloping. And jumping is entirely unnatural to the horse. But through an arduous process of training the body ill-designed for this task can become a carrier of weights and learn to adjust her own balance for that purpose.

Therefore the body of the horse must be reshaped. A horse in the correct form has a rounded top line accompanied by a lowered head and neck and hindlegs engaged beneath the body; to achieve this form the teacher uses exercise, strapping and encourages higher head carriage. Thus formed the horse carries weight and can develop paces, balance and movements at the bidding of first the teacher and then the rider.

The horse has a natural curvature of the spine perhaps as a result of the foetal position of the unborn foal. This curvature prevents the animal from moving on a straight line so that the hindfeet follow exactly the track of the forefeet. Therefore the horse is trained in exercises to correct this natural crookedness by increasing the flexibility in the lumbar vertebrae. This straightening improves the mechanical efficiency of the horse.

Grooming

SHE is brushed all over her body with a dandy brush in the direction that the fur grows. She is brushed with the body brush in round, scrubbing movements. She is polished with a linen cloth until she shines.

Her eyes, her lips, her nostrils, under her tail are washed. Bits of sand, dust, manure, pebbles, mud, grass, weeds are taken from her hoofs with a pick. Oil is rubbed into her foot.

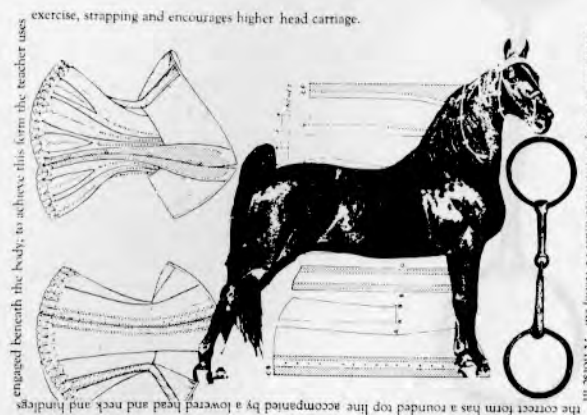
She is clipped. (So that she does not have the naked look of a fresh cut, this is done before the show.) The scissors move against the fur leaving only her mane, her tail and a saddle mark.

(The groom places a saddle on her back and clips around it so that when the saddle is removed, a saddle of fur remains on her back.)

And now that she is clipped her rider must protect her. The grease that was natural to her, that protected her from the cold and the wet, has been removed. She is vulnerable to the weather. He must provide for her a warm woolen blanket to put under her and a lined rug to put over her.

She may have her fetlocks clipped for showing in summer.

On certain occasions, good form requires that her mane and her tail be braided. Her hair is sewn or tied with ribbons.



Bonnie Carpenter

Dressage

"Girls ought to be active and diligent; nor is that all; they should also be early subjected to restraint. This misfortune, if it really be one, is inseparable from their sex; nor do they ever throw it off but to suffer more cruel evils. They must be subject, all their lives, to the most constant and severe restraint, which is that of decorum: it is, therefore, necessary to accustom them early to such confinement, that it may not afterwards cost them too dear; and to the suppression of their caprices, that they may the more readily submit to the will of others."

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emilius*

"She must not swing her arms as though they were dangling ropes, she must not switch her self this way and that; she must not shout and she must not, while wearing her bridal veil, smoke a cigarette."

Emily Post, *Etiquette*

"The teacher should insist that the horse stand still and on all four legs during the process of mounting and until asked to move on by the rider. Fidgeting on the spot or moving on without command must not be tolerated."

Alois Podhajsky, *The Riding Teacher*

THE movements which the show horse executes have no use in themselves but exist as part of the show of dressage, manifesting how obedient she is, how well she keeps her balance, how complete is the mastery of her rider.

To "go large" she rides straight along the walls of the riding school, taking the corners precisely on an arc of a circle of three steps' diameter.

The "circle" is performed in either half sector of the school by inscribing a circle of 16 to 18 meters.

A "volte" is the smallest circle the horse may perform; it is six steps in diameter and may be done in the corners, along the walls or on the center line. The volte is performed only once.

The "half-volte and change" consists of a half circle and a straight line on which the horse is led at an angle of 45 degrees back to the wall where her position is changed.

"Serpentines all along the wall" may be ridden as single or double loops. For the single loop, the horse, after passing the second corner of the short side, is taken on a single track approximately 5 meters from the wall, thus describing a flat arc, and half-way through the school she is taken back in the same manner. For the double loop the curve of the single is repeated but the horse does not move from the wall more than 3 meters. Both arcs must be of the same size.

The "half-pass" is performed on parallel tracks, usually on a diagonal of the school. The horse's head is bent slightly at the poll in the direction she is going. The rest of her spine is held straight. If her shoulders move laterally more than her haunches, she will move on circular tracks, and this is classic direct rotation. If her haunches move more than her shoulders and on circular tracks she does a classic inverse rotation.

A common fault in the half-pass occurs when the horse's quarters are pushed ahead of the shoulders. Another occurs when the horse falls onto the leading shoulder in loss of balance owing to her not being straight.

Temperamental difficulties in training a horse to perform are these: nervousness or laziness, qualities which it has been decided are part of the horse's nature. Calmness and patience are recommended for the former. For the latter, the long whip.

Physical problems may be a long back or weak hindquarters, making it either difficult or painful for the horse to carry a rider or train for long hours. These may be eliminated partially by gymnastic training. Another difficulty is the oversensitive mouth of most high-spirited horses: this necessitates a light use of the bit.

If the horse lets her tongue hang out this is counted as a serious fault. This may be prevented by a manipulation of the bit.

Whenever the horse performs well, the rider offers her a lump of sugar.

The collaboration of horse and rider is essential to performance. When it is possible, a nervous horse should be led by a calm rider and a phlegmatic horse by a nervous rider.

As One

"The onlooker should have the impression that two creatures are fused together, one thinking, the other executing the thoughts."

Alois Podhajsky, *The Riding Teacher*

THE rider loves his horse. He dreams of her at night. He sees her sometimes in a fury of wildness, her excitable frenzies pouring over his body in waves; his head tossing becomes her head, a silky black mane on the pillows, large nostrils flaring, the long neck flailing back and forth throwing the sheets to the floor, hoofs kicking at the walls, and one eye, wild staring, unknowing, hurtling now, seven hundred pounds, crashing through the wall, galloping blood bright at the teeth where the bit has been torn away, a white frothy sweat, running through the dark night, all night: he is not the rider but the horse, riding, riding, riding. But in the morning she is calm. She is his mare. He speaks softly to her. She is supple. She responds quickly to his least movement. They have developed a silent language. If he presses with his left thigh, a subtle movement, imperceptible to the onlooker, she moves immediately to the right, her feet graceful, her head high, executing with exquisite grace his barely whispered will. It is as if she reads his mind and peacefully lets his thoughts enter and guide her body. They are beautiful together, seemingly effortless, artful, her back seems part of his ass, her legs are his legs, they ride as one.

The Stable

"... the stable and the return to it after work is the greatest reward we can give our horse."

Captain Elwyn Hartley Edwards, *From Paddock to Saddle*

WHEN does the horse first know that the rider has left her side? Even when his weight is no longer on her back, his hand may be connected to her mouth, by the rein, by the bit. And even when his hand is off the rein, his eyes may be upon her. When can she be certain he is gone? Does she listen to his footsteps as they recede? Then, does she remember? Does she remember that she has a tongue, that she can push it between her teeth and over her lips? Does she feel a sense of dread as she lets it out? Does she feel a sense of shame, apart from the rider, when she rolls on her back? Is this a private ecstasy? Is she in fear of being discovered? Does she dread and not give this dread a name? Does she love the dark privacy of her stall? The smell of hay newly laid, the food that is brought every day at the same precise hours, always fresh, always familiar. Never changed. Does she love even the sound of the stable door as it opens to let her in and closes behind her, the sound of the chain on her halter as it is run through the manger ring? And when she is led out, finally, to the riding school or the track, even at her moment of triumph, even after she has waited for this, as the flowers are put over her silky neck, does she dream of the stable? Does she dream of returning?



The Zoological Garden

Love

"Love gets its name (amor) from the word for hook (amus) which means to capture or to be captured."

Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*

THOUGH she loves her stable because of the comfort, because she can always count on it to be there, because it is her private world and it is where she rests and is fed, she waits there. It is in the stable that she waits for her rider. It is only when her rider appears that she leaves her stable, that she moves. She loves to please her rider. It is her rider who rubs her flanks, who carries bits of food in the white flesh of his palm, who speaks to her softly, kindly. It is her rider who has trained all her movements, her rider who tells her what she must do from one moment to the next. Her rider who possesses a secret knowledge of a series of memorable movements whose purpose she cannot decipher, a knowledge above her capacity to understand, her rider who knows how to produce food and pleasure, for she is so entirely stupid and helpless that she cannot even feed herself without his aid, let alone know what or where to go, to do. The horse has no wish for freedom. She awaits the occasional visits of her master who day after day seems more powerful, more wise, taking on a majesty the horse would never dream of for herself. When he is in her presence, her thoughts are riveted on him. She likes no one else to ride her. Is this not love the horse is feeling? But she is mute. The rider has named her and so he must also name her feeling. He decides that she loves him.

"Wild, wild things can turn on you And you got to set them free."

Cris Williamson, *Wild Things*

IN the cage is the lion. She paces with her memories. Her body is a record of her past. As she moves back and forth, one may see it all: the lean frame, the muscular legs, the paw enclosing long sharp claws, the astonishing speed of her response. She was born in this garden. She has never in her life stretched those legs. Never darted further than 20 yards at a time. Only once did she use her claws. Only once did she feel them sink into flesh. And it was her keeper's flesh. Her keeper whom she loves, who feeds her, who would never dream of harming her, who protects her. Who in his mercy forgave her mad attack, saying this was in her nature, to be cruel at a whim, to try to kill what she loves. He had come into her cage as he usually did early in the morning to change her water, always at the same time of day, in the same manner, speaking softly to her, careful to make no sudden movement, keeping his distance, when suddenly she sank down, deep down into herself, the way wild animals do before they spring, and then she had risen on all her strong legs, and swiped him in one long, powerful, graceful movement across the arm. How lucky for her he survived the blow. The keeper and his friends shot her with a gun to make her sleep. Through her half-open lids she knew they made movements around her. They fed her with tubes. They observed her. They wrote comments in notebooks. And finally they rendered a judgment. She was normal. She was a normal wild beast, whose power is dangerous, whose anger can kill, they had said. Be more careful of her, they advised. Allow her less excitement. Perhaps let her exercise more. She understood none of this. She understood only the look of fear in her keeper's eyes. And now she paces. Paces as if she were angry, as if she were on the edge of frenzy. The spectators imagine she is going through the movements of the hunt, or that she is readying her body for survival. But she knows no life outside the garden. She has no notion of anger over what she could have been, or might be. No idea of rebellion.

It is only her body that knows of these things, moving her, daily, hourly, back and forth, back and forth, before the bars of her cage.

THE medical student is overcome with feeling. She vomits when she ought to be lifting the corpse's arm, breaking it against the stiffening of death. She associates her own body with the coldness of this one, trembles before it. No measure is taken to relieve her fear. No one asks her to describe it or to sing it out. No ceremony exists to reveal it. She is told instead she must learn to move about the human body without feeling. She must leave feeling behind. No one wonders if there might have been a use for that feeling—it is discarded before it is examined. She shall never know about death. The anatomy lesson becomes lifeless. And now this probing of the dead body gives her no help against her fear of death. Yet, isn't that why she wanted to see the body, despite her loathing, despite her fear, because of the fear itself, the feeling.

"It is only real feelings that possess this power of transferring themselves into inert matter."

Simone Weil,
First and Last Notebooks

FROM the body of the old woman we can tell you something of the life she lived. We know that she spent much of her life on her knees. (Fluid in the bursa in front of her kneecap.) We say she must have often been fatigued, that her hands were often in water. (Traces of calcium, traces of unspoken anger, swelling in the middle joints of her fingers.) We see white ridges, scars from old injuries; we see redness in her skin. (That her hands were often in water; that there must have been pain.) We can tell you she bore several children. We see the white marks on her belly, the looseness of the skin, the wideness of her hips, that her womb has dropped. (Stretching in the tissue behind the womb.) We can see that she fed her children, that her breasts are long and flat, that there are white marks at the edges, a darker color of the nipple. We know that she carried weights too heavy for her back. (Curvature of the spine. Aching.) From the look of certain muscles in her back, her legs, we can tell you something of her childhood, of what she did not do. (Of the running, of the climbing, of the kicking, of the movements she did not make.) And from her lungs we can tell you what she held back, that she was forbidden to shout, that she learned to breathe shallowly. We can say that we think she must have held her breath. From the size of the holes in her ears, we know they were put there in her childhood. That she wore earrings most of her life. From the pallor of her skin, we can say that her face was often covered. From her feet, that her shoes were too small (toes bent back on themselves), that she was often on her feet (swelling, ligaments of the arch broken down). We can guess that she rarely sat through a meal. (Tissue of the colon inflamed.) We can catalogue her being: tissue, fiber, bloodstream, cell, the shape of her experience to the least moment, skin, hair, try to see what she saw, to imagine what she felt, clitoris, vulva, womb, all we can tell you that despite each injury she survived. That she lived to an old age. (On all the parts of her body we see the years.) By the body of this old woman we are hushed. We are awed. We know that it was in her body that we began. And now we say that it is from her body that we learn. That we see our past. We say, from the body of the old woman, we can tell you something of the lives we lived.

BEHIND naming, beneath words, is something else. An existence named, unnamed, unnamable. We give the grass a name, and earth a name. We say grass and earth are separate. We know this because we can pull the grass free of the earth and see its separate roots—but when the grass is free, it dies. We say the inarticulate have no souls. We say the cow's eye has no existence outside of ourselves, that the red wing of the blackbird has no thought, the roe of the salmon no feeling, because we cannot name these. Yet for our own lives we grieve all that cannot be spoken, that there is no name for, repeating for ourselves the names of things which surround what cannot be named. We say Heron and Loon, Coot and Killdeer, Snipe and Sandpiper, Gull and Hawk, Eagle and Osprey, Pigeon and Dove, Oriole, Meadowlark, Sparrow. We say Red Admiral and Painted Lady, Morning Cloak and Question Mark. Baltimore and Checkerspot, Buckeye, Monarch, Viceroy, Mayfly, Stonefly, Cicada, Leafhopper and Earwig, we say Sea Urchin and Sand Dollar, Starfish and Sandworm. We say mucous membrane, uterus, cervix, ligament, vagina and hymen, labia, orifice, artery, vessel, spine and heart. We say skin, blood, breast, nipple, taste, nostril, green, eye, hair, we say vulva, hood, clitoris, belly, foot, knee, elbow, pit, nail, thumb, we say tongue, teeth, toe, ear, we say ear and voice and touch and taste and we say again love, breast and beautiful and vulva, saying clitoris, saying belly, saying toes and soft saying ear, saying ear, saying ear, ear and hood and hood and green and all that we say we are saying around that which cannot be said, cannot be spoken. But in a moment that which is behind naming makes itself known. Hand and breast know each one to the other. Wood in the table knows clay in the bowl. Air knows grass knows water knows mud knows beetle knows frost knows sunlight knows the shape of the earth knows death knows not dying. And all this knowledge is in the souls of everything, behind naming, before speaking, beneath words.

SHE swaggers in. They are terrifying in their white hairlessness. She waits. She watches. She does not move. She is measuring their moves. And they are measuring her. Cautiously one takes a bit of her fur. He cuts it free from her. He examines it. Another numbers her feet, her teeth, the length and width of her body. She yawns. They announce she is alive. They wonder what she will do if they enclose her in the room with them. One of them shuts the door. She backs her way toward the closed doorway and then roars. "Be still," the men say. She continues to roar. "Why does she roar?" they ask. The roaring must be inside her, they conclude. They decide they must see the roaring inside her. They approach her in a group, six at her two front legs and six at her two back legs. They are trying to put her to sleep. She swings at one of the men. His own blood runs over him. "Why did she do that?" the men question. She has no soul, they conclude, she does not know right from wrong. "Be still," they shout at her. "Be humble, trust us," they demand. "We have souls," they proclaim. "We know what is right," they approach her with their medicine, "for you." She does not understand language. She devours them.

Introduction

One of the most revolutionary aspects of feminism — revolutionary in the context of modern American culture — is the self-help concept: the struggle to end the dependence and passivity which have characterized so much of women's lives. We see this idea applied concretely in areas of life as disparate as breadwinning and automobile care; but perhaps its most dramatic manifestation is in the field of health care, where indeed the language of "self-help" was coined. "Taking control of our bodies" started with Carol Downer daring to use "their" equipment — a speculum — to see, to examine those core parts of our femaleness that had been kept from our view.

Vaginal self-examination, which has enabled thousands of women to become acquainted with their bodies in such a way as to lessen their dependence on (predominantly male) medical professionals, was the beginning of a slow but steady movement toward taking back our bodies. Naturally, this movement initially focused on the female organs and functions of reproduction: birth control, birth, female diseases. But it has gradually extended to encompass the whole body.

In learning about our bodies, sharing information, penetrating the professional mystifications, women have become particularly sensitized to the negative aspects of modern medicine in general and medicine in a profit-oriented system in particular: the heavy technologizing of medical care; the disinterest in preventive medicine, including almost total neglect of diet and nutrition as the foundation of a well body; treating sick people as "consumers." But most of all, we have become aware of the dangerous dependence for the treatment of almost all symptoms on drugs, many of which have side effects known and unknown that frequently result in disease worse than the original condition.

These discoveries have catalyzed in many feminists the search for more natural and humane methods of preventing and dealing with illness, methods which are accessible to individuals and which further the concept of self-dependence and responsibility. The search has put us in touch with alternative methods of healing, some of which have existed on what we have been taught to regard uncritically as the "quack fringes" — homeopathy, herbology, acupuncture, reflexology, chiropractic, psychic healing — and other more recent additions to the health scene, such as



Herb-Wife

foot reflexology, megavitamin therapy, the therapies of the "cancer underground." Of course, in some cases we have discovered that these systems represent the underground survival of traditional female knowledge; so, in fact, by relearning them we are simply reappropriating our historical role as healers.

In moving toward alternative methods of healing, we are also attempting to reestablish the ancient wholeness ("holiness") of body and mind, which gradually disintegrated under the impact of the mind-versus-body dualism that has appeared to be such an essential characteristic of patriarchy. This dualism is perhaps nowhere more exaggerated than in modern medicine, which, with scalpel-like precision, segments psyche from physiology — and then ruthlessly compartmentalizes physiology: consider the bone doctors and brain doctors and ear doctors and bowel doctors and eye doctors and skin doctors and gland doctors and heart doctors. In search of more natural, organic perspectives from which to approach sickness and maintain well bodies, feminists are allying themselves with the "alternative" health movement, which sees healing as a holistic process. A recent national women's health conference held in Los Angeles amply demonstrates the inclusiveness of feminist health concerns. The program lists workshops ranging from self-help, home birth, menopause, and bladder and vaginal infections to herbal healing, Yoga acupressure, meditation with cancer, and psychic massage.¹

Holistic healing may be defined as "balanced integration of the individual in all aspects and levels of being — body, mind, and spirit — including interpersonal relationships and our relationships to the whole of nature and our physical environment."² Disease may be seen as an imbalance, then, or a conflict between the different aspects of the self. It may also be seen as a tool for growth, confronting us with the results of poor diet, negligence toward the body, or negative self-concepts. On the larger social levels, disease forces us to deal with such issues as the polluted environment, imbalanced distribution of resources, and an oppressive medical establishment and food industry.

The holistic health movement has developed dramatically in certain areas of the country, and particularly in California. Within its folds we find a whole range of practitioners ranging from highly trained male specialists to lesbian separatist witches calling themselves "holistic healers."

In this directory, we have searched for feminists and women as healers based on proven expertise and knowledge. In certain areas where women are not yet prominent, we list male practitioners and authors. We do this to give women access to maximal information, skills, and technologies of healing.

How to use this directory? We urge first of all an attitude of patience and self-reflection. Too often we feel overwhelmed by what seem to be huge amounts of information in a new area. This attitude is especially prevalent among women in the subject of health and healing. Before thumbing through this directory, consider your own point of entry:

1. Women's Health and Healing Conference, held October 8-11, 1976, sponsored by Herself Health Clinic, 4164 Santa Monica Blvd., Los Angeles, and Westside Women's Clinic, 1711 Ocean Park Blvd., Santa Monica.
2. Pamphlet of Association for Holistic Health.



Pink Root

1. Are you experiencing acute physical and/or emotional problems? You may then want immediate recourse to your regular doctor, "gut" guidance, and support for alternatives once the immediate crisis is over.
2. Are you dealing with a long-term, chronic, but nonemergency condition? You may wish to investigate gradual self-healing techniques including diet, creative visualization and acupressure treatment.
3. Are you recovering from major surgery or large doses of drugs, radiation treatments, etc.? You may want to pursue a general detoxification program by means of clay, diet adjustment, fasting.
4. Are you in relatively good health and wanting to maintain it? You may wish to learn shiatsu for rejuvenation and tension release or study homeopathic first-aid remedies.

At whatever level we choose to deal with our condition — the physical, emotional, or spiritual — positive ripple effects will be experienced throughout our system. We do not have to do everything all at once. For example, improving our diet can drastically improve emotional balance; experiencing the profound relaxation of massage can accelerate spiritual growth. What is important is starting and committing ourselves to some aspect of our self-healing.

Certain issues are crucial in the holistic healing movement: How do we evaluate practitioners, their modes of therapy, and the appropriateness of that therapy for our condition? We offer a few guidelines to the "healing consumer" in approaching a practitioner: Is she/he willing to be questioned, to give information, to be accessible? Is she/he concrete, specific in promises, explanations? Does she/he seem to practice what she/he preaches? Does she/he charge reasonable fees for services rendered?

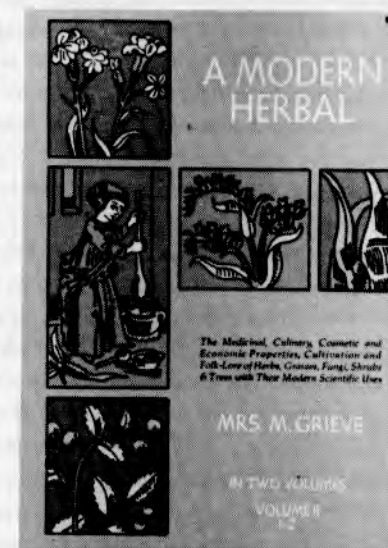
This directory represents a beginning effort to spread and coordinate information on alternative healing modes. There is need for much work in this area. We hope to see the development of: **A comprehensive work** dealing with in-depth analyses of various healing therapies, noting how they can be used together and where they may conflict; **local directories** enabling women to easily locate practitioners of the various healing arts in their own areas; **coordinated health education projects**, building on the self-help concept to make this information available to large numbers of women; **health-maintenance education** for people of all ages and backgrounds.

Herbs

Herbalism, the use of flowers, shrubs, grasses, trees for the prevention of disease and the correction of illness, is a subject large enough to fill an entire catalog, not least because it is the most ancient of the healing arts. The 2000-year-old Ebers Papyrus discovered in the Thebes Necropolis contains herbal recipes, many of which include herbs in use today (gentian, mint, myrrh, elderberries), and documents the practice of herbal medicine by several thousand doctors. The earliest existing herbal was compiled 1800 years ago by a first-century Greek physician, Dioscorides; but there are records indicating the existence of Chinese herbals as far back as 3000 B.C. Herbalism has been a primary healing technique in cultures on a worldwide scale.

In Western history, the traditional healer was the village wise woman or witch.* From a formidable pharmacopeia she provided herbal remedies

*Witch derives from the Anglo-Saxon "wicce" or wise; thus, witchcraft referred to the "craft of the wise."



Books

A Modern Herbal, by M. Grieve, two volumes, Dover Books, \$5.00 per volume.

Originally published in 1931 and subtitled "The Medicinal, Culinary, Cosmetic and Economic Properties, Cultivation and Folklore of Herbs, Grasses, Shrubs and Trees with their Modern Scientific Uses," this is the definitive modern herbal. In 888 pages Ms. Grieve covers over 800 plants from the common to the more esoteric — it's a delight just to read some of the names: squill, loosestrife, spurge, polypody root, teasles, tree of heaven, water soldier. She provides a spectacularly thorough and utterly fascinating account of the history and folk beliefs surrounding the plants;

for everything from warts to rheumatism; but, of course, her most widely renowned herbal skills had to do with the reproductive functioning of women. The village witch had herbal preparations for infertility, fertility, menstrual problems, abortion, and — in her function as midwife — she augmented her delivery skills with herbal medicines which relieved pain, relaxed muscles, hastened contractions, stopped hemorrhaging, as the situation demanded. She used her herbal knowledge to such effect, particularly in relieving labor pains, that the possession of this skill was used as a principle rationale for the destruction of the wise women in the great burnings between the 15th and 17th centuries. (It was deemed unChristian and heretical by Church Fathers to abridge the Biblical injunction that women should bring forth their issue in pain.)

As Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English point out in *Witches, Midwives, and Nurses*, the liquidation of women healers coincided with a male invasion of medical care. And, from the time of the "Enlightenment," male practitioners of medicine and men of science steadily rejected herbalism — although it remained the most widely practiced form of medicine.

There have always been two sides to the traditional practice of herbal lore: one purely medicinal, dealing with the healing properties of plants; the other concerned with their magical powers. Mugwort, for example, an herb with special connections to the Goddess Diana (the Latin name of this herb is *Artemisia vulgaris*), supposedly increased one's powers of clairvoyance. And we are all familiar with the use of herbs as love potions. It was this latter aspect of herbal lore which was used to discredit confidence in the medicinal properties of herbs. It is an association which still colors our attitudes. "Old wives' tales," we sneer at our mothers' and grandmothers' suggested remedies. Why use witchhazel for hemorrhoids when one can get Preparation H from the local drugstore, or, better yet, cortisone from our doctors?

The easy dismissal of herbology as unscientific superstition overlooks the fact that wise women and traditional herbalists built up their pharmacopeia based on hundreds of years of *empirical observation*. Today, Italian physicians still use some of the herbal remedies of Trotula, a 14th-century woman healer famous throughout Europe in her lifetime.

Herbology commands respect in many quarters of the Soviet medical establishment and is integrated into much of regular Soviet medical practice. Alma Hutchens (see below) reports that in 1967 there were 19 specialized medical botanical farms with over 250,000 acres under cultivation by the Soviet state medical industry.

Indeed, some of the most crucial drugs in regular use in medical practice today have their origin in the cures used by wise women for centuries. One of the most famous examples is digitalis, commonly used to treat certain cardiac conditions.

William Withering, the English doctor who is credited with discovering and introducing digitalis for the treatment of heart disease, bought his knowledge from an old village wise woman in Shropshire. He had noticed that several patients with heart trouble responded well to treatment by the local traditional healer. After he managed to buy her remedy from the old woman, he discovered that its principal ingredient was the foxglove plant. Digitalis is, of course, the key element of foxglove, or witches' bells, as the plant is known in English folklore. This story is, in itself, a para-

their literary references; detailed information on habitat and methods of cultivation; chemical constituents (unknown to early herbalists); the healing properties and medicinal uses; dosages; preparations of extracts and tinctures; recipes for making lotions, ointments, wines, sauces, jams. 161 full-page illustrations. Highly recommended.

Indian Herbalogy [sic] of North America, by Alma Hutchens Merco, (620 Wyandotte East, Windsor 14, Ontario, Canada, \$10.00).

Hutchens' herbal is absolutely indispensable to the serious student. After a rather weird introduction, written by someone clearly not thinking in English, the book is devoted to an alphabetical presentation of about 200 herbs. The author includes a drawing of each plant, a concise analysis of the medicinal part of the plant, its healing uses (internal and external), and its homeopathic applications.

Common Herbs for Natural Health, by Juliette De Bairacli Levy, Schocken Books, \$2.45.

Following a short introductory section on gathering, preparing, and preserving herbs, the bulk of Levy's book consists of a *materia medica* of about 200 herbs with descriptions of their habitat, uses, and dosages. The herbs are listed alphabetically, but Levy provides an index of illnesses which refers back to the relevant herbs for treatment. Levy is a very learned herbalist, most of her knowledge coming first hand from the field, which, in her case, included living with Bedouins, Spanish Gypsies, and American and Mexican Indians. As she says, this has allowed her to include "many new medicinal herbs and herbal treatments of my own discovery, and hitherto unpublished ones that I have collected on my travels." Highly recommended.

Culpeper's Complete Herbal, by Nicolas Culpeper, W. Foulsham & Co., England (available from most bookstores carrying herbal books, \$6.95).

Culpeper's herbal was the standard work for over two centuries. Culpeper (1616-1654) studied Greek and Arabic medicine at Cambridge. Shortly after beginning practice as an herbalist in London, he published a copy of the London Pharmacopeia under the title *The Physical Directory*. Although this brought him applause from a grateful public, it brought down the wrath of the contemporary equivalent of the AMA, the Royal College of Physicians. The doctors were furious at the publication of their trade secrets. However, the bulk of Culpeper's herbal knowledge clearly came from his own field researches and acquaintance with the folk tradition. Many of Culpeper's clinical indications have proven correct.

digm of the relationship between modern medicine and the ancient art of herbal healing: Doctor Withering has a monument — ornamented with foxgloves — erected to his memory; the anonymous wise woman and her healing potions have disappeared into the mists of old wives' tales.

The wholesale destruction of wise women* probably lost us priceless healing knowledge. Luckily, much survived in the innocuous household remedies handed down from mother to daughter and in the old herbals, now being rediscovered and reexamined. The recent upsurge of interest in natural and holistic healing has resulted in the reissuance of many of the traditional herbals, as well as the publication of modern herbals and a growing body of empirically backed information on the medicinal properties of various herbs.

Modern herbalism is based on the belief that herbal remedies — deriving from natural organic substances — form an active or living medicine which builds up the general health at the same time as it cures specific disease. While healing the body, most herbs supply it with essential nutrients. For example, alfalfa, an herb used, among many other purposes, to control bowel irregularity, includes in its constituents vitamins A, E, D, K, eight enzymes, iron, magnesium, sulphur, sodium, potassium, silica, and trace elements — not exactly what you get in one of the more common patented laxatives. Herbal healing has several other advantages over drug-oriented medicine. It aims at curing illness itself, not just the symptoms of disease — a slower, but ultimately more effective procedure than the alleviation of symptoms, the course of action followed by modern doctors in the treatment of disease. Herbs do not subject the body to the dangerous, not to say deadly, side effects associated with so many commonly used drugs. Hundreds of thousands of Americans, especially women, use Valium regularly as a tranquilizer and soporific. According to the *Physician's Desk Register*, the side effects of Valium include kidney and liver damage and the lowering of the white blood cell count, as well as "acute hyperexcited state, anxiety . . . and fatigue," the latter being symptoms the drug is supposed to relieve. When I need to relax, or have trouble going to sleep, I drink a tea made of catnip, hops, lobelia, peppermint, scullcap, and valerian root. This is just one of many natural, very effective, and harmless herbal nervines.

Herbal remedies are most effective in treating a range of minor illnesses: colds, flu, headaches, menstrual cramps, small infections, allergies, intestinal disorders, etc. But they are also crucial as an adjunct in treating serious diseases such as arthritis, asthma, anemia, heart disease, liver ailments, cancer, cysts, gallstones, diabetes, hypertension. I personally have been able to end my dependence on "heavy" and ultimately system-damaging drugs for an asthmatic condition by the use of therapies that include herbal remedies. Quintessentially, however, herbs, like all natural foods, act as a *preventive* medicine. That alone is well worth the exploration of their use by anyone seriously concerned with maintaining physical well-being.

Finally, herbal healing is accessible to any interested person at the cost of a small library and/or enrollment in one of several herbal schools offering inexpensive courses directly or by correspondence. Herbs are legal, cheap, and easy to obtain (until the AMA identifies creeping herbalism as a threat to the American health-care "consumer").

*Historians variously estimate that two to nine millions were exterminated between the 15th and 17th centuries.

Back to Eden, by Jethro Kloss (Lifeline Books, P.O. Box 6189, Santa Barbara, CA 93111, \$2.25).

This giant paperback, subtitled "American herbs for pleasure and health; natural nutrition and recipes and instruction for living the Edenic life," is one of the most popular herbal handbooks. Originally published by Kloss in 1939, the bulk of the book is devoted to descriptions of herbs and their medicinal applications; but it is also packed with a miscellany of healing information ranging from hydrotherapy to fasting to the dangers of cooking with aluminum utensils. Kloss is big on enemas as part of his herbal healing methods. We prefer Grieve, Hutchens, Levy, and Lust.

The Herb Book, by John Lust (Benedict Lust Publications, Box 777, Simi Valley, CA 93065, \$12.95).

This book can very well claim to be "The Most Complete Herb Book Ever Published." Lust has comprehensive information on natural gathering, herb gardening, drying and storing herbs, dealing with herb dealers. His section on the various uses of herbs covers instructions on making teas, herbal decoctions, powders, syrups, tinctures, essences, ointments, poultices, herb baths, cold compresses. His *materia medica* includes, first, a glossary of medicinal effects — and herbs that produce them — from abortifacients to vermifuges (very useful, since most herbals take it for granted that the reader is acquainted with these terms, or provide a very abbreviated glossary); second, plants applicable to various conditions and body organs (for example, for acne one is referred to burdock and strawberry; for boredom Lust lists cannabis, scotch broom, peyote, prickly lettuce); third, a compendium of 514 plant entries. There is also a substantial section on herbal teas for specific ailments and health conditions, as well as a section on the use of herbs in cooking. If you buy only one book on herbalism, this is it.



Strawberry leaves

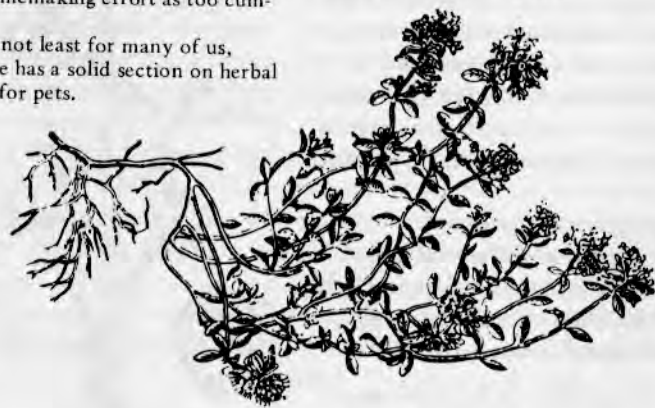
These resources are divided into a selection of general herbal reference books, old and new; publications with specific applications — herbal remedies for children, for cosmetic purposes, for animals; information on studying herbal healing; how to grow your own herbs; how to harvest and prepare herbs; where to buy herbs. As with other sections in this catalog, the listed resources represent *selections* from a much larger body of literature.

Herbs and Things, by Jeanne Rose, Grosset & Dunlap, \$2.95 plus \$.35 for mailing.

Jeanne Rose's charmingly written book offers a *materia medica*, a list of stores in the United States from which herbs can be purchased, a glossary, a listing of various ailments and their herbal remedies, and a table of weights and measures and their equivalents — very useful to have when you get into the more specialized, esoteric herbals. Her section on the herbal treatment of common ailments is particularly distinguished from other books listed here in the variety of *modes* Rose suggests for taking or applying herbs. The usual methods suggested are teas and/or poultices, depending on the nature of the ailment. In addition to the standard infusions and applications, Rose describes herbal oils that can be used to massage a sufferer, rubbing lotions, snuffs, inhalants.

But the reason I would recommend this book to those just getting into herbs, as well as to old hands, is the marvelous *recipés*, ancient and modern. The author's list of recipes include those for aphrodisiacs, the brain ("for Sleep . . . Sleep . . . Memory, Madness, Melancholy, Headaches, Pomanders for the Brain, and Psychedelia), herbal baths (with wonderfully sensuous names: "Dawn Bath," "Tranquil Bath"), creams and lotions, facial packs, powders, shampoos, deodorants, soaps, toothpastes, astringents, suntan lotions. If you are into cosmetics and beauty aids (and we all use shampoo, toothpaste, soap presumably), check out the chemical ingredients of these everyday items before you pooh-pooh the need for herbal substitutes or dismiss the homemaking effort as too cumbersome.

Last, but not least for many of us, Jeanne Rose has a solid section on herbal treatments for pets.



Thyme

Shaker Herbs: A History and a Compendium, by Amy Bess Miller (Clarkson N. Potter, 1 Park Ave., New York, NY 10016, \$12.95).

That remarkable American Utopian sect founded by Mother Ann Lee at the end of the 18th century was "forbidden to employ doctors of the world." Instead they relied on herbs and plants gathered in the fields, woodlands, and their own gardens. Their renown as herbalists spread so quickly that by 1825 outsiders were seeking to purchase their herbs as well as their herbal knowledge.

In their communities throughout the United States, the Shakers expanded their gardens and became the first Americans to produce herbs for hospitals as well as the pharmaceutical market.

This exquisitely produced book is divided into two sections: the first third documents the history of the Shaker medicinal industry as gleaned from journals, letters, catalogs, monthly magazines, and Shaker literature. The second part of the book is a Shaker *materia medica* or herbal compendium taken directly from Shaker catalogs issued between 1830 and 1894. Over 300 herbs are listed with all pertinent botanical data and medicinal uses.

The Shakers are justifiably famous for living their saying, "The truly useful is always the truly beautiful." The beautiful drawings of herbs by Sister Cora Helena Sarle, done in 1866, which illustrate the book, are another proof of the Shakers' remarkable aesthetic.

This book is expensive, but if you are building an herbal library — or if you simply love beautiful books — this is well worth the price.

The Concise Herbal Encyclopedia, by Donald Law, St. Martin's Press, \$4.95. This delightful book covers most of the usual areas: commonly used herbs and their medicinal uses, herbs in cooking, herbs for veterinary purposes, the history of herbs, specific ailments and their herbal remedies. We list it because it is written well, and because the author combines scientific background with a family heritage of herbal knowledge. The latter comes through in the homilies included in healing information. In his suggestions for curing acne, for example, Law includes a ditty which perfectly epitomizes the character of herbalism: "If all goes well with the outside skin/ You may feel pretty sure all's right with-in / But if anything puts the inner skin out/ It is sure to trouble the skin without." He's also pretty honest; when an herbal preparation tastes terrible, he tells you.

American Folk Medicine, by Clarence Meyer, New American Library, \$3.95. Here we have a recently issued compendium of American folk herbal remedies drawn from a wide variety of published sources dating from pre-Revolutionary times, as well as remedies gathered in an oral history manner from living practitioners. The compendium is prefaced by a hugely interesting and informative essay on the history of American folk medicine and its practitioners. The book is certainly a flavorful slice of Americana with wonderful snippets of folk wisdom woven into the actual remedies. In the section on remedies for asthma, J. Monroe reports in 1824, for example, that "the oil of goose is a good remedy but the feathers are very hurtful to those who lie upon them" (as this ex-asthmatic can testify).

The Book of Herb Lore, by Lady Rosalind Northcote, Dover, \$2.50. This is an unabridged republication of the 1912 edition. As the title indicates, this book emphasizes the origins, historical uses, and folklore associated with herbs. The book is filled with wonderful nuggets of information. Clover enables you to see witches. Camomile derives its Latin name *matricaria* from the plant's dedication to St. Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary: "mater" plus "cara" being "beloved mother."

Herbs for Feminine Ailments, by Sarah Beckett, Thorsons Publishers, England, \$1.25 (available from the Yes! Bookshop, 1035 31st Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20007). The information is given under alphabetically listed herbs.

The Magic Garden: The Myth and Folklore of Flowers, Plants, Trees, and Herbs, by Anthony S. Mercatante, Harper & Row, \$5.95.

A handsome and lovingly written book which focuses on the history of herbs as recorded in mythology, legend, literature, and folklore drawn from worldwide sources. Egyptian, classical, Christian, Norse, Celtic, Eastern, American Indian, African mythologies are included in the bibliography.

Herbs To Help You Sleep, by Ceres, Thorson Publishers, England, \$1.50 (available from the Yes! Bookshop). This small book will enable you to throw away Valium, Sleepceaz, Sominex, etc., and sleep peacefully in the knowledge that you are not abusing your body.

The Book of Garlic, by Lloyd J. Harris, Panjandrum Press, San Francisco, \$5.95. A whimsical panegyric to *allium sativum*, including history, folklore, and recipes. But, for the herbalist this is a serious book. Harris includes a scholarly garlic herbal and an exhaustive study of recent clinical research affirming garlic's traditional properties as an antibiotic, anticarcinogenic, anti congestant, and blood-pressure-controlling agent.

Nature's Children, by Juliette De Bairacli Levy, Warner Books, \$1.25. An excellent guide to health care for children through organic foods and herbal remedies.

The Complete Herbal for the Dog, by Juliette De Bairacli Levy, Arco Books, \$5.95.

The title is self-explanatory. A first-rate book for those of us who want to ensure health and longevity for our canine pets. For many of us, the most useful sections deal with the elimination of parasites — fleas, ticks, etc. Commercial preparations and collars are exceedingly bad for a dog's health. Read the instructions on how such items are to be kept away from children.



Hound's-Tongue

Magazines

Well-Being (833 W. Fir Street, San Diego, CA 92101; \$10 for 12 issues).

Although this magazine, now two years old, is a general healing magazine, it is indispensable to the herbalist. Regular features include an in-depth article on a specific herb, an herb-walk directory, herbal news and reviews. Feature articles provide information on the uses of herbs for applications ranging from birth control and childbirth to menopause, menstrual problems, cysts, colds, flu, sunburn, headaches. It is simply, but beautifully, written and produced. An extra plus is the magazine's high feminist consciousness.

The Herbalist (224 Draper Lane, P.O. Box 62, Provo, UT 84601; \$6.00 for 12 issues).

This glossy magazine is particularly valuable for its monthly in-depth articles on individual herbs: their history, habitat, preparation, medicinal properties, healing uses. Articles have appeared on alfalfa, comfrey, lobelia, mullein, nettles, rose hips, garlic, oak bark. Other areas covered are herbiculture (growing, harvesting, and storing herbs), natural healing methods for specific diseases — recent issues have included "Reproductive Problems," "The Lymphatic System," "Morning Sickness" — news and reviews. A bargain.

Naturopathy

Naturopathy is a fitting beginning to this healing directory. The practice of naturopathy is eclectic and inclusive and may include any variety of techniques discussed in this article: for example, herbal remedies, homeopathics, acupressure, nutrition counseling. It "emphasizes the use of Nature's agencies, forces, products and processes in the prevention and treatment of disease. . . . The true defining agent is Nature—'Nature cures'."³

Naturopathic medicine was developed in Germany between 1830 and 1850. Dr. Benedict Lust was a German naturopath who came to the U.S. and founded the first naturopathic college of medicine. The practice of this field of medicine was widespread as recently as 50 to 60 years ago. Drug medicine gradually killed the naturopathic medical movement, fewer people patronized naturopathic physicians, and fewer people entered the naturopathic profession. The schools died out as well.

In 1958, however, several naturopaths banded together and founded the National College of Naturopathic Medicine in Portland, Oregon, with a branch in Wichita, Kansas. This school is presently the only naturopathic medical college in the United States.

For information about naturopathy and how to train yourself in this area, contact: National College of Naturopathic Medicine, 3100 McCormick Avenue, Wichita, Kansas 67213.

3. Joyce Keane, "Rebirth of Naturopathic Medicine as a Healing Art," *United Focus*, Vol. 1, No. 5, Third Quarter 1976, p. 18.

The Country Lady's Daybook (P.O. Box 754, Felton, CA 95018; \$6.00 for 6 - 8 issues).

The editor, Karen Schultz, says of the magazine, "We are not feminists, but rather down-home people who want to share an enlightened, natural family lifestyle with other humans." This disclaimer notwithstanding, there are good articles on natural nutrition, dietary solutions to women's health problems (sample: "Preventing Anemia During Pregnancy"), natural food recipes, and articles devoted specifically to the medicinal uses of herbs.

Herbal Schools and Home Study

Consult *Well-Being* for a list of healing schools, including those devoted to herbalism. We know of one home study course which seems reliable. The Advanced School of Herbology in Sacramento offers a correspondence course of 36 lessons based on the work of Dr. Edward E. Shook, a renowned turn-of-the-century herbalist. \$4.00 will get you the first lesson, plus the course outline and information about costs, etc. Send to Advanced School of Herbology, 710 - 712th Street, Sacramento, CA 95814.

Homeopathy

Homeopathy is a medical discipline concerned with the total condition of the patient "as expressed through her emotions, mental outlook and physical being . . . Homeopathy seeks the one single medication (at a minimum dosage) for each individual which will stimulate her own healing forces to bring about a state of health."⁴ Homeopathy is based on the work of an early 19th-century physician named Samuel Hahnemann. He rediscovered Hippocrates' Law, which states that "Like cures like. . ." Homeo means like, similar; pathos means feeling, suffering—i.e., having like feelings or affections.

The medications used by homeopathic physicians are made from selected mineral, vegetable, and animal substances that have been highly diluted and prepared by a process known as "dynamization." Hahnemann found that a very small amount of a substance had the effect of curing the symptoms brought on by a large amount of that substance.

"A simple example is Homeopathic Coffee, *Coffea Cruda*, which cures that increased sensitiveness, tight head pain, excessive wakefulness, etc. which large amounts of coffee cause."⁵ Homeopathics stimulate the body on a very basic level, probably on an immune level, to begin to function healthfully for itself. Hence the body will throw off the condition which led to the manifestation of the symptoms. Homeopathy assists the body in helping itself.⁶

The remedies are in such small amounts that they can be sold over the counter. These medicines have been tested on healthy people. Many people prescribe for themselves with the aid of manuals and some trial and error. Druggists who work at homeopathic drugstores can be very helpful.

4. *Layman Speaks*, inside cover, published by National Center for Homeopathy, September 1976.

5. David Debus, "An Introduction to Homeopathy," *Well-Being*, No. 10, p. 7.

6. Joyce Keane, *op. cit.*

Books & Articles

"An Introduction to Homeopathy," by David Debus, *Well-Being*, No. 10, pp. 6-9 (Box 7455, San Diego, CA 92107; subscription \$5/yr).

An excellent short introductory article with bibliography. A good place to begin if you've never been exposed to homeopathic theory before.

Homeopathy—Medicine of the New Man, San Francisco: Konros Books, 1971, \$2.95 (available from Yes! Bookshop; add \$.50 for mailing).

Recommended from several quarters as a good introduction to homeopathy. History, theory, methods included.

Homeopathy for the First-Aider, by Dr. Dorothy Shepherd, Health Science Press, \$3.15 (available through Yes! Bookshop; add \$.50 for mailing).

A good book for those wishing to incorporate homeopathic treatment of common ailments such as wounds, burns, pain, aches, colds, etc. Clear presentation.

Homeopathic Influences in Nineteenth-Century Allopathic Therapeutics, Dr. Harris Coulter (American Institute of Homeopathy, 910 17th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20006, \$1.95).

Dr. Coulter's book provides a fascinating history of how homeopathy influenced allopathic—establishment—medicine in the 19th century. Three major ways:

- 1) the reduction in dose size, 2) the decline of polypharmacy (multiple drug prescriptions), 3) the greater reliance on the healing power of nature, and 4) allopathy's tentative acceptance of the idea that the powers of medicines may be ascertained through tests on the healthy person.

For starters, homeopathy helped decrease the use of bloodletting. A very interesting study for those with some interest in the history of the struggle between homeopathy and allopathy.

Materia Medica With Repertory, by William Boericke, M.D. (Boericke Runyon, 1011 Arch St., Philadelphia, PA 19107, \$6.00).

A reasonably priced catalogue of homeopathic remedies and the conditions they are useful for. For the serious student of homeopathy.

A Manual of Homeopathy and Natural Medicine, by C. H. Sharma, New York: Dutton, \$2.95 (available from Yes! Bookshop; add \$.50 for mailing).

This book covers the major principles of homeopathic diagnoses, remedies, how to go about using homeopathics. Much useful information is included about holistic healing as well—caring for the sick person, diet and hygiene, emergency treatment. It is an excellent small health manual for general home use.

Journals

Layman Speaks, published by National Center for Homeopathy (address below), \$6/yr.

This small, delightful periodical is written in a homey style for the general reader (and enthusiast of homeopathy). Staple articles include: "Chamomilla, One of the Safer Medicines"; "The Fear of Flu (and How To Deal With It)"; "Why Homeopathy Cures"; etc. Listed in each issue are the principles of homeopathy, which include:

- . . . Never confuses symptoms with diseases; has a clear scientific conception of symptoms, what they mean, and how to use the totality of symptoms to find the one individual remedy; . . . understands the difference between palliation, suppression and cure; understands the consequences of that difference for the safety and welfare of the sick . . .

Drawings of herbs appear on each cover.

Organizations

National Center for Homeopathy
6231 Leesburg Pike
Falls Church, VA 22044

This organization provides information on literature and referrals to homeopathic physicians, homeopathic drugstores, and professional courses in homeopathy.

American Foundation for Homeopathy
Suite 428-31 Barr Building
910 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20006
Another central organization providing information, publications, etc.

Drugstores

Santa Monica Drug Co.
1513 Fourth Street
Santa Monica, CA 90401

Kiehl Pharmacy, Inc.
109 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10003

Boericke and Tagel, Inc.
1011 Arch Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Mylands Homeopathic Pharmacy
222 O'Farrell Street
San Francisco, CA 94102

Chiropractic

Chiropractic is a branch of the healing arts concerned with health and disease processes. Doctors of chiropractic are physicians who consider the person as an integrated being, giving special attention to spinal mechanics and muscular and vascular relationships. Documented history of tissue manipulation goes back to cave paintings in southeastern France, dated 17,500 B.C.

Chiropractic is based on the premise that:

. . . *the nervous system controls all other systems and all physiological functions of the human body; that interference with the nerve control of these systems impairs their functions and by rendering the body less resistant to infection or other stimuli, induces disease.*⁷

Therefore, the chiropractor does most of her work on the spinal column, the central railway of the nervous system. Deborah Karrish, a feminist chiropractor, pointed out that "structural misalignments are at the root of most physical problems. Most conditions are affected by or have their effect on the spine."⁸

What kinds of conditions is chiropractic most effective for? Many people initially go to a chiropractor for back problems. They often find that other conditions clear up as therapy continues. Various chronic conditions such as allergies, asthma, diabetes, psoriasis, and hypertension have all been successfully treated by chiropractors.

Chiropractic methods of diagnosis include interviews, physical examination of the spine and affected body parts, X-rays, and lab tests. Treatments vary, but they exclude prescription drugs or major surgery. The most characteristic treatment is the chiropractic adjustment—that is, the correction of off-centered vertebral or pelvic segments in order to balance the spine. Other treatments may include dietary and nutritional supplements, physiotherapy, and professional counseling in such areas as diet, attitudes, safety habits, posture, rest, and work.

Chiropractors, like naturopaths and homeopaths, were an important part of the American medical scene until drug medicine (often referred to as "allopathy") began to predominate. All States now have statutes recognizing and regulating the practice of chiropractic as an independent health service. Insurance companies will compensate for chiropractic treatment.

Chiropractic can be an important part of health maintenance and disease prevention. Deborah Karrish commented that a yearly spinal checkup could help most of us maintain correct spinal posture and remedy minor problems before they become major; "It's at least as effective as some nurse taking your blood pressure, weighing you and then having the doctor come in and say, 'Does anything hurt?'"

Women are looking into chiropractic as a career more and more. While sexist attitudes are probably as prevalent as in the conventional medical establishment, it is still an option which some women interested in health care may wish to pursue.

7. *Planning a Career in Chiropractic*, published by American Chiropractic Association (address below), p. 5.

8. Interview, December 2, 1976.



Books

NOTE — Books on chiropractic are not readily available. You may need to order them from the publisher. Visit your local chiropractic college bookstore or library for best results.

Chiropractic: A Modern Way to Health, by Julius Dintenfass (Pyramid Publications, 9 Garden Street, Moonachie, NJ 07074, \$1.25).

Recommended as a good general introduction.

Chiropractic Speaks Out, by Chester A. Wilk (Wilk Publishing Co., P.O. Box 320, Park Ridge, IL 60068, \$6.95).

A reply to medical propaganda and bigotry; informative.

The Chiropractic Adjustor, by Dr. D. D. Palmer (available from Palmer College, 1000 Brady St., Davenport, IA 52803, \$26.00).

Written by the founder of chiropractic, this book tells everything you would want to know about the art, history, techniques, and theory of chiropractic. Possibly available in your public or university library.

Treatment of Neuropathy and the Encyclopedia of Physical and Manipulative Therapeutics, compiled by Thomas T. Lake (Health Research, 70 Lafayette St., Mokelumne Hill, CA 95245, \$18.95).

Another fascinating reference work with scads of information.

Journals

Chiropractic Economics includes a variety of articles on chiropractic as well as kinesiology, acupuncture, nutrition, etc. Published by:

Chiropractic News Publishing Co.
39835 W. 10-Mile Rd.
Farmington Hills, Michigan 48024

Organizations

International Chiropractic Association
741 Brady St.
Davenport, Iowa 52808

American Chiropractic Association
2200 Grand Ave.
Des Moines, Iowa 50312

Both of these groups will send information on request.