THEORIZING THE SEXUAL CHILD IN MODERNITY

R. Danielle Egan and Gail Hawkes

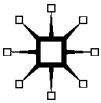
Theorizing the Sexual Child in Modernity

This page intentionally left blank

Theorizing the Sexual Child in Modernity

R. Danielle Egan
and
Gail Hawkes

palgrave
macmillan



An earlier version of chapter two was published as "Producing the Prurient through the Pedagogy of Purity: Childhood Sexuality and the Social Purity Movement." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 21 (4) (2007): 443–461.

An earlier version of chapter three was published as "Childhood Sexuality, Normalization and the Social Hygiene Movement in the Anglophone West, 1900–1935." *Social History of Medicine* 23 (1) (2010): 29–50.

An earlier version of chapter six was published as "Developing the Sexual Child." *Journal of Historical Sociology* Special Issue on the History of Sexuality of Childhood and Youth 21 (4) (2008): 443–466.

First published in 2010 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN®
in the United States—a division of St. Martin's Press LLC,
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Where this book is distributed in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world, this is by Palgrave Macmillan, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN: 978–1–4039–7257–6

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available from the Library of Congress.

A catalogue record of the book is available from the British Library.

Design by Newgen Imaging Systems (P) Ltd., Chennai, India.

First edition: March 2010

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in the United States of America.

For Steve, forever.

R. Danielle Egan

For Sarah and Joe.

Gail Hawkes

This page intentionally left blank

CONTENTS

This page intentionally left blank

ILLUSTRATIONS

This page intentionally left blank

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Given the four years during which this text has dominated our lives, no acknowledgment will be fully representative of the mutual warmth, love, intellectual creativity, laughter, despair, and lots of "wine o'clock's" that have helped us bring it to fruition. There are many people and institutions that gave us resources (both time and money), as well as emotional and professional support that need to be mentioned here. In this section, we jointly list the institutions and people that generously assisted and welcomed us and then move on to express our gratitude independently to all those whose encouragement helped us see this book in print.

The materials found in this book are evidence of the outstanding resources we had the pleasure of drawing on in the many fine libraries in which we spent many hours and the help and support we received from librarians and archivists in all three countries. In Australia, the National Library of Australia, Canberra ACT; the State Libraries of New South Wales and Victoria, Australia; the libraries of the University of Melbourne and Monash University, Australia; the Dixson Library of the University of New England. In the United States, the Kinsey Institute, Indiana University, the New York Public Library, New York City, the New York Academy of Medicine, New York City; the Library of Congress, Washington, DC; University of Minnesota Social Welfare Archive, Minneapolis; the Library of the University of Florida; the Library at Lewis and Clark University; the Owen D. Young and Science Libraries at St Lawrence University, NY. In the United Kingdom, the Wellcome Trust Library and Information Services, London, UK; the British Library, London; the John Rylands University Library at the University of Manchester.

We would like to thank the following departments and programs for their generous invitations to speak and the thought-provoking feedback

they provided: the Department of Sociology at Lancaster University, the Women's Studies Department at Colgate University, Clarkson University, the Department of Sociology at Buffalo State University, the Manchester Institute for Popular Culture, the Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Applied Social Science at Glasgow University, and The Centre for Women's Studies at York University. The questions posed at the Social History of Childhood and Youth Conference in Sweden deserve particular mention. Special thanks for the intellectual insights and generosity offered by Marta Albert, Stephen Angelides, Barbara Baird, Patricia Clough, Karen Engel, David Evans, Graeme Gilloch, Barry Dank, Stevi Jackson, Stephen Pfohl, Kerry Robinson, Don Romesberg, Derek Sayer, Juliet Schor, Allen Shelton, Ning de Coninck-Smith, Annegret Staiger, Shurlee Swain, John Tercier, Elizabeth Thompson, Matthew Waites, Jeffrey Weeks, Yoke-Sum Wong, and to the insightful comments of our reviewers. We would also like to thank our editor Julia Cohen and her assistant Samantha Hasey and the production staff at Palgrave Macmillan for the enthusiasm and care they have shown on our project.

We must include in our sources of intellectual support our circle of canine and feline friends: so big hugs to Bella, Milo, Max, Freida, Blue, Zoey, Dixie, Creamy, Peanut, Beaglesorous Rex, Nimbus, Albie, Shadow, Homer, and especially, in the final production stage, the regular serenades we received from the "Howler."

Let me begin my acknowledgments with my educational institutions. The Faculty of Arts and Science at the University of New England supported study leave and allowed me research time, for which I am very grateful. I especially thank Professor Michael Macklin, former Dean of the "old" Arts Faculty for his support. I am also grateful to my colleagues in the School of Behavioural, Cognitive and Social Science at UNE. Special thanks also to Adrian Kiernander, Elizabeth Hale, Peter Corrigan, Frances Gray, Don Hine, Sally Hunter, Brian Simpson, Victor Minichiello, and the UNESEX Group. Internationally, I also thank the Manchester Metropolitan University and especially Bernard Leach, former Head of the Department of Sociology, the University of Manchester and Professor Valerie Lehr, Vice President for Academic Affairs St. Lawrence University, NY, for offering invaluable resident research resources.

I would also like to thank those that I love who bore with me throughout; and tolerated the long gaps between communications because of "the book." My love and gratitude go first to Joe and Sarah Smaje, my wonderful people. In equal part love and thanks also to

Anne Brownlow, Nikki Knewstub and Peter Thompson; Jo and Joseph Guthrie, John and Barbara Rowland; Anna Lang; Kent Laverack, Adrian Kiernander; John Hawkes, Diana Hawkes; Rachel Hawkes and Jo Bell.

Gail Hawkes

I am grateful to St. Lawrence University for its immeasurable generosity, in the form of grants, research support, and collegial encouragement. I am truly lucky to call this university home. The academic resources I received first from Dr. Grant Cornwell in his previous role as Vice President for Academic Affairs and more recently from Dr. Valerie Lehr is much appreciated. The small and large grants I received from Dr. Elizabeth Regosin and Dr. Karl Schonberg in their roles as Associate Dean for the Faculty were invaluable for this research. I would also like to thank my colleagues who, through their great questions, pushed my thinking in new directions when I presented an early version of this research in my Piskor Lecture. Steve Papson's tough questions, sociological insights and keen eye continuously inspire me. Special thanks to Eve Stoddard, Erin McCarthy, Natalia Singer, Judith DeGroat, John Collins, and Michael Kemper for their intellectual curiosity and encouragement. The administrative support that Mary Haught provided in the early phases of this research was truly extraordinary. Her sense of humor, generous spirit, and delicious chocolate cakes are also much appreciated. Joyce Sheridan and Eileen LaCourse provide unfailing help and assistance and for that I am truly grateful. I would like to thank Elizabeth Thompson, Laura Festine, and Julia Conner for their incredible research assistance. I would also like to thank my colleagues in the Gender and Sexuality Studies Program, my life at St. Lawrence is made all the richer by your work as teachers, scholars, and friends. Finally, I would like to thank my students, particularly those in Not in Front of the Children, Making Sexualities and Gender and Feminist Theory, their curiosity, enthusiasm, and questions helped shape this book.

Deep personal thanks go to the family and friends whose love, kindness, and incredible patience over the past four years have served as an anchor and refuge. Steve, Milo, and Frieda—are my lighthouse in the storm and make my life more wonderful every single day. To my mother whose love, encouragement, and hilarious e-mails (particularly during the final phases of this project) got me through it, I say, "I truly have the best Mom in the world." I also want to thank the rest of my family for their love and support: Mary Francis Ingram,

Cyndi Ingram, Scott McEwan, Sean O'Flaherty, Dennis O'Flaherty, Laura Daniels, Erin O'Flaherty, Chuck McEwan, Tammy Corwin, Julia Hill, Samantha O'Flaherty, and my little B man, Brendon. My friends, Erin McCarthy, Sarah Liebman, Julie Childers, Eve Stoddard, and Natalia Singer deserve special mention. They are like my second family, without them my life would be incomplete. To my friends who have been there for me throughout even when I had to go "radio silent" while writing: Margaret Bass, Marina Llorente, John Collins, Allen Shelton, Kerry Grant, Nikki Knewstub, Peter Thompson, Stephen Pfohl, Catherine Jencke, Candace and Bob Cowser, Liz Regosin, Traci Fordham Hernandez, Ron Flores, Judith DeGroat, Evette Hornsby Minor, Jessica Willis, Jennifer Hansen, and Tom and Marge James.

R. Danielle Egan

INTRODUCTION

Back to the Future

> Children are learning lessons from today's sexualized environment that can undermine the very foundations they need in order to grow up to be capable of having caring relationships of any kind, including those relationships in which sex plays a role.
>
> Diane E. Levin and Jean Kilbourne (2008)

> As a father of four I find [Bill Henson's photographs] offensive and disgusting…I don't understand why parents would agree to allow their kids to be photographed like this. The cornerstone of any civilised society is the protection of its kids and there can be no justification for some of these images. I'm all for free speech, but never at the expense of a child's safety and innocence.
>
> Nathan Rees quoted in David Marr and Josephine Tovey (2008)

In *So Sexy So Soon: The New Sexualized Childhood and What Parents Can Do to Protect Their Kids*, American educationalists Diane Levin and Jean Kilbourne (2008) weave a cautionary tale for parents about the damage caused by sexualizing media and the commodities it advertises. Toys, clothes, magazines, television, and the Internet are all said to foster the desire to emulate "the sexy celebrities who populate their cultural landscape," a risk that increases with repeated exposure (American Psychological Association Task Force 2007, 3).[1] Designed to make "girls look physically appealing and sexy," sexualization is understood as a process that "inappropriately imposes [sexuality] upon" them (2). As a result, sexualization is thought to chip away a girl's capacity to form

relationships, sexual or otherwise, in the future (Levin and Kilbourne 2008).[2] The end point of this process is individual and social, it fosters a perilous environment wherein girls, plagued by low self-esteem, engage in self-destructive behavior and it promotes wider social ills such as the trafficking in women and girls (ibid.). British educationalist and author of *Toxic Childhood: How the Modern World Is Damaging Our Children and What We Can Do about It*, Sue Palmer offers a similar warning in an interview in London's *Daily Telegraph* (Nikkhah 2009; Palmer 2007).[3] Sexualizing images, according to Palmer, promote an "entirely inappropriate ladette culture" where excessive drinking, violence, and antisocial behavior blossom—as a result, a horrific type of "sexual ethos" comes to be seen as natural (quoted in Nikkhah 2009; Palmer (2007)).[4]

Cultural concerns about the incendiary quality of images and objects on the bodies of children are not restricted to critiques of the commodity form and to the techniques of advertisers, they also underpin certain cultural panics about art and other forms of high culture. An example of this was evident in responses to the display of nude photographs of preadolescent children by renowned Australian photographer Bill Henson. The New South Wales Premier, Nathan Reese, argued that Henson's photographs posed a threat to children by violating childhood innocence and as a result contravened "the cornerstone of any civilized society"—the "protection of its kids" (quoted in Marr and Tovey 2008).[5] Labor Prime Minister Kevin Rudd espoused an analogous sentiment calling the photographs "revolting" and upon further reflection added "whatever the artistic view or the merits of that sort of stuff, frankly I don't think there are any. Just allow kids to be kids, you know" (quoted in ibid.).

The endpoint espoused by these authors is the destruction of sexual innocence, and axiomatically, therefore, the very essence of childhood itself. As Prime Minister Rudd's comment vividly illustrates, the confluence of childhood and sexuality infringe upon a child's ability "to just be" a kid (ibid.). The presumptions beneath these conclusions are twofold: the domain of childhood cannot include sexuality; and in equal turn any young person who expresses sexuality is de facto outside the domain of childhood (Egan and Hawkes 2008a, 2008b; Hawkes and Egan 2008b).[6] The ubiquity of these harmful influences and their inevitable consequences render impotent parental protection and make the ensuing anxiety, at least at first glance, understandable. Moreover, these calls for social reform condense the prevailing cultural ambivalence about childhood sexuality and its link to the wider social order, as the comments of Reese, Levin, Kilbourne, and Palmer underscore. In both respects, the conceptualization of the problem and the dangers

posed by its after-effects (from across the political spectrum), make the critical interrogation of its assumptions and their potential repercussions far more difficult. All too often, these pleas for social reformation are profoundly ahistorical, reactionary, visceral, and deeply unreflexive and it is for this reason that they come to operate as natural. We contend it is character of these cultural narratives that makes a critical deconstruction all the more important for scholars of childhood and sexuality. To this end, this campaign, as well as the others that have come before it, raise a critically important sociological question—what lies beneath these hegemonic proclamations and how did we get to this point?

It was the naturalized quality of these calls for protection and the anxiety they provoked that first brought us to this project.[7] However, we were ultimately unsatisfied with an exploration of contemporary culture because there was so little that uncovered the sociohistorical architecture upon which these discourses rested and potentially reproduced. A lack of comprehension of the historical formations of knowledge and power at work in constructions of childhood sexuality in the Anglophone West made any deep appreciation of the present unrealizable. It was for this reason that we undertook the research for *Theorizing the Sexual Child in Modernity*. The analysis that follows reflects this interest and is grounded in a recurring set of questions about the nature, process, and implications by which the child and its sexuality were produced and deployed within Anglophone culture during the modern epoch. For example, how was the child and its sexuality conceptualized? How do the concerns expressed about the child reflect or resonate with larger social anxieties? Given the sensitivity of the topic, how do the framers of such discourses legitimate their claims? Lastly, what are the potential repercussions of these discursive constructions?

Our interest in and approach to the topic of childhood sexuality was and is shaped by our sociocultural biographies along with our academic training. To this end, this history of ideas reflects this sociological training, our social locations, and the historical context within which it was produced; the nexus of which C. Wright Mills (1959) termed some forty years ago as being essential to the creation of a sociological imagination. As with any research, the immediacy of positionality offers specific challenges to and advantages for data interpretation. It is undoubtedly true that though we are women, one with no children and the other with grown up children, we do not face the anxiety associated with raising young kids in our contemporary culture. However, we believe that our separation from the materiality of everyday child rearing provides a vantage point that offers important insights as well

as some limitations.[8] In addition to our connection to motherhood, we bring our personal experiences as two white women growing up in the 1970s and 1950s in two cultures (the United States and Australia respectively), from two different social classes (working class and middle class), and sexualities (one bisexual and the other heterosexual), as well as from two distinct forms of sociological training (cultural studies and discourse analysis and historical and comparative methods) to this analysis. Unlike other academic inquiries that may provide the benefit of distance due to their abstract nature, a critical examination of discourses on the sexual child requires a deeper level of reflexivity regarding our positionalities not only due to the sensitivity of the topic, but also because of the political maelstrom that often ensues as a result. Our attempt to promote a thorough (though by no means universal) and reflexive analysis is thus, to borrow Donna Haraway's (1991) phrase, a "situated" one (576). Unpacking the discourses under study involved a rigorous and mindful approach, which emerged from a methodological commitment to systematic exploration and the scholarly desire to provide a nuanced and grounded accounting of the social construction of the sexual child and its repercussions during the height of modernity.

As many sociologists and cultural studies scholars have shown the modern epoch signalled a paradigmatic shift not only to the means of production but also in the definition of the social, the self, and the child and it was for this reason that we began our research during this period. Robert Goldman and Steve Papson (2006) insightfully argue that although the operations of our postmodern culture may differ significantly from the past, the grand narratives of modernity and the surety they offer (of both Western progress and individual possibility and security) continue to be drawn on in the service of capital particularly in times of crisis. As we have shown elsewhere, a similar phenomenon is often at work in contemporary reform efforts. For example, a key assumption within the social purity movement was that a corrupt environment would stimulate or catalyze a child's sexual instinct to an almost unstoppable force in the life of the child While some might argue that our contemporary culture is far from Victorian with regard to sexuality, when analyzing contemporary calls for action on childhood sexuality, one can see the redeployment of similar assumptions (e.g., sexualization produces cognitive impairment and quite possibly the trafficking in women) within its pleas for social reformation (Egan and Hawkes 2009a, 2008a, 2008b). The clear distinctions between adult and child, the need for adult intervention and the legitimacy these modern narratives provide for contemporary framers may help ameliorate rising cultural anxieties about the

increasingly fuzzy line between adults and children due to advancements in information and communication technologies as well as other factors in our contemporary culture (Hawkes and Egan 2008b).

An understanding of history provides cultural theorists a lens as well as the tools through which to unpack and trace the foundational assumptions at work in contemporary constructions of social problems (Egan and Hawkes 2009a). With this framework in mind, the goals for this book are twofold: we hope our analysis provides the reader with an appreciation of a particular set of historical discourses and their implications and, as a result, helps sociologists and cultural studies scholars gain a better grasp of the historical foundations at work in the naturalized assumptions surround childhood sexuality in contemporary Anglophone culture.

Looking for the Lost Thread: Mapping the History of Ideas on the Sexual Child in Modernity

Theorizing the Sexual Child in Modernity seeks to broaden the substantive landscape of sociology, sexuality studies, cultural studies, the history of sexuality, and childhood studies.[9] Although the child and sexuality have been fertile sites of research, their intersection has been, for the most part, absent.[10] This lack was particularly evident when we began our research and would type "childhood sexuality" or "children's sexuality" or "child + sexuality" into search engines in the national libraries of Australia, England, and the United States and come up with either nothing or materials that were restricted to the topic of sexual abuse.[11] Given the lack of signposts we found at the start of our research—we employed Claude Levi-Strauss's (1968) concept of *bricolage* to aide us in this endeavor. *Bricolage* combines the unexpected with various theoretical and methodological tools at hand to make sense of a particularly complex social phenomenon (ibid.). Discourse analysis, textual analysis, and techniques drawn from qualitative sociology provided the tools for engaging with our materials and an equally broad range of theoretical perspectives were drawn on to tease out their implications. The interweaving of these insights and methods provided the interdisciplinary framework for our analysis of medical, social reform and theoretical and empirical materials, and helped to shed light on the continuities and discontinuities shaping this history of ideas.

We began this project by sketching in the ways in which some leading Enlightenment thinkers first drew the distinct nature of the child

into the emerging discourses of modernity. Against this background we revisited and evaluated the role of the child in masturbation phobia to illuminate the first associations between childhood sexuality and social disruption. Subsequently, drawing on archival and published materials collected in the United States, Britain, and Australia between 1840 and 1940, we conducted a close textual analysis of sexological and psychoanalytic literature to provide a deeper understanding of the theories that were to shape the constructions of the sexual child. Finally, in order to explicate the connection between the sexual child and social order, we undertook three case studies of social reform movements: the social purity campaign; the sexual hygiene movement; and the child-rearing advice manuals of the interwar years. Treating these primary materials as data, we interrogated both lay and professional literature drawn from medical treatises; the philosophy of pedagogy; social reform pamphlets and campaign materials; instructional texts for professionals as well as both theoretical and empirical findings.

Our research most closely resonates with the project Michel Foucault outlined in his first volume on *The History of Sexuality*. In it Foucault (1984) forwards an insightful, if introductory, explication on the place of the child within the modern deployment of sexuality. He argues that the "pedagogisation" of child sex functioned as one of four mechanisms that solidified a shift in power away from the juridical that dominated the late eighteenth century toward "continuous regulatory and corrective mechanisms" that took place with the rise of modernity in the West (144). This transition fostered the emergence of what he terms "biopower" through the increasing regulation and surveillance of individuals and the population. For Foucault, pedgogisation encompasses an extensive and complex process whereby the management of childhood sexuality combines disciplinary techniques with regulative methods to fuse power "to bodies, functions, physiological processes, sensations, and pleasures" (152). To this end,

> the sexualization of children was accomplished in the form of a campaign [for the] health of the race (precocious sexuality was presented from the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century as an epidemic menace that risked compromising not only the future health of adults but the future of the entire society and species). (146)

Foucault's work highlights how discourses of protection and social reform legitimated social intervention through the government of

childhood sexuality in the form of discipline, surveillance, and scientific management. More importantly, it provides a window on to how discourses about childhood sexuality were, for the most part, not really about children; rather they were emblematic of the anxieties surrounding larger social instabilities and the need to bring them under control. Our analysis develops and extends the foundational points raised by Foucault (mentioned above), by analyzing a range of discursive domains to examine the connections between them (see figure I.1).[12] Analyzing the various sites of knowledge and power that fostered the production

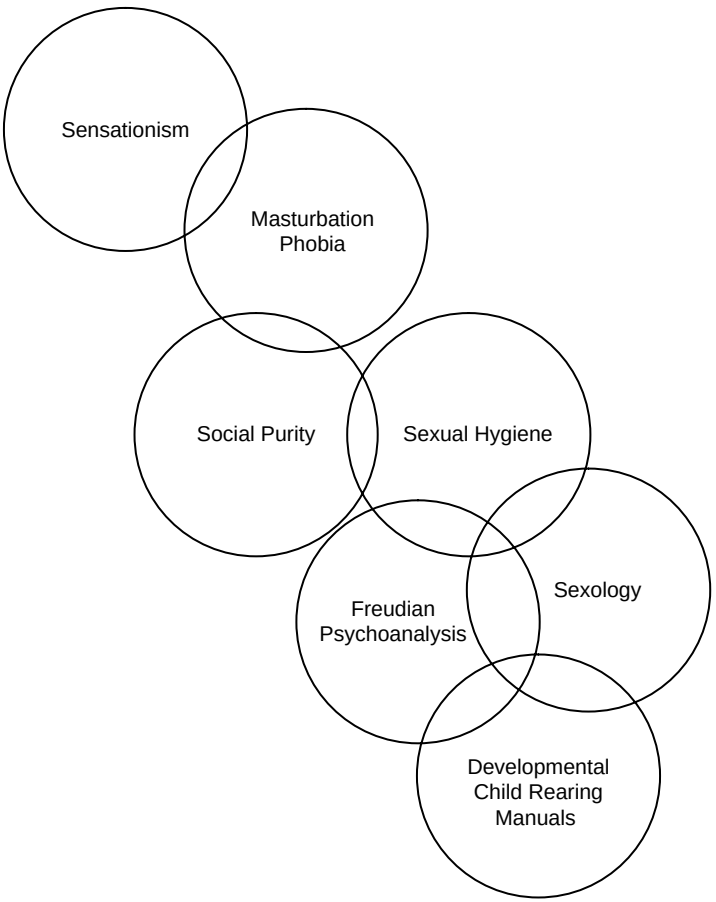


Figure I.1 Constellation of Discourses on the Sexual Child in Modernity Taking Place Approximately between 1740 and 1940.

of scientific treatises, social reform movements and parental instruction provide a textured and rich account of the construction of the sexual child in modernity. In the following we analyze the foundational tenets at work in the attempts to make sense of childhood sexuality as well as the promotion of its normalization and regulation. Exploring the complexity within and between these discourses helped us identify and theorize the points of intersections as well as their conceptual divergence.

In his writings on *The Archeology of Knowledge* Foucault (1982) argues that,

> The frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines and the last full stop, beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network. (23)

To this end, texts are both implicated in a larger system of knowledge production (what Foucault terms here as a network) and simultaneously point toward something beyond its frontier and just outside its reach. This phenomenon is illustrated by a conspicuous lacuna in the discourses and the texts we examined. As will become obvious, what is missing in most discourses on childhood sexuality are the voices of children themselves.[13] We can gain little insight into the degree to which children participated in or made meaning of the activities discussed in these discourses. Given this absence, the analysis that follows is not a history of the sexual activities of children or a history of the impact of such ideas on children's lives.[14] Nor was it intended to be. *Rather, it is an examination of adult constructions of the sexual child from a wide range of sources.* More specifically, it is an exploration of how adults deployed the child and its sexuality in order to manage its individual manifestations and perceived social consequences.

As the history of sexuality illustrates, discourses on sexualities and the representations found therein hold tremendous social force (Luker 2007, 1998; Mort 2000; Weeks 2003, 1990; Porter and Hall 1995; Irvine 2002; Moran 2000; Hunt 1999; Porter and Hall 1995; Foucault (1984). Historian Jeffrey Weeks (2003) states that the social construction of sexuality is rarely just about the interpersonal dynamics that take place in the bedroom. Rather sexuality is reflective of larger sociocultural contexts and the "various social practices that construct sexual regulations, give meaning to bodily activity, shape definitions and limit and control human behavior" (36). To this end, "debates about sexuality

are debates about the nature of society" and we contend that this is particularly the case when discussing the sexuality of children (ibid.). For Weeks, race, class, and gender are the three pivotal points around which regulatory mechanisms most consistently revolve in modern history.[15] These three axes have clearly played a key role in the modern deployment of sexuality in the West. However, our analysis illustrates that another axis has also served as a particularly powerful site of regulation, management, and social surveillance—*that of age*. Elucidating the ambivalent place of childhood sexuality within these discourses sheds light on how definitions of the sexual child constructed "sexual regulations" surrounding acceptable or pathological activities, "gave meaning to bodily activity," and served to shape and delimit definitions of the child, the adult, and society.

Chapter Summaries

Theorizing the Sexual Child illustrates the ways in which various social movements and systems of thought spurred the formation of a particular set of dominant ideas about the child and its sexuality during the modern epoch. Each chapter provides an analysis of the construction of childhood sexuality within a particular discourse and its connection to the wider ideological landscape as well as to sociological shifts taking place at the time. In chapter one, we examine the underlying assumptions of eighteenth-century sensationism and nineteenth-century masturbation phobia to render visible the central themes within each discourse and the sites of connection between these two seemingly contrary ways of conceptualizing the relationship between the body and the mind of the child within the modernizing process. Theories about inherent capacities, volition, and control explored in this chapter serve as the context from which the rest of our history emerges.

Chapter two deconstructs the pamphlets and texts of the social purity movement in Britain, Australia, and the United States in order to analyze how reformers conceptualized the sexual child within their calls for wider social reform and to illuminate the contradictions and ambivalence underlying their agenda for social change. Social purity advocates forwarded the goal of "enlightened innocence" as a key achievement in their quest to save children from a corrupt future. The production of enlightened innocence required the end of sexual ignorance in children and a program to control unrestrained sexual impulses through the imposition of moral suasion and rational will. However, as we will

illustrate, the construction of enlightened innocence demanded the bifurcation of childhood into innocence and corruption. Within purity reform the corrupt or sexual child helps to legitimate and justify the movement and serves as the rationale for transmitting its vision to the society more broadly.

Our analysis of the social hygiene movement in the Anglophone West is the focus of chapter three. Here the locus of concern surrounding the child and its sexuality moves from a predominately individualistic, moral, and familial endeavor to a "progressive" and public normalizing project—one that sought to create and reproduce acceptable gender characteristics and reproductive heterosexual marriage in the child. In our analysis we shed light on how the discourse of sexual hygiene advocated a particular vision of the future of the race and sought to habituate the sexual instincts of the child as the means through which to promote the health of future generations and society.

Chapter four examines the emergence of sexology as a scientific project and the ways in which the rationale for this new discipline contributed to the construction of a "new normality." Sexologists like their social purity and especially hygienist counterparts were trained as physicians; however, their use of methods and the intentions that guided their work were strikingly different. The scientists of sex were committed not to moral reform but to the production of categories of knowledge about the manifestations of the sexual impulse. We illustrate that with one notable exception, the sexual child was not the primary focus in sexology, but that in seeking to explore the erotic biographies of adults within, and especially outside, clinical consulting rooms, it uncovered forgotten voices of the sexual child. The data included in the writings of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sexologists vividly demonstrated not only that children had active and consciously sought sexual lives, but also were capable of love, erotic imagination, and even fetishism.

Chapter five analyzes how Freud's theories of infantile sexuality transformed the conceptual landscape of ideas on the child and its sexuality in modernity. We demonstrate that while Freud's claims for the sexual child were provocative in his insistence that *all* children were inherently sexual and pleasure seeking, the radical potential of his thinking on infantile sexuality was derailed by his turn toward the Oedipus complex, identification, and castration. By constructing the child's sexual development as a barometer of heteronormative progression, we illustrate how Freud's later work reproduces the normalization of adult development through the constriction and normalization of childhood sexuality.

Chapter six analyzes child-rearing materials produced during the interwar years to examine how the issue of the sexual child moved from the domain of the experts into the sitting rooms of parents. Exploring manuals produced for parents that reflected the prevailing contemporary influences of Freudian psychoanalysis and Watsonian behaviorism, we examine how the "sexual interest and experiences" of the child were recast in a positive light in one sense while highlighting the limitations and contradictions within the "sex-positive" child-rearing advice. For example, although parents were taught to avoid repressing childish sexual interest at all costs, they were also advised to exercise control over certain sexual manifestations. Chapter six illustrates the recurrence of themes across our larger story: the recognition of the sexual instinct; a claim for expertise to legitimate entry into the domain of childhood sexuality,[16] and the underlying conviction that the sexual instinct of the child requires supervision and regulation.

Our final chapter summarizes the continuities and discontinuities of the various discourses that comprise this text. Providing a theoretical synthesis of the past, we conclude that while the content of discussions about childhood sexuality may have changed, the form of disquiet and ambivalence about the sexual child remains largely unchanged. With this in mind, we offer a proposal for an alternative framework for conceptualizing childhood sexuality in the future. Forwarding the theory of recognition, we provide an ordering of priorities for this endeavor. We suggest that the positive recognition of the rights of the child to sexual subjectivity gives a more inclusive basis for conceptualizing their sexual agency (and its perceived social impact) within our contemporary culture.

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER ONE

Constructing the Modern Sexual Child

Introduction

> He that attentively considers the state of a child, at his first coming into the world, will have little reason to think him stored with plenty of ideas, that are to be the matter of his future knowledge. It is by degrees he comes to be furnished with them.
>
> John Locke (1692)

As historians from Philippe Aries (1962) onward have illustrated, around 300 years ago the child began to be conceptualized as distinct from the adult. Drawing on diaries, works of art, and family histories, historians have elucidated the change in affective responses to, and connection between, adult and child, especially in the family setting within these epochs (Hendrick 2003; Davin 1996; Pollack 1983; Stone 1977; McFarlane 1977; Shorter 1975; DeMause 1974; Aries 1962). Intellectually, socially, and morally the child was characterized as an "adult-in-development." The emergence of this new category of personhood—the child—hierarchically ordered the relationship between adults and children, rendering the distinction absolute at the level of the physiological, the emotional, and the intellectual. One aspect that remains largely unexplored by historians of childhood is the construction of the sexual subjectivity of the "to-be-adult." This omission by historians from an otherwise detailed program of pedagogy and development that began with the work of John Locke (1689) is particularly noteworthy if one considers how rapidly the figure of the masturbating

child became a central focus in the management of populations during the nineteenth century (Foucault 1984).

This chapter examines two distinct discourses: eighteenth-century Enlightenment's sensationism and nineteenth-century masturbation phobia. Illuminating the underlying assumptions of the Enlightenment sensationists who offered the first justification for the training of the child and the explanatory framework produced by nineteenth-century medical practitioners in their treatments for masturbation highlights the connections and departures between these two conflicting views of the child and its body. Exploring the naturalized assumptions about the child, variously characterized as a potential "servant of the devil;" an *enfant sauvage* who represents all that is authentically human; the instinct driven "white sheet"; or as the inhabitant of a body highly susceptible to physical compulsions provides the ground upon which to examine the distinctive features and underlying shared assumptions at work within these conceptions of the child.

While at first glance these disparate characterizations appear to have little in common, and in many cases seem to be in outright contradiction, they all contain an acknowledgment, however inadvertently, of the sexual subjectivity of the child. These constructions of the child rely upon and reproduce particular beliefs about the connection between the body and the mind. As a result, they have implications for questions of control and compulsion as well as innocence and corruption raised within the discourses themselves. Moreover, each recognizes the significance of the child for the present and future, and each relegates one aspect of the child's humanity—their sexuality—to the margins of significance or of normality.[1]

Our analysis contrasts two distinct manifestations that are emblematic of the era within which these ideas of the child and its body emerged. The first, sensationism, reflects the optimism of the Enlightenment belief that humans, properly educated, would take their rightful place as the "masters" of the natural world. Such a view took for granted that education was both possible and desirable, and that the child "to-be-educated" was malleable, biddable, and essentially "good." Nevertheless, such optimism was tempered by fears about the negative impact of civilization on this innate goodness; the adult in training must be properly protected from bad influences. The preoccupations of the nineteenth century reversed these normative ideas. For the Anglophone world during this period was characterized more by anxiety than hope as the impact of urbanization, secularization,

and industrialization began to be reflected in epidemic disease, demographic imbalance, and social unrest (Kumar 1978). In response, attention focused on the deployment of scientific methods to identify and moderate social phenomena that were considered pathological. The rapid increase in medical knowledge and empowerment of the medical profession were central dynamics in this ideological shift that deflected attention away from the pedagogic training of child and toward the control of its unruly body.

Tracing the distinct features of each discourse to explore their connections, this chapter offers a window onto how certain qualities of the child were identified as present, absent, normalized, or pathologized as well as how these apparently contradictory qualities could coexist. In so doing, we provide the conceptual background against which we develop our account of the sexual child in modernity.

The Nature of the Child and the Child of Nature: John Locke and the "Camelion"

> Thus this child passed, in absolute solitude, almost seven years out of twelve, which appeared to be his age when he was caught in the woods of Caune. It is therefore probable, and almost certain, that he had been abandoned when he was about four or five years old; and if, at that period, he had already obtained some ideas, and the knowledge of some words, as the beginning of education, these would have been obliterated from his memory in consequence of his isolated situation.
>
> Jean Itard (1801)

So wrote the late eighteenth-century French physician and educationalist Jean Itard, on a topic that was both fascinating and controversial in his time. The study of wild children demonstrated the "trainability" of the human mind and the extent to which its educability declined as the child grew older. Given that such children had survived and aged (if not developed intellectually) in an environment devoid of human contact, they offered a baseline for theorizing the acquisition of other human characteristics, such as affect and empathy. As such, the phenomenon "turned wild children (and children in general) into privileged objects of knowledge and intervention" (Benzaquén 2006b, 110).

Figure 1.1 Paul and Virginie. The image depicts the title children in a classic eighteenth-century account of the child in nature and nature in the child. The book was first published in 1788 and was instantly a bestseller. This depiction, drawn for the U.S. publishers by the early nineteenth-century English steel engraver Thomas Phillibrown, depicts Paul and Virginie in the island paradise they shared as children. Before adolescence, they were parted because their mothers were concerned about the feelings they had developed for each other. Virginie was sent to England to be educated as a lady, and returning home to the island, still yearning for her child lover, she was drowned at sea in a storm. Saint-Pierre, Bernardin de. 1851. *Paul et Virginie*, iii. New York: D. Appleton.

Historian Adriana Benzaquén's parenthetical comment suggests a sociological explanation for the interest in wild children—one that went beyond curiosity or voyeurism. Children who survived without the guidance of adults or socializing influences of any sort offered living examples of the child "in a state of nature" thereby offering an opportunity to render the incomprehensible child comprehensible.

As Roger Cox (1996) has pointed out, the fascination with all children in this period was intensified by the "rupturing of theological and teleological certainties" (48). In the context of such uncertainties, new normalizing categories would offer an empirical understanding of what distinguishes humans from animals and civilized humans from those considered uncivilized.[2] Children provided one means by which this could be established. The role of children in these questions was central—both in terms of their relationship to adults and in terms of their perceived innate tendencies and potentialities.

Premodern historians have offered evidence for the emotional bonds between and positive valuation of Puritan children by their parents (Graham 2003; Pollock 1983; McFarlane 1977). Nevertheless, the same children were also viewed with ambivalence within the faith. For example, Cotton Mather, the prominent New England Puritan cleric, in his 1631 text *Corderius Americanus*, insisted, "a child no sooner begins to do any thing rational, but Satan begins to show it how to do something that is criminal" (1631/1828, 11). The Puritan child was neither inherently evil nor inherently good, yet it possessed the capacity to respond to outside influences for good or ill. Behind this familiar idea about the vulnerable child is another not so clearly articulated: namely, that the child *may choose* to be either "rational" or "criminal"—that is, it had agency. There is a sense of this in Mather's work as he continues,

> children, this is your dawning time.—It may be your dying time.—It is now upon computation found that more than half of the children of men die before they come to be seventeen years of age. And needs any more be said for your awakening to learn the Holy Scriptures. (16)

The child, however young, was handed the responsibility for its own salvation, in keeping with the individualist basis of Puritanism, and later, of Protestantism.[3]

This mixture of the active and passive qualities ascribed to childhood lies at the center of the pedagogic theory of English philosopher John Locke, who was himself brought up in the Puritan faith.[4] But what Locke added to the initial contributions to an empirical psychology was the *quality* of the child's receptiveness (Lowe 2005). As Locke (1961) questioned, "let us suppose the mind to be, as we say, white paper void of all characters, without any ideas. How comes it to be furnished" (77)? Locke's response begins with his assertion that children do not possess any inherent preconceived ideas or *moral* principles.

Instead Locke insisted upon the necessity of physical sensation (actual engagement with the material world) for the accumulation of knowledge, for it is only "when he first has any sensation" that "a man begins to have any ideas" (23). This process must begin from early childhood, for it is through external sensual input that the child gradually developed its capacity for reasoning and understanding. The connection between mind and body was the dynamic of a moral order, one that must be imposed upon the child if it were to develop fully as an adult. Sensations were not the end-product but the raw material of thought and, through this, the means for the attainment of reason.

The conviction that the child had no inherent ideas but must learn through sensual experience was tempered in its optimism by the possibility that this process might be distorted if unsupervised by adults. In *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1693), Locke emphasizes: "I imagine the Minds of Children as easily turn'd This or That way, as Water it self: And Though this be the principle Part, and our main care should be about the Inside, yet the Clay- Cottage is not to be neglected" (1799, xviii). Here Locke acknowledges the importance of guidance of the mind and the *body* (the clay cottage) of the child; nevertheless it is the mind that offers the means by which to engage with the material world. We are all, Locke says, "camelions" in this regard,

> children (nay, and men too) do most by example. We are all a sort of camelions, that still take a tincture from things near us; nor is it to be wonder'd at in children, who better understand what they see than what they hear. (75)

Children lacked inherent moral guidelines, for as camelions they were equally susceptible to all outside influences. It is here that we find the justification for monitoring the process of an education through the senses. The child must not be protected from sensual stimulation but be guided to seek *proper* stimulation. As English scholar Margaret Ezell reminds us, "Locke does not lament the slate being used, only what is written there" (149).

Guidance must not restrict the creativity of the child, only the choices it might make. As Locke (1799) elucidated, "they must not be hinder'd from being children, or from playing, or doing as children, but from doing ill; all other liberty is to be allow'd them" (76). Nonetheless, even in the company of peers the guiding adult must be ever present; introducing the growing child prematurely to the company of its peers is risky.[5]

> if you will venture him abroad in the herd, and trust to chance or his own inclination for the choice of his company at school. By what fate Vice has so thriven amongst us these years past, and by what hands it has been nurs'd up into so uncontroul'd a dominion, I shall leave to others to enquire. (83)

Home tutoring was considered the most reliable means by which to develop a child's capacity to counteract the negative influences the growing young person will encounter (81). But the home was not entirely safe either: the "furnishing of the mind" should take place away from the influence of servants who will corrupt it by exposure to excess and gluttony. The contrast was drawn between the world outside and the restricted range of experience that will avoid such corruption. Locke is clear that the potential for vice is not just inherent in the child, it is also found in wider society. As he warns, "vice, if we may believe the general complaint, ripens so fast now-a-days, and runs up to seed to early in young people, that it is impossible to keep a lad from the spreading contagion" (83).

Locke's whole essay is a recognition of the distinctiveness of the child from the adult; of its delicate and malleable nature and its susceptibility to influences both good and bad. Locke is equally emphatic about the role of the parent in the care of the child: of careful observation that is directive and firm without being violent or cruel. His characterization of the child is primarily optimistic, but Locke is nevertheless clear that though educable, the child is not capable of distinguishing desirable from undesirable sensory inputs, and, therefore, remains in a state of vulnerability and in need of adult supervision. This liability is underpinned by his claim for the primacy of the senses, sensationism, for it was this theory that underpinned both the child's education and the possibility of its corruption.

Learning through the Senses

> Let us consider a child when at liberty and far from the eye of its master … A stranger to thought or reflection, he acts without reason, treads with indifference through all the paths of pleasure; obeys all the impressions of exterior objects; amuses himself like a young animal, in running and bodily exercise; all his action or motions are without order or design.
>
> George-Louis Leclerc Comte de Buffon (1792)

The work of the eighteenth-century biologist and naturalist Georges Buffon typified sensationism. In his 1749 work on natural history, Buffon argued that the child, like the animal, is driven to act by its senses, of which smell is the most primeval (26). The senses offered the means by which the child learned, through experience and reexperience, to make associations between inputs, to distinguish pleasure from pain (at all levels of intensity) and by these means to develop reason. But Buffon was less than confident that such a process would be successful. In this text he argues that man is composed of two conflicting forces: reason and passion. The sensations associated with passion are less reliable and more difficult to control. What Buffon calls "the animal principle"—the passions to which the child is subject from its birth—"begin to act as soon as the body is capable of feeling pain or pleasure" (56). As the child grows and develops, the two sovereign powers of human nature are in conflict with one another. If the child were left in the condition in which it remained driven by its senses, it would become a slave to its passions and pursue a life of self-indulgent misery. Moreover, as the child matured, "the material principle [bodily sensuality] has more power than ever, for it not only effaces reason, but perverts it and uses it to its own gratification" (60). Buffon's work was widely circulated and was very popular: it was, as philosopher and zoologist Ernst Mayr (1982) points out, read by almost all educated Europeans of his time (101).

In 1754, Etienne Bonnet, Abbe de Condillac used the metaphor of a statue to illustrate the means by which the child learned from sensory experience. Though alive, the statue was prevented from experiencing any sensation because of its marble exterior. Condillac further developed the implications of this metaphor by awakening the statue's senses beginning with smell and ending in touch. As each sensation was experienced for the first time, the memory of its encounter remained, to be drawn upon on subsequent exposure. The comparison of these sequential events became the foundation for both understanding and reason that together constituted the inner self. What was missing in these primeval senses was a perception of the self in the outer world. For this the sense of touch is necessary. It was only through touch that the statue (and all growing humans) acquired an understanding of the distinction between self and the external world of material things and people. In his 1754 *Treatise on the Sensations*, Condillac argued that from its birth, nature offers the child knowledge of its body through the sensations it experiences. As Condillac (1754) illustrates, "the first discovery a child makes of its body" is not "strictly speaking the child who makes the discovery but nature which reveals it all complete" (82).

It is only through the senses, and especially the sense of touch, that the child becomes aware of its body as distinct from other bodies. It is also through touch that the child experiences primal sensations of pleasure and pain. Through its "instinctive quest" to experience pleasurable and avoid painful sensations, the child will eventually develop a moral sensibility. The capacity for such distinction is marked by the child replacing a simple pursuit of pleasure (which unchecked would become unreasoned passions) with the pain associated with regretted excess (Condillac 1754, 245). Passions, unchecked, "can destroy the capacity to deliberate, and therefore [the capacity] to choose to act or not to act" (246). Condillac's metaphor of the statue could be read as an analogy of the child; throughout the text he reinforces his abstract argument by using examples of the child as it develops.

Sensationists like Buffon and Condillac identified the process by which the sensual was linked with the rational. Despite their emphasis on the connections between sensory experience and rational thought, there were, nevertheless, some evident misgivings. For example, why if the child was an exemplar of nature could it not be trusted to raise itself? Moreover, why were mothers and other women in general cast under suspicion?[6] The work of Locke, Buffon, and Condillac all identified the need for an *external* guiding force to monitor and direct the balance between passion and reason. In Condillac's work, especially, can be seen the links with Rousseau's pedagogical model,[7] one that had been described by Historian Larry Wolff (1998) as a "pedagogy of nature" (387).

Rousseau's *Emile* and the Perils of Civilization

> Eighteenth century education, Rousseau argues, makes children into parrots who repeat what they do not understand, or into monsters who turn into premature, hypocritical sages, skilled at parading their learning but badly crippled by a pedagogy that has given them a permanent distaste for the things that matter and false standards they will not escape as long as they live.
>
> Peter Gay (1969)

Rousseau's work is on the one hand a heartfelt recommendation for education and on the other a sustained criticism of civilization.[8] There is no tension, however, in this formulation. Behind *Emile* is the echo of Rousseau's political claims about freedom and enslavement. He begins

by making the direct claim that society "enslaves men," offering an example, taken from Buffon, of the experience of infants who are swaddled from birth.[9] Successful child rearing must follow the patterns of nature, not those of civilized society.[10] In contrast to his contemporaries, Rousseau declares his intention to speak directly to those whom nature had designated the "gardeners" of children—mothers. Likewise, the goodness of natural instincts is positively evaluated against those of civilization, a contrast evidenced in his distinction between peasants and "savages." The former, he says, blindly follow the orders of others; in them, obedience has replaced reason (Rousseau 2007, 92). Savages on the other hand epitomize freedom and individual choice, but this freedom is limited to the narrow confines of survival. The savage "knows no law but his own will, and is therefore forced to reason at every step he takes" (92). Rousseau (1938) equated children with savages, for he agreed with Locke, Buffon, and Condillac that the infant is born "devoid of understanding and will" and is driven at first only by its senses (28).[11]

Children who were prevented from direct engagement with their senses were dull and enslaved; conversely those who were allowed to explore their physical and sensual worlds will establish fully functional reason. Although he equated children's potentialities with those of savages, Rousseau (2007) was not advocating that the modern child should remain in this condition. Such a circumstance was impossible in the modern world, which demanded "the man must be educated for social life" (311). This for Rousseau was the only true education, one that he proposed for *Emile* and for the future charges of his intended readers.

Toward the end of his text, Rousseau returns to the theory of sensationism to develop and justify some misgivings about the consequences of free exposure of the senses. He says no one experiences innate desire; desire for physical pleasure only results from sensual input. Once a pleasurable stimulation has been experienced, the memory is stored and a level of expectation and responsiveness is attained. As Rousseau (2007) theorizes,

> The memory of things we have observed, the ideas we have acquired, follow us into retirement and people it, against our will, with images more seductive than the things themselves, and this makes solitude as fatal to those who bring such ideas with them as it is wholesome for those who have never left it. (311)

The experiences of childhood extended beyond the acquisition of reason. Offering an example of other, less noble sensations, Rousseau

(1938) warns, "the most dangerous period in human life lies between birth and the age of twelve" for the child is exposed to "errors and vice" before he has developed the reason to counteract them (57).

Education for the earliest years "should be negative, it consists not in teaching virtue or truth, but in preserving the heart from vice and from the spirit of error" (Rousseau 2007, 66). The child's mind should be left free from stimulation and images that it lacks the faculties to properly interpret. However, once the child reached twelve years of age, they no longer needed to be protected from society or kept in ignorance. But nor can they be left to half-truths. There is a contradiction within Rousseau that appears irresolvable. Reason requires experience to develop, but experience cannot be allowed before reason develops; otherwise the child (and its reason) will be lost. Once again, the only solution is adult supervision, in this case, exercised away from the corrupting influences of modern life.[12] The aim is to develop a "sixth sense," one that is distinct from the childish "reasoning of the senses" and replaced by "reasoning of the intellect" in which only the mind and ideas, as opposed to the body and the senses, is involved (132).

What is the significance of these philosophical writings for the construction of the sexual child? The striking thing about the writings of those involved in the "making of the modern child" was how little direct attention was paid to its sexuality, despite the emphasis on sensationism and the dangers of civilization. We acknowledge, of course, that the term sexuality had no meaning in the eighteenth century. However, within what was said about the need to impose reason over passions, little direct mention was made of the perils of *sexual* behavior for the child's individual development or for the implications this may have had for the "social good."

Nevertheless, this evocative material from two centuries ago offers more subtle insights into the construction of the modern sexual child. First, there is a clear distinction made between adult and child, one that was acknowledged as politically and socially important. Second, the child was understood as in need of proper training to avoid undesirable outcomes. Third, the child was unequivocally a sensual child, and here sensuality was acknowledged as not just present but necessarily so for the attainment of reason and self-control. This same sensuality could lead to the development of bad habits, acquired not as a consequence of "original sin" and, therefore, inherent, but from unwanted outside influences. The centrality of the child in these pedagogic and philosophic discourses, and the focus on its susceptibility to both good and bad influences, contributed to the inclusion of the child in the growing

phenomenon of masturbation phobia as it would erupt in full force in the nineteenth century.

The Masturbating Child in the Nineteenth Century

> It were well if the child's reproductive organs always remained in a quiescent state till puberty. This is unfortunately not the case.
>
> William Acton (1865)

The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century identification of masturbation (onanism) as dangerous to individual and social health has been well documented by historians of sexuality who have catalogued and critically examined the way in which an individual sexual practice became a significant medical and social problem.[13] The public and professional response to this has been termed "masturbation phobia," a social and historical phenomenon characterized by the scientific certainty that masturbation led inevitably to physical degeneration and mental derangement. An instructive starting point for understanding the rapid onset and intensity of masturbation phobia is the more generalized concern about the behavior and distribution of the population and its effects upon a new social order (Barker-Benfield 1996, 330). As Foucault and others have identified, modernity was characterized by a growing urgency to manage populations, especially in the intersection between public health and social order (Mort 2000; Turner 1996; Foucault 1984). At a more micro level, and emerging within modern medical knowledge, the physical body was reconstructed as an entity inherently predisposed to disruption rather than balance. Within this changing epistemology, the practice of masturbation served as a vector for a secular problematization of the sexual body and the establishment of the medical profession as arbiters of both "normality" and the treatment required to maintain this state.

Why was the child such a prominent figure in these discourses? It is certainly the case, as Foucault indicated in 1984, that the masturbating child was a "subject of power" in the management of populations. In addition, there was, from the beginnings of masturbation phobia, a clear recognition that the child was as equally susceptible to compulsive masturbation as the adult. We have already seen that the eighteenth-century child was understood as lacking in reason, and thence in self-control over what was increasingly being conceptualized as an irrational entity—the body. In equal turn, for nineteenth-century

medical writers, masturbation phobia underscored the urgency to manage young bodies that were simultaneously most at risk and more tractable in their practices. Nevertheless, the links between the relatively new historical recognition of the distinctive child and its role in masturbation phobia have not been critically examined.

Foucault (2003) claimed that in the eighteenth century a patient "had the possibility of being one's own physician," a situation that allowed, even depended upon, the active engagement of the embodied subject (40). In the nineteenth century the possibility of such direct engagement was gradually replaced by a new understanding of the relationship between that self and the body that was founded on a notion of the latter as a machine rather than the housing for a sentient being. Accordingly, nineteenth-century doctors focused on function and physiology in a material and observable sense, rather than at the level of abstraction and theory. The earlier view that the human body (mirroring the natural world) was subject to an internalized order was replaced by a new authority that devised for the body a "medical bipolarity of the normal and the pathological" (40). In the light of such understanding, self-control and self-regulation seemed no longer a viable possibility.[14]

Within such a paradigm, a physiological response that was understood to be engendered independently of conscious thought offered fertile ground for enhancing status in a profession that was newly acquiring its social power. As medical historian Frederick Hodges (2005) suggests

> [masturbation] provided a convincing scientific explanation for all those pathological afflictions whose cause had previously gone unexplained. It also provided a prophylactic behavioral model for the prevention of disease. (6–7)

Moreover, the binary of "the normal" or "pathological" body encouraged an equally inflexible causal relationship between practice and outcome. For masturbation phobia included in its purview the phenomenon of masturbatory insanity (Hare 1962). In this somatic focus of disease and treatment, diseases of the mind were derivative from, rather than the causal link with, compulsive uses of the body.

The high profile of masturbation in medical writing was also a vector in the growing tensions between the "quack" practitioners and trained physicians as medical knowledge and power began to coalesce (Porter 1995, 45–59). Seen as "illiterate empirics," "unscrupulous pretenders," and "extortionate rogues" who excited unnecessary mental anxiety, these entrepreneurs goaded medically qualified specialists who had

formerly been reluctant to involve themselves in the indelicate topic of autoeroticism (La'Mert 1860, Preface; Bartholow 1871, iv; Beale 1887, 36; Courtenay 1878, 85ff.).[15]

The nineteenth-century sources suggest that the emergence of the disease model can be identified from around the third or fourth decade.[16] Prior to this, for example, German physician Christian Struve[17] (1802) preserved the eighteenth-century argument that "nature is the safest guide of man: her voice is paramount and prior to any document" (377). There is no statement, in this text, that the body poses a problem in its own right. Struve's emphasis is closer to that of Rousseau, speaking to mothers about their "sacred duty" of child rearing and especially of "training the passions between the ages of three to six years" (380). In contrast, but within the same twelve months, Samuel Solomon (1802), a self-published English writer on self-help, warned of a six-year-old compulsive masturbator that "his rage for this act was so great that he could not be restrained from it the very last day of his life" (185). This comment is much closer in tone to those found in the early eighteenth-century anonymous tract *Onania or, the Heinous Crime of Self-Pollution* that has been identified with the promotion of patented "cures" rather than orthodox medicine (Porter and Hall 1995; Anonymous 1704).

The continued interweaving of the body of the child into masturbation phobia paralleled the more general intensification of concerns and the resultant extremes of medical treatment as the nineteenth century progressed. Thus, from around the 1830s medical tracts for educated readers focused more specifically on direct intervention to prevent and cure the damaging physical and mental effects of what was now called masturbation. Leopold Deslandes, a member of the Royal Academy of Medicine in Paris, wrote a treatise on "excessive venery," including but not restricted to masturbation, which was translated into English in 1838. Reviewed as an important addition to professional literature, this text offered examples of and prescribed treatment for a range of physical and mental consequences of excessive coitus and masturbation (Bell 1839, 146). Cases included both children and adults and treatments ranged from the topical (application of iced water) to the more extreme surgical interventions. As Deslandes recounted,

> Mademoiselle C★★★, ten years old and of strong constitution and good muscular development had been addicted to onanism since she was two years old. She was taught by her nurse, who remarked that she was quieted, when crying, by titillating the clitoris. (191)

The child's subsequent addiction was cured by a "perfectly successful" clitoridectomy (ibid.).[18]

Physicians and quacks alike identified the particular urgency around the body of the child. Attention focused specifically on the dangers of external stimuli to the body that would inevitably prevail, regardless of the disposition or will of the child. As American physician Louis Kahn (1870) warned, "there are thousands among the youth of both sexes—ingenious, docile, diligent and tractable—who either from example or accident have thus learned this vice" (35;[19] see also, La'Mert 1860). Irritation by infection, tight clothing, or even excessive heat would be sufficient to ignite a physical compulsion. "Everything that causes erections promotes onanism," German pediatrician Alfred Vogel cautioned in the first English translation of his 1869 textbook *A Practical Treatise on the Diseases of Children*. Intestinal worms, feather beds, and too much meat in the diet were all also to be avoided.

Concerns were expressed about deliberate human intervention from older boys at boarding schools, the second home for the sons of the now ascendant middle class. Such interference could not be tolerated, nor could the perpetrator be educated out of such engagement. As Vogel (1869) remarked, "it is of greatest importance that as few boys as possible know about this vice; the speedy dismissal of the masturbator is the best remedy against its spreading" (462). Age was no barrier to the susceptibility of the childish body. As one mid-nineteenth-century cautionary pamphlet against masturbation insists,

> nurses have been known, by their manipulation, to excite this propensity in infants. A little boy, only eighteen months old, who had been put out to nurse, returned home with a habit of masturbation. (Unauthored pamphlet 1843)

The association between the stimulated body and sensual addiction allows us to make sense of the gender neutrality of this discourse. The focus of masturbation phobia is on the threat posed by the body for the moral health of the child—these ideas are conveyed in the language of danger and of contagion a "medical-moral" pairing that Mort (2000) so clearly identified in the more generalized engagement of the medical profession with public health in this period.[20]

Notwithstanding the more measured tones of an established medical figure, the English physician and surgeon William Acton (1883) identified multiple causes for the premature excitation of what he terms the sexual instinct of children, one of which is hereditary predisposition.

Acton "firmly believes that moral as well as physical tendencies and irregularities can be transmitted to progeny" (4). To this end, he attaches more significance to external stimulation from benign and not so benign sources. The work of French physician Claude Francois Lallemand[21] that was widely circulated throughout nineteenth-century Europe offered case study support for Acton's view and provided vivid examples of the gulf between stimulated body and self-control (Darby 2005, 63). The extent to which external stimulus was unavoidable, and otherwise benign behavior was pathologized in masturbation phobia is demonstrated in the example of a seven-year-old boy given to sleeping on his stomach, "the genital organs were heated during sleep and the penis became erect, although the boy did not present the least sign of puberty" (Lallemand 1858, 135). Lallemand offers another example of an infant being genitally stimulated by his nurse in an effort to calm him.[22] The nurse was subsequently dismissed because "her presence alone sufficed to recall to the child's memory sensations which had already become a habit" (140). Whether accidental or deliberate, the outcome was invariably the same, for even if "the first impression was, … quite instinctive and accidental, … the habit was soon confirmed into an irresistible pattern" (135). He recounts a series of examples of children (aged from six to twelve years) in whom the discovery of masturbation accidentally or through peer example predestined them to the terrible consequences of spermatorrhoea. The same consequences inevitably followed a condition as benign as poor genital hygiene or intestinal worms. The body, characterized in this medical language as being truly unstable, was perpetually susceptible to inflammatory touch.

William Acton (1865) added another layer of anxiety to these escalating concerns when he warned that "preventative treatment would itself excite sexual desires" (8). Nonetheless, the risk was worth it. For leaving the child in ignorance to scratch at irritated genitals would do more to encourage masturbation than could preventative measures such as washing with cold water (ibid.).[23] For prominent American physician William Humboldt Parker (1881), girls were especially susceptible, "little female infants of tender years [produce] lascivious emotions by giving themselves up to furious masturbation" (78). Male or female, the child's body is characterized as passive and at all times able to be aroused. The debilitating compulsive result often had a fatal outcome, as Lallemand (1858) noted, "examples of such termination are so well-known that I forebear to quote them" (158). No child, however young, was, in principle, excepted from this fate. Parker (1881) was especially

The great tall tailor always comes
To boys and girls who suck their thumbs;
And ere they dream what he's about,
He takes his great sharp scissors out
And cuts their thumbs clean off—and then,
You know, they never grow again."
Mamma had scarcely turn'd her back,
The thumb was in, Alack! Alack!
The door flew open, in he ran,
The great, long-legged scissor-man.

Figure 1.2 Suck a Thumb. In 1845 the focus on social behavior was illustrated in a child's book, *Struwwelpeter,* that comprised gruesomely illustrated accounts of the terrible consequences of childish disobedience to adult authority. Each cautionary tale was correlated with a misuse of the body—cleanliness, personal hygiene, gluttony, and an early recognition of what in 1879 was to be identified by the German pediatrician Lindner as "pleasure sucking" (Gillis, 1996, 57). Credit: George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida Digital Collections; http/www.uflib.ufl.edu/ufdc.

concerned with the young, "the practice of solitary vice—the bane of future life—exists at all ages, from infancy upwards, *but chiefly among children and youth"* (77 emphasis in the original).

Some of our sources identify the rare possibility of an inherent disposition to endogenous sexualization. Acton (1858) offers examples of precociously sexual children with no evidence of any external seduction or initiation; nevertheless such cases are at odds with his supposition that children are normatively asexual before puberty (157). Parker (1881) also claims somewhat ambiguously that "causes predisposing to masturbation exist within the human organization itself," even though members of the medical profession (especially those who were "common medical attendants") continued to be ignorant of this fact (79, 84). More frequently, sexual interactions between adult servants and

children were readily acknowledged as sources of the acquired compulsion.[24] The most perilous influence, for Parker, was to be found in interactions between younger and older children, especially in schools. The underlying assumptions reflected in this fear, and their implications for our account, is discussed in detail in the following chapter on the social purity movement.

Given this focus on the compulsive body, it would be neither logical nor rational to *educate* the child out of masturbation. Likewise, the success of individual education was at odds with the vision of the body as a machine comprised of functions to be corrected. To this end, the treatment proposed within masturbation phobia reflected and perpetuated the view that the body was rendered unstable and perilous by its "excitability."[25] The terms under which the disease was constructed left only two choices. Since conscious control could neither be exercised nor acquired, the only recourse was physical constraint or making the genital area so painful that the compulsion to touch would be arrested. In 1897, American pediatrician and physician Emmett Holt (1897) wrote,

> The kind of restraint which is necessary . . . will depend upon the manner of masturbating. If by the hands, these must be tied during sleep, so that the child cannot reach the genitals; if by thigh friction, the thighs must be separated by tying one to each side of the crib. In inveterate cases a double side splint, such as is used in fracture of the femur may be applied. Corporal punishment is often useful in very small children. (698)

Other methods included application of leeches, neck constraints, straightjackets; full body plasters; administration of opium; electrical shocks to the clitoris and vaginal suppositories of cocaine.

American psychiatrist Rene Spitz (1952) found that between 1850 and 1879 treatments employed to "cure" masturbation included clitoridectomy, blistering of thighs and genitals, infibulation of the labia majora, urethral cautery, and circumcision without anesthetic (502). Children whose parents refused permission for these "procedures" were encased instead in restraints. American historian Ronald Hamowy (1977) identified a "girdle of chastity" invented by a Scottish surgeon in 1848. Composed of "an ivory and bone grate" that was strapped to the genitals and secured "by means of belts to a pair of tight fitting drawers and secured by a padlock, a secret flap being made so as to close over the keyhole, such devices were used by parents in Europe

and the United States" (241; see also Carter 1983, 191; Hodges 2005, 210; Darby 2005).[26]

Conclusion

What do these seemingly contradictory paradigms, which took place over the course of two centuries, contribute to the modern construction of the sexual child? On the one hand there is the eighteenth-century theory of sensationism that championed the positive and necessary relationship between a stimulation of the senses, the acquisition of reason, and ultimately self-control in the developing child. On the other the normative ideas forwarded by nineteenth-century physicians on the body were a stark contrast and direct contradiction of sensationist ideals. The eighteenth-century dynamic of sensation and reason was replaced by the nineteenth-century binary of normality and pathology. Accordingly, pedagogy, both formal and informal, was rendered logically and practically irrelevant. Instead, masturbation phobia both reflected and intensified the construction of the body, and especially that of the child, as an entity *sui generis*—possessing capacities and potentialities independent of human volition.[27]

It is possible to identify some common and some divergent elements in the construction of the sexual child across the two centuries. The first commonality is the identification of the child as especially vulnerable to external stimulus, rendering it a necessity to at least observe and guide; or at most physically confine the child—interposing a barrier between its body and the outside world. The second lies in the recognition of a sensibility; a potential (both constructive and destructive) that demanded and legitimated surveillance of, and intrusion into, the space between the child and its physical environment. The third, though implicit rather than explicit in the nineteenth century, was the acknowledgment of a form of childish subjectivity. In the eighteenth century this was manifest in the notion that for the child to acquire reason it must translate sensual input into subjective experience. Subjectivity was, in this sense, constructed as a desirable and productive condition. The same subjectivity had equal centrality in the nineteenth century but this time it was rendered pathological in masturbation phobia. In both centuries, though, from within different normative frameworks, there is a prioritization of "stimulus and response." In both it is this unconscious "sensibility" of the body that is the source of concern.

However, here the implications of the discourses for modern interpretations diverge. We suggest that the positive potentialities of the eighteenth-century sensationism were occluded by the dominance of modern medical knowledge and the mechanistic model of the body. For the element that was antithetical to this model was the possibility of an endogenous sexual sensibility in the child. The only characterization possible within the medical model was that of a precocious adult aberration. This outcome was itself supported by the focus on exogenous stimulus of the unconsciously responsive body. The danger of such external stimulus that logically follows this construction is that of a compulsion.

In the construction of the modern sexual child, it is the *body* of the child that is identified as the vector—in the predominant nineteenth-century account, there is no place for the child as an active *agent*. At least, this is the appearance. But behind this mechanized model of the body there is a lingering presence manifested though not articulated through the prominence of the figure of the masturbating child. Evidence was interpreted to illustrate that the body of the child was particularly unstable and almost by definition, to be a child was to be, at least potentially, "ill." Any sign that the child was actively pursuing these autoerotic stimulations was proof that the damage had already been done. The narrowness of the conceptualization of the "diagnosis and cure" so evident in masturbation phobia tacitly acknowledges an unaddressed possibility; that the child *does* possess a sexual subjectivity that cannot be acknowledged. This mixture of conscious volition and of impulse was especially unnerving in the prevailing characterization of the child as the unformed adult—devoid of reason and susceptible to moral distortion. We argue that the intersection of childhood pedagogy and the material understanding of the volatile sexual body shaped the dominant ideological framework for the sexual child as it was emerging in modernity. In perpetuating these unresolved contradictions, the sexual propensities of "the modern child" were entrenched as unstable and as necessitating ongoing attention.

In the following two chapters, we examine the continuity and contradictions between the conceptions of the child's body outlined in this chapter and their realization within two reform movements also concerned with the sexual child taking place at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century—The social purity movement and the campaign for sexual hygiene.

CHAPTER TWO

The Sexual Child and the Social Purity Movement

Introduction

> The majority of girls are brought up in entire ignorance of all matters connected with sex. It is the parent's boast that they are perfectly "innocent," by which is meant that they know none of the facts of the genesis of life, and are totally unwarned against the dangers which may assail them at any moment. Nothing could be better fitted for the purpose of the seducer, and the innocence which is supposed to throw a halo of purity round the girl is sometimes the instrument of her ruin.
>
> Richard Arthur (1896)

At the turn of the twentieth century, Richard Arthur penned several pamphlets warning Australians about the dangers of sexual vice. In his work as a social reformer and later as the Minister of Health, Arthur forwarded the cause of social purity by illustrating the risk and consequence of venereal disease and sexual intemperance in the lives of small children. In his lectures to parents and youth, Arthur (1896) cautioned that childhood innocence, if not protected and reinforced by an education in purity, was vulnerable to those "who impart the knowledge [of sex] in a prurient and objectionable manner" (7). Examining Arthur's text offers a window onto the often vague and ambivalent nature of the sexual child not only in his work, but also within social purity narratives more generally. As we will illustrate, the epistemological assumptions of the child and its sexuality within the purity movement were

markedly different from the medical treatises on masturbation phobia written during the same epoch.

Emerging in the middle of the nineteenth century, social purity reformers crafted their literature on social and cultural reform in the midst of "masturbation phobia" (Darby 2005, 4). Purity advocates rejected the mechanistic theories of and treatment for masturbation espoused by the nineteenth-century physicians discussed in the previous chapter. However, what they shared with the medics who perpetuated masturbation phobia was a concern for the dangerous impacts of masturbatory activities. For members of the social purity movement, the damage posed by such solitary pleasures were both individual and social—they endangered the child as well as the moral fabric of society at large. As a rescue and reform movement dedicated to saving children from a corrupt future, social purity advocated "enlightened innocence" and the end of sexual ignorance as a primary goal of their movement. An education in purity offered techniques to quell unrestrained sexual impulses through the imposition of moral suasion and rational will.

Innocence, within social purity discourses, was assumed to be an inherent quality of childhood as well as a virtue that must be taught. It was, in effect, there and not there—present and absent. A chameleon-like figure, the child shifted between a sentimental figure in need of protection to an object of suspicion and sexual prurience in need of control. As the works of James Kincaid, Gary Cross, and Philip Jenkins note, the connection between childhood and innocence has been a facet, and most often a paradoxical one, in discourses on the child since the modern inception of childhood (Cross 2004; Jenkins 2004; Kincaid 1998, 1992). However, it is the manner with which purity campaigners deployed *sexual* innocence in order to both legitimate the movement and transmit its vision into the society more broadly that marks its place within this history of ideas.[1]

Conterminous with masturbation phobia in the nineteenth century was the formation of another dominant discourse—the sentimentalization of childhood. The child, as a cultural figure, "came to be understood as primarily engaged in emotion work: requiring and expressing the family's . . . capacity for love and joy" (Sanchez-Eppler 2005, xviii). Framing the child as an idealized creature deserving of play and freedom transformed the social value of children, at least in principle, from utilitarian actors in the familial economy into primarily affective symbols (Zelizer 1985). Dominant discourses crafted the child as "special" and in need of increased affection and attention from parents, the government, and social welfare associations.

Although sentimentalization began in the bourgeois home, by the end of the nineteenth century this conception of the child and its sacrilized nature was projected onto children of the poor and working class. Given its emphasis on leisure, play, and freedom, it should come as no surprise that families who could not afford these luxuries were cast as suspicious, uncaring, and, at worst, unfit (Sanchez-Eppler 2005; Calvert 1992). As Hugh Cunningham (1991) reminds us, sentimentalization helped validate increasing surveillance of and intervention in working class and poor families by teachers, reformers, and medics under the guise of child "protection."

In their progressive campaigns against sexual vice, social purity proponents attempted to negotiate this seemingly paradoxical construction of the sentimental and sexual child within the movement—with highly contradictory results. This chapter examines materials from the social purity movement to illuminate how advocates endeavored to resolve the problem of "the sexual child" in order to render childhood innocence and the correct training of the sexual instinct credible within social purity narratives. Our analysis further illustrates how social purity reform bifurcated childhood into innocence/corruption in their program for social and moral change.

Purity, Familial Reform, and the Modern Condition

Early purity activists postulated that virtuous sexual behavior formed the cornerstone of all moral actions (Mort 2000; Porter and Hall 1995; Mason 1994; Pivar 1973). Unlike temperance activists, individuals involved in the social purity movement wanted to move beyond what they saw as "regressive" sexual ignorance and focus on pragmatic correctives such as sexual training and child-rearing advice. Fusing the ideas of public health with morality, campaigners joined with conservative members of the medical establishment to produce a message that equated physical and moral health to the social and cultural health of a Christian nation (Mort 2000). Attempting to "investigate sexual phenomenon in an (ideally, if not always actually) dispassionate manner using the tools of rationality," social purity reformers sought a more scientific, as opposed to a solely religious, approach (Hall 2001, 37). Ultimately, it was their hope that "sex, put under rational guidance, might well save the world" (Walters 2000, 16).[2]

Between 1860 and 1915 Social Purity Alliances flourished in Boston, New York City, London, Manchester, Sydney, Melbourne, Chicago,

and Washington DC and "grew far beyond the immediate comprehension of even its leaders" (Pivar 1973, 85). Formed from the grassroots, social purity auxiliaries blossomed in both urban and rural centers in the Anglophone West. Any group of "earnest Christian people" who realized the danger of sexual ignorance, the importance of "mental and spiritual development," and its dependence upon "a normal sex life" could create a chapter and work toward the eradication of impurity and a better future (National Christian League for the Promotion of Purity 1909, 17). The moral rhetoric of purity reform offered middle-class women a respectable and thus a socially acceptable platform for the promotion of reform both within the family and in the broader social order (Mort 2000; Hunt 1999; Warne 1999).[3] Purity campaigns provided a language and rationale for women to challenge sexual hegemony within the confines of patriarchy and to have some control over access to their bodies within the marriage bed (Hall (2001); Mason 1994). Nevertheless, it is important to note that the movement was far from monolithic in its goals and often promoted conservative agendas particularly with regard to prostitution and, as we illustrate, in their directives on moral education and child rearing (Brown 2004, 2002; Mort 2000; Hunt 1999).

Social purity sponsors were committed to the abolition of prostitution and pornography and collaborated with other groups to form organizations such as the Association for the Improvement of Public Morals and the Society for Friendless Girls in England that in 1885 boasted of 160 branches across the country; the White Cross Society of Australasia and the National Christian League for the Promotion of Purity in the United States (Bartley 1999; Mahood 1995).[4] Influential and prolific, purity reformers crafted pamphlets, edited journals, and authored books espousing their cause and were successful in lobbying law makers and shaping public policy in all three countries. Reformers believed that the abolition of prostitution would help forward the cause of all women nationally and internationally (van der Veen 1898). Organizations such as the National Social Purity Crusade (1908, 1910) in England vowed to purge London of sexual vice and prostitution in an attempt to create a more wholesome and moral urban center for women and children. Purity campaigners also joined forces with other progressive feminist organizations to demand an increase in the age of consent and to promote "responsible fatherhood" in Britain, Australia, and the United States (Driscoll 2006; Hunt 1999; Warne 1999; Walkowitz 1992; Burnham 1973). As the public support for the abolition of

prostitution waned, purity advocates redirected their efforts to an area they believed would offer fertile ground for planting the seeds of social and moral transformation—children.[5]

The teaching of proper child rearing in order to curb sexual vice and moral turpitude in the future became a central platform of purity reform (Swain, Warne, and Hillel 2004; Darby 2005; Warne 1999; Porter and Hall 1995; Pivar 1973; Boyer 1968). The introduction of "child-rearing instruction" into "the mother's meeting" transformed the movement's previous focus from the eradication of prostitution "into a positive and attractive reform [program] and allowed social purity to gain wide support" (Pivar 1973, 85). To this end, social purity advocates worked to secure national redemption and normalize sexual behavior through moral education programs. Purity activists believed they could assure a virtuous future if they could guarantee the protection of children (Schwartz 2000). Curbing the autoerotic activities of children was an important step toward the realization of this agenda (Darby 2005). Foregrounding "prevention" as a primary goal, campaigners asserted that "the time had ceased when there is any safety for parents or children in the quiet serenity of ignorance" and urgently declared that curbing social impurity required "the need of increased reverence and practical knowledge of the sex life and its relationship to every human interest" (National Christian League for the Promotion of Purity 1909, 17; Olson 1913).

Employing Christian theological tenets of sexual asceticism and contemporary scientific discourses on heredity, purity campaigners produced a highly ambivalent narrative on childhood sexuality. On one hand, children could be educated away from sexual deviance and thus sexuality was seen as highly mutable. On the other hand, sexual curiosity, if left to its own devices, could create prurient thoughts and as a result sexually precocious actions. Since the "sexual instinct is second" only to self-preservation, its sway was deeply influential on the life of the individual (Lind 1916, 1). While the sexual instinct was deemed "natural" by most purity activists—its status as *naturally correct* (and thus normal) was guaranteed only after the intervention and guiding hand that an education in purity provided.

Richard Arthur in *The Training of Children in Purity* articulated the pliability of the sexual instinct, stating that parents could inculcate purity over passion in their children (191/). Once ignited by prurient thoughts or images, the sexual instinct is both dangerous and unwieldy—"you cannot play with fire without the risk of getting burned" (1900, 21). The moral education social purity promoted would give boys and girls

the power to place nature under rational constraint and impede the sex instinct from "blindly and impetuously [seeking] its [own] gratification" thereby equipping the child for "the battle before him" (191/, 17). Under proper guidance, the sexual instinct would progress easily toward its socially acceptable outcome by prompting men and women "to reproduce their kind, and thus ensure the continuance of the race" (1903, 1).

In her *Counsel to Parents on the Moral Education of Their Children in Relation to Sex* Elizabeth Blackwell (1884), the first female physician in the United States, argues that "emotion can act where Will is powerless, but a strong Will, also can acquire a remarkable power over the body" (15). To this end, the rational mind could direct or redirect any part of the body (Blackwell 1891).[6] However, once the sexual instinct was "inordinately excited, or improperly restrained by the Will, [the body would] at once call into play respondent movements, which are then to be regarded as purely automatic" (1884, 16). The "undue predominance" of the sexual instinct was, according to Blackwell, present and in need of restraint in the "early life of the child" (13). The sexual instinct was seen as pliable; however, once ignited it was also seemingly out of control. For campaigners such as Blackwell, an education in purity was, at least in principle, the method through which this tension could be resolved. In her directives to parents, she advised against panic because, "self control can be taught" at an early age (Blackwell 1884, 64). Self-restraint is

> a principle which grows by exercise. The more the brain asserts its power of Will over the automatic actions of the body, the stronger may become the control of reason over sensations and instincts. (64)

If parental instruction was neglected and other influences allowed to prevail, corruption and vice were the result. Given the potential of either the triumph of rational will or an inordinately excited instinct, the foregrounding of pedagogical possibilities in order to normalize the sex instinct makes sense. To this end, purity reformers worked to expunge deviant influences from the child's environment.

Purity reformers identified the "great mass of the urban working-class as a major cultural threat" to the child as well as to society at large (Mort 2000, 47). Employing a rationale of environmental causality, purity discourses conceptualized vice as the result of contagion within the life of the child (Mort 2000; Jordan 1987; Gorham 1982). Girls raised by prostitutes were believed to "catch" the deviance of

their mothers, which produced defiant and bawdy behavior such as "going to theaters, dancing, flirting with boys, keeping late hours and associating with other girls of questionable reputation" in the future (Mahood 1995, 23). The threat of moral pollution was not, however, only a working-class condition. A disruptive and "ill-ordered domesticity" was thought to lead to bad mothering in all the social classes and "could, it was believed, take many damaging forms, all of which might lead to sexual stimulation" (Gorham 1982, 55).[7] The catalytic potential for deviance in the lives of boys and girls demanded intervention and social transformation. Theories of transmission stressed the need for the creation of a separate sphere for the child, apart from the concerns, desires, and dangers found in the adult domain. If the construction of a moral sphere within the home was impossible, many reformers felt it would be best to remove a child altogether.

The menace of environmental contagion extended beyond the boundaries of the family to the broader social order.[8] Societal influence was thought to be particularly perilous for children who lived within the confines of the city. The omnipresent danger of a corrupt culture and the overabundance of "licentious" individuals produced an atmosphere that parents needed to constantly combat. Henry Varley (1884) in his *Private Address to Boys* cautioned that society was "honey-combed" with immoral and prurient influences that were particularly dangerous to children (1). Unlike the strict social norms that governed rural living, modern society imparted "no fixed standard of right or wrong, in relation to sex" (Blackwell 1884, 32). American physician and purity reformer Samuel Gregory (1848) lamented that the sexual instinct "appears two or three years earlier in the city than in the country; and four years younger, there, than nature ever designed" (56). Josephine Butler (1879) further cautioned that "licentiousness blasted the souls and bodies" of women and children living in cities every day due to overabundance of corrupt, immoral, and dangerous individuals (12). Contemporary urban environments were considered a hot-bed "for all the passions; ripening all the powers too early, and causing [the child's] decay proportionally early" (Gregory 1848, 56). Professor D. A. Welsh (1917) articulated similar worries in his lecture on "The Massacre of the Innocents." For Welsh, the innocence and virtue of children was far from assured; as such, "a sane and wholesome public opinion" had to "be the first condition of any social reform" (1).

Modernization and the breaking down of traditional norms and mechanisms of social control signalled a significant turning point for purity reformers—urban populations could either fall deeper into vice

or undergo a conversion of moral conscience. In this regard, urbanization offered a unique condition for reform: a captive audience; thus cities provided a fertile site for the evolution and growth of the movement. The modern condition occupied a double role within purity narratives; it was conceptualized as the problem while at the same time it offered the potential for sweeping moral transformation. The body of the child became a central theme within purity discourses because of the symbolic resonance it offered. A signifier of the complex and contradictory aspects of the modern condition—the child was thought to be both full of potential vice as well as a site of transformation and hope for the future. As a result, the child functioned as a metaphor for modernity itself and its outcome became the barometer of the movement's success or failure.

Protecting Innocence and the Pedagogy of Purity

By the early 1870s, instruction on the pedagogy of children's purity proliferated in publications for bourgeois mothers and children in the United States, England, and Australia. During the mid- to late Victorian period, motherhood came under the scrutiny of experts in domestic management and child rearing; the social purity movement was one among attempting to training women to be better mothers (Gorham 1982). Many proponents of the purity movement like the sexual hygienists and developmental theorists we discuss in the following chapters, constructed motherhood as a skill to be taught rather than an innate form of knowledge. While extolling the centrality of a mother's role in the instillation of moral education, purity pamphlets were also clear that the guidance provided by the movement was crucial for achieving their pedagogical task. In their calls for corrective education, social purity discourses highlighted the need to protect children against the debasement of the "pure feelings of uncorrupted childhood" (Woodward 1856, 16). Dr. Samuel Gregory (1848) advised parents:

> A better means of discouraging the passions is the cultivation of the intellectual faculties. Great advantage would result to a young girl from the study of history, geography; and the various branches of natural history,—pursuits which at once dissipate the passions, and are useful to rural economy and many of the arts of industry. (51)

Extolling their abilities to create healthy and vice-free sons and daughters, child-rearing manuals offered mothers techniques for promoting the social and moral well-being of their children.[9] Moreover, purity literature forwarded the rhetoric of civilized motherhood and parental protection to justify the broaching of such topics by mothers within the home.

Blackwell (1884), in her moral instruction on sex, represented a mother's knowledge of physiology and the sexual instinct as a mark of a civilized society. Maternal directives would help secure "the gradual growth of intelligent self control in the young life of sex" (13). Blackwell (1902) later noted that an intelligent and civilized mother recognized the importance of her moral responsibility by "educating the sentiment of sex in girls into a controlling force" thereby helping to rid society of a future class of "outcast" women (282). More than any other bodily instinct in the life of the child, pedagogical training in the domain of sex was essential because "more care [was] needed to secure healthy, strengthening influences, for the early life of sex" (1884, 18). Unlike prostitutes or other socially marginalized women who were "both eroticized and condemned as immoral pollutants" by purity reformers, girls trained in the pedagogy of purity were inspired by virtue, not vice (Mort 2000, 47).

Constructing mothers as the voice of sexual education and moral suasion within the home, Welsh (1917) argued against maternal prudery. Illustrating the dangers of maternal timidity and instilled ignorance, Welsh postulated that

> In many minds innocence is confused with ignorance, when in reality the two conditions are opposed. Innocence is an asset to be treasured; ignorance is a liability to be discharged. It is always possible to enlighten innocence without destroying it. Indeed the innocence of ignorance is a fragile structure, whereas enlightened innocence is a tower of strength. (9)

Social purity literature emphasized a mother's moral duty to talk to their children about sex. If left ignorant in the home children would seek an education in the street. In their agenda to foster sound sexual education, the social purity movement recast childhood innocence by uncoupling it from sexual ignorance. Ignorance was considered dangerous due to its unguided and incendiary potential. Within purity reform, the child could be both sexually educated and sexually innocent

simultaneously—the result of which was, as Welsh noted, "enlightened innocence" (ibid.).

Admonished for failing to prepare their children on how to face and conquer sexual temptation, parents were instructed to provide sound and clear advice on sex. As Arthur (1903) reprimanded in *The Choice between Purity and Impurity*,

> the proper use of this [erotic] force, which is intended to conserve the strength and wealth of the whole life, should be unknown because a false modesty [that] keeps back instruction is simply deplorable. This knowledge is as necessary and essential to a boy as cleanliness, exercise, restraint, training, or any other element in a sound education. (8–9)

Parental discomfort directly contributed to "the iniquity which [was] undermining the moral and physical well being" of the nation (9). While sex might be uncomfortable to discuss, purity advocates argued that the consequences of childhood sexual ignorance were far worse—thousands of children would "[perish] for lack of knowledge and warning" (9). The parents' task was clear: either dissuade impurity through sex instruction or place the child in danger by condoning masturbation through silence and inaction.

Purity campaigner and physician Joseph Howe argued in his 1887 *Excessive Venery, Masturbation and Continence* that mothers should provide

> A gradual and systematic formation of correct ideas and habits, [which] should be fostered as the growth of the boy or girl progresses. And the various steps should be taken with due regard to the mental or physical development of the child, and necessarily must be varied to suit this or that particular case. The education should neither be superficial, nor hurried. (20)

Similarly, Gregory (1848) postulated that the manner of maternal instruction should "be easy, kind, and frank; not cold, moralizing, or morose" (48). Arthur similarly advised mothers against the "indirect" teaching of sex through the use of botanical metaphors; instead

> the mother should go on to explain the sacred and tender relationship between [mother and child]—how at one time his life was enclosed in hers, and he was nourished and developed by her life

> blood and how at last, when all was prepared that he could live his own life, he came into the world at the cost of much suffering and danger to his mother. (191/, 9)

British reformer and feminist Ellice Hopkins (1884) further warned that if mothers fell short in this domain, "a great deal more filthy and indecent play among our girls and boys" was bound to take place (5).[10] Maternal attitudes were a crucial element in the eradication of ignorance and in the cultivation of enlightened innocence.

Ellen White (1897) counseled mothers on the importance of curbing masturbation through the use of social control within the home. Because "the young indulge in this vice well before puberty" and once undertaken self-pollution would lay waste to the "vital forces debilitating the system," parents needed to be ever watchful and vigilant if they wanted to protect their children (15). "Godly mothers" could save their children by suppressing their inclinations to divulge in this "pernicious habit" (13). A cautioning gaze in combination with moral instruction from the mother, particularly for girls, would provide the path to purity. Promoting such training hampered the sexuality of the child by suppressing it to the service of a higher power—moral will. Effective maternal pedagogy would shield her child from the damaging effects of self-pollution in the present as well as in the future. The educability of the sexual instinct within purity pamphlets powerfully illustrates the extent to which their conception of the body differed from that of masturbation phobia. With the correct training, the body could be brought under the control by the mother's instruction and later still by the child's rational will.

British cleric, Reverend Edward Lyttelton (1900) employed a similar logic in his directives to parents on the destructive path awaiting boys left ignorant of, and thus vulnerable to, the ravages of sexual vice (15). Without the protection afforded by parental instruction on purity, masturbation would become "the one absorbing and uncontrollable passion of life" (15). According to Lyttelton, precocious sexuality in boyhood led many men in their later life toward "the support of prostitution" and excessive "fornication" (15). Both motherhood and childhood are denaturalized within the discourse of social purity, and both required expert intervention—a recurring theme, as we illuminate, in most of the advice on the sexual child taking place at the turn of the century. Sound maternal instruction for purity reformers was no more intrinsic to women than purity and self-control was for the child.

The Ubiquity of Vice and the Production of Innocence

Offering his prognosis on the ever-present peril of solitary pleasures in the life of the child, physician and purity campaigner Joseph Howe (1887) warned that "masturbation is a universal vice in civilized countries" (62). "Savage populations," Howe contended, were not subject to the same "social law[s]" as the "civilized" that "prevent them from following the dictates of their lower nature" and demand prolonged abstinence (62). Free to engage in unrestricted intercourse, "savages" had "no need for masturbatory activity" (62). Within modern society however autoerotic activity among children was naturalized and taken for granted; as Howe maintains, children "commence the habit at a very early age" (64).[11]

In his treatise on *The Plain Facts of Sex*, Physician and purity advocate John Harvey Kellogg (1877) warned parents that if they were to ask

> any discreet, watchful and observing male or female teacher of any one of the primary schools in town or country, and you will be told that the practice of self abuse is next to universal in children; that it is practiced by girls as well as boys; [and] that children before they reach the age of five years practice it. (206)

Dr. G. R. Calhoun (1858) formed a similar diagnosis writing that "the effects of this horrible vice are more pernicious the earlier it is practiced" and that it was known "to tender childhood, before the true sexual passion itself has been developed" (5). These contentions highlight the unresolved relationship between the child and civilization within the social purity movement at the turn of the century. The fight against childhood masturbation functioned symbolically within purity discourses as a signifier of hope and menace. For example, it was the child's social condition as well as their sexual instinct that predisposed them to solitary sexual activity. Similarly, civilization also provided the rational tools and means by which to train nature and the sexual instinct. Modern society simultaneously offered the promise of redemption and the peril of unrelenting vice and thus was conceptualized as both the problem and the cure.

While purity campaigners espoused that training in purity would curb masturbatory activity, a contradiction plagued most purity literature—the seduction of "filthy" and "indecent play" seemed to be winning in the battle against vice. Given the tone of this literature one

might assume that children were always already on the verge of masturbation making enlightened innocence and the training of instinct a conceptual impossibility. The extent to which masturbation could be detoured, much less "cured," is deeply contradictory in the literature produced by purity reformers. The ambivalent nature of the sexual child (as educable and as autoerotic) within reform materials renders the endeavors of the purity movement inherently unstable at best. However, purity activists writing on masturbation also insisted, as Arthur (1903) did, that "the essential difference between the boy [or girl] and the man [or woman] consists in this—that the boy [or girl] is, truly speaking, a sexless being" (1). According to Arthur,

> The boy knows nothing of this instinct, which is well; and I believe that most lads would not be disturbed by the vague stirrings of the sex sense, were it not that in many of them it is precociously developed by a constant turning of the attention to sex matters, and a pruriency of imagination, which some wise and judicious teaching at an earlier age would have prevented. (4)

Blackwell (1902) espoused an analogous argument stating that the essential elements "which give such mighty stimulus in the adult are entirely latent in the child" (41). This contradiction illuminates an irresolvable tension underpinning the social purity movement—a controlled and thus dormant sexual instinct in the child placed alongside an equally unquenchable and unyielding sexual instinct that is ungovernable and dangerous. The incongruity of the present and absent nature of childhood sexuality is not a problem unique to purity reform—it is a tension that underlies this entire history of ideas, albeit in different ways. However, given the focus of this chapter, the question becomes how did reformers resolve this paradoxical construction in their advice to parents?

Purity campaigners constructed a category against which their definition of enlightened innocence could be juxtaposed and defined. As a result, the sexuality of the child was made intelligible in a divided manner—*as present in some and absent in most*. Pure children were assumed to be de facto asexual. However, if sexual curiosity or worse still precocious activity was present in a formerly innocent child, its manifestation was the result of a deviant outside influence. Sexual innocence was assured because its lack was found in another—the corrupt companion.

The Polluting Force

Henry Varley (1884) in his *Address to Young Boys* states that the only way to avoid a moral crisis wherein all boys "as early as seven years of age" would masturbate was to keep them away from the "corrupting influence of fellow classmates" (5). Disreputable companions, according to Varley, catalyzed deviance by providing instruction on sexual vice, in the "dark recesses of the school yard" (5). "Bad girls" were as commonplace as "bad boys," so parents were instructed to be equally vigilant in the protection of their sons and daughters. According to Australian activist W. A. T. Lind (1916), knowing companions were usually poor, "sexually precocious and have acquired some viciousness through having been corrupted" by another child who is usually a "little older" (4). "Incurable" and contagious, one bad companion could "corrupt a whole school of boys or a whole neighborhood of playfellows, by teaching them sexual stories and sexual acts he knows" (4). Once sexual awakening began, it was seemingly impossible to restrain.

Parents were counseled on the importance of supervising their child's companions in order to understand "the character that will be exerted" through their influence (Blackwell 1902, 273). In *Essays in Medical Sociology*, Blackwell stressed that parents should, whenever possible, "exercise influence over [companion] choice, without interfering with the freedom of the child" (273). Anyone with an "acknowledged licentious life" should be barred from the home due to the hazardous consequences of such acquaintances who, according to Blackwell, were "even more dreaded for sons than for daughters" (285).

Childhood innocence, if not protected by parents and reinforced by an education in purity, was vulnerable to those "who impart the knowledge [of sex] in a prurient and objectionable manner" (Arthur 1896, 7). Most often corrupt instruction was learned from other children in predominantly child-only spaces such as the back alley, school yard, or public park. As Kellogg warns in his *Plain Facts about Sexual Life* (1877),

> at school a new danger arises to children from corrupt communication of companions, or in the boy from an intense desire to become a man, with a false idea of what manliness means. The brain, precociously stimulated in one direction, receives fresh impulse from evil companionship and evil literature, and even hitherto innocent children of ten are drawn into temptation. (41)

These lessons were particularly dangerous because once the seeds of sexual corruption were "sown in the child's mind" the effects would persist throughout life (Arthur 1896, 7). As evidenced in the instructions offered by Blackwell, Lind, Varley, and Kellogg, childhood sexuality was conceptualized as both a social phenomena in that it was created in the relationships between children and solitary in that the act was practiced alone.

Howe (1887) in his research on the etiology of masturbation featured a case study from an anonymous schoolmaster who illustrated the necessity of vigilance in the task of guarding against corrupt influences. The need for surveillance was constant because "in spite of the assumed ignorance of the practice, masturbation and other vices may spread widely through the school unless careful supervision be [*sic*] employed" (Quoted in ibid., 25–26). Later, in the same essay, the schoolmaster was further quoted as saying,

> Without some such auxiliary, the efforts of the best-intentioned master to prevent the practices, with their demoralizing accompaniments and consequences, will be almost powerless. How diffused secret wickedness may become in schools appears every now and then in scandals so dreadful that the natural tendency of all concerned is to hush them up and forget them as soon as possible. Indeed, it is impossible not to sympathize with the feeling that to be obliged seriously to doubt as to the manliness and, in a rough way, of the purity of our large schools, would be a great calamity. (Quoted in ibid., 26)

Peril lurked in every school yard, street alley, dormitory, and bedroom and, therefore, it was the duty of every parent, teacher, and schoolmaster to enforce the edicts of purity and health (ibid.).

The Corrupt Companion as Pedagogue

The corrupt companion was the antagonist of the purity reformers narrative, their sexual precocity a contagion penetrating the barriers of idealized innocence. Dangerous and duplicitous, all children needed to be watched in order to prevent the spread of the sexual child's knowing influence. Catalyzing the sexual imagination of the child, the sexual and corrupt companion fostered prurient thoughts that later promoted precocious sexual action. The perilous quality of the corrupt companion was their *knowledge* of sex and their ability as pedagogues to

effectively transmit their *knowingness* to others. Corrupt children taught a corrupt, distorted, and unregulated *idea* of sex—and in so doing provided a warped form of sex education that triggered the body and its instincts. The danger of the knowing child was his or her ability to *channel* the imagination of other children into the realm of the sexual. Sexual thoughts could break the forces that repressed instinct, and to this end, knowingness in children promoted the "undue prominence of [the sexual] instinct" (Blackwell 1884, 16).

While the imagination, for many reformers in the nineteenth century, was emblematic of new childhood freedoms, the potential autonomy of a child's imagination also created a new form of anxiety—imagination gone awry. Imagination, for purity reformers, was dangerous and could easily morph from innocent concerns to sexual curiosity and thence to sexual expression—particularly when a child's imagination was stimulated by the persuasion of others. As we discussed earlier, the influence of the mind over the body was a central epistemological tenet of purity reform. To this end, purity reformers believed that rational will could provide a barrier to unrestrained instinct. However, the power of moral suasion and rational will was belied in discussions of corrupt companionship. A corrupt sexual education was particularly dangerous and deeply influential in its ability to fracture the rational and moral boundaries created by purity instruction.

The sexually corrupting child functioned as a twofold figure within purity discourses: as the one who corrupts idealized innocence and as the one who makes it tenable in the first place. The sexual child reinforced the boundaries of enlightened innocence because it was the outcome and category against which innocence and purity was defined. Although purity campaigners portrayed masturbation as ubiquitous, enlightened innocence was both plausible and possible because the child who masturbated was an *other* child—knowing, corrupt, and thoroughly corporeal. Operating as the scapegoat against which innocence was defined and defended, the sexually corrupt child made enlightened innocence plausible. Threatening the sanctity of purity, the body of the sexual child offered a figure to fight against, a menace that could be assessed and contained. The knowing child provided the ground upon which innocence was built and produced and was the precondition for its very intelligibility.

How do purity reformers attempt to resolve this threat given the dominant cultural construction of childhood as both sentimental and sacred? The sexual child, within purity narratives, also relied upon a second social construction that made it more palatable—the working-class

family as dirty, bawdy, and sexually suspect (Mort 2000; Luker 1998; Cunningham 1991; Pivar 1973). "Immorality signified all the practices of working-class life leading to ungovernable and disruptive behavior" sexual or otherwise within environmental reform discourses taking place during the late nineteenth century (Mort 2000, 37). The working-class child was equated with sexuality and sexual corruption for the primarily upper middle-class producers of purity narratives and the primarily middle-class consumers of their literature. Although social class is deployed within purity narratives, examining anxieties espoused about the frequency of masturbation taking place in the schools, renders visible the porous boundaries of class within purity missives because poor children were all too often missing from such environments. Given the propensity of autoerotic activities taking place within "the school yard," middle-class children were subject to corruption and were potentially corrupting others as well. In this sense, social class functions as a metaphor within the discourse rather than material reality. The sexual child further renders visible the fragile nature of sentimentality within purity discourses on childhood sexuality.

Conclusion

Anthropologist Mary Douglas (1966) argues that cultural concerns expressed about the body and its potential pollution often symbolize much larger cultural taboos and anxieties. A site of transference and displaced anxiety, the body becomes an object of scrutiny because it is something that can be seemingly managed, unlike larger cultural transformations that are most often beyond an individual's control. A similar logic is at work within the social purity movement. The discursive production of the dual persona of the child allowed purity reformers to transfer their anxieties and hopes about the modern urban condition onto something else—the body of the child and its imagination. The child and its sexuality occupied a deeply ambivalent and ultimately paradoxical position within purity reform literature. The child became a metaphorical repository for the anxiety reformers felt about the societal costs and moral dangers of urban living; as well as a site of potential management that could be controlled, shaped, and trained thereby shifting uncertainty and concern into something else, a pure and civilized future.

Purity discourses also offered a rational, and seemingly attainable, course of action—with correct instruction and protection from "unsuitable" environments, parents could ensure that children would

grow into morally sound and physically healthy adults. Malleable and thus ultimately manageable, sexual instinct could be trained and controlled and, therefore, sexual imagination and sexual interest could be domesticated and made docile. Such claims were, however, in direct conflict with fears over the ostensibly ubiquitous nature of autoerotic activity among children.

The discursive production of the sexual or knowing child, within purity literature, was an attempt to disentangle the ambivalent construction of childhood sexuality within the social purity movement (as well as a reflection of larger cultural anxieties about modern urban living). Purity reformers endeavored to resolve these paradoxical positions by making the sexually knowing child a scapegoat. Associated with incendiary knowledge and the spurring of the sexual imagination, the sexual child fostered sexual vice and moral pollution in urban spaces away from the prying eyes of adults. Although the training in purity could serve as a deterrent for the presexual children, the knowing child, due to its unrestrained instinct and sexual imagination, was beyond moral intervention. The central tenet of the social purity movement, the training in purity, depended on the proliferation of the sexual child. Social purity produced prurience in order to protect innocence. This construction of the sexual child, taken to its logical end, provides the conceptual foreshadowing of the social hygiene movement, the topic of our next chapter, which sought to transform the working class through hygienic instruction, sex training, and habituation.

CHAPTER THREE

Sexual Hygiene and the Habituation of Childhood Sexuality

Introduction

> They must have both their own natures and the conditions of the environment explained and interpreted to them in the light of all that we have discovered of successful sex life in order that they, in turn, may use their sexual and other qualities to advantage. This adequate sex-social education is our best chance to help children solve from the inside the problems of their own lives as they arise.
>
> Thomas W. Galloway (1924)

In his role as the director of the Sex Education Program for the American Social Hygiene Association, Thomas Galloway illuminated the gravity of sex instruction for teachers and other professionals in his 1924 text *Sex and Social Health*. An education in hygiene, due to its ability to shape and train the sexual impulse, supplied a threefold promise: perfection in the individual, the family, and the race. Distancing himself from earlier sexual reform movements, Galloway argued that science would provide a rational prophylaxis against the "misuses" of sex that resulted in "bodily disease and death, personal unhappiness and torture of the mind" as well as "disintegration of individual character, and in social distrust and decay" (126).[1] For Galloway, the aspirations of sexual hygiene could be realized through the body of the child trained in a frank and scientific "sex-social education," because such instruction would create an "understanding of society" in the child, "so that certain favored forms of conduct and qualities [would] be strengthened

and made habitual" (127). More generally, social hygiene transformed the locus of concern surrounding the child and its sexuality from a predominately individualistic, moral, and familial endeavor (as was the case in the social purity movement) to a "progressive" and public normalizing project. The concept of "normal" being deployed by this discourse was a definitively narrow and constricted one, as the movement sought to create and reproduce acceptable gender characteristics and reproductive monogamy in the child. This transition in approach was fostered through the legitimacy of medical expertise, the advancement of childhood as a "community" problem in need of a scientific cure, and their reliance on and contribution to the scientific examination of sexuality that took place at the turn of the century.

Sexual hygiene's mission to "adjust" the child's sexuality in order to ensure its healthy "relationship to [the] community" and its commitment to "the responsibilities and obligations" of adulthood has strong connections to the medico-moral project of social purity, albeit through different methods and in less overtly moral language (Gruenberg 1948, xi). Advocates working in the sexual hygiene movement attempted to shape the sexual instinct of the child in order to deliver socially beneficial results through rational medical means (ibid.). As a result, childhood sexuality was constructed as a site in need of precautionary intervention and as a justification for wider social reform. In his writings for the United States Public Health Service, Benjamin Gruenberg argued that "the individual has always had to adjust his desire to the needs of the group" as well as society at large (ibid.). The commitment for a hygienic solution was portrayed as part and parcel of a citizen's social responsibility and affirmed their rational program as the most suitable means to attain this end. Hygiene reformers validated their *entrée* into this domain of knowledge through their training as "medical" and "scientific" experts that, ideally, provided both an accurate and objective lens. As we illustrate in the following chapters, in this respect, sexology, psychoanalysis, and theorists of child development employed similar claims of scientific legitimacy. Sexual hygiene furthered not only the normalization of the child's sexuality (a project repeated in psychoanalysis and development, although through different means), but extended their aims beyond the other discourses explored in this book with their attempts to create a predictive and pronatalist model that could ensure heterosexual marriage and fit offspring for a more eugenic future.[2]

As we discussed in chapter two, social purity campaigns sought to curb sexual vice and moral turpitude more generally through the abolition of obscene materials and the teaching of proper child-rearing practices. In this regard, purity campaigners focused their energy on the

moral education of parents. However, as public support for the overly moral tone of social purity and their calls for abstinence waned and medical treatment for social ills became more culturally palatable, social hygiene eclipsed social purity as a movement to cure the problems of prostitution, venereal disease, and degeneracy.[3] Although a complicated and, at times, conflicted relationship was initially forged between purity reformers and hygienists, the rise of medicalization in concert with increasing societal concerns over dysgenics solidified the significance and influence of social hygiene as a reform movement in the Anglophone West (Mort 2000; Hunt 1999). Sexual hygiene campaigns on prostitution and venereal disease "were exemplars of 'Progressive' social reform in the United States and 'welfarism' in Britain [and Australia]: conservative in content, cautious in spirit, and fostering directed social change from above" (Hunt 1999, 107; Anderson 2006; Wyndham 2003). As we will show, their attempts to transform and shape the sexual instinct of the child through sex-social education were no different.

Sex instruction occupied a central place within sexual hygiene's endeavors to alter the future of the nation (Mort 2000; Porter and Hall 1995; Imber 1982; Musgrave 1977).[4] Education historian Jeffrey Moran notes that sexual hygienists sought to "roll back the new culture's challenges to sexual respectability while it replaced the old enforcers of respectability with institutions more congenial to the[ir] embrace of science and bureaucratic rationality" in their efforts at curricular reform—a clearly lofty goal (Moran 1996, 492; see also Lord 2003; Irvine 2002; Rury 1987; Imber 1982). However, as the history of sexual education in Australia, England, and the United States illustrates, the influence of their work on actual school curriculum was limited at best (Warne 1999; Hall 2004; Moran 2000). Although hygienists' agenda of curricular transformation was not as successful as they initially hoped, their motivations for directing sex instruction involved a more extensive vision than our contemporary conceptualization of sex education. This chapter analyzes the ways in which the project of sexual hygiene sought to habituate the sexual child in order to create and ensure bourgeois gender norms and a reproductive heterosexual outcome. In so doing, sexual hygienists used the body of the child to validate broader intervention into working class and poor families under the guise of prevention.

Contextualizing the Movement

The social hygiene movement began in late 1890s with the rise of social and medical apprehension over the increasing rates of venereal disease

and the perceived physical weakening of British soldiers serving in the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902). The outbreak of World War I in 1914 extended the influence of sexual hygiene by fostering the creation of a "hegemonic alliance between the medical profession, the military and the state health administration" (Hunt 1999, 102). Attempting to control venereal disease and the danger of the degenerate classes, social hygiene advocated what historian Frank Mort (2000) terms a "medico-moral corrective"—of prevention and management (139). In their efforts to achieve these ends, hygienists encouraged a single sex standard for men and women; however, as feminist scholars have noted, it was working-class women employed as prostitutes, or those who were suspected of doing so, who bore the brunt of their most aggressive social and legal reform agendas (Gordon 2007; Ordover 2003; Brown and Barrett 2002; Robinson 2002; Luker 1998; Simmons 1993). As British hygienist M. E. Robinson (1911) warned, "Defectives are three times more prolific than healthy men and women, the relative decrease of whom is to-day an alarming symptom of degeneration in all civilized countries"; without intervention this problem would only "multiply" (336). Fears of an increasingly dysgenic population spread across the Atlantic and Pacific Anglophone West soon thereafter.[5]

The Ministry of Health in Britain and organizations such as Prince Morrow's Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis and the American Vigilance Association in the United States and Jessie Mary Grey's short-lived Social Hygiene Association in Australia engaged in various campaigns to address the problem; however, their ambitions and affiliations soon moved beyond the lives of military men. In their efforts to combat venereal disease and provide solutions to the increasing panic over the potential "race suicide" of white middle-class populations, sexual hygiene activists focused their attention on prostitution, the maintenance of public spaces, educational campaigns in the military, marriage counseling, and broader sex instruction (Morrow 190/). Their expanding agenda for health reform was reflected in the formation of organizations such as the British Social Hygiene Council, the Racial Hygiene Association of New South Wales, and the American Social Hygiene Association (Anderson 2003; Wyndham 2003; Lord 2003; Robinson 2002; Mort 2000; Warne 1999; Burnham 1973; Racial Hygiene Association 1899). The movement was comprised of physicians, former purity campaigners, and other feminist organizers; this combination of interested parties, all of whom had varying political and epistemological beliefs, led to tensions over both the medium as well as the message of instruction (e.g., whether the movement should support birth control). Employing

professional manuals, pamphlets, posters, and documentaries to spread their information and agenda to the general population social hygiene organizations impacted public policy and the law in all three countries (Bashford and Strange 2004; Wyndham 2003). Given their fears of dysgenics and the wide-reaching nature of their campaign as a movement aimed at social betterment; the child also became a significant site of intercession through both medical and pedagogical means.

At the turn of the twentieth century, discourses on sexuality shifted away from overtly moral tenets and environmental theories toward more medical conceptions of health and scientific efficiency. As a result, a more subtle and nuanced management of the body as both an individual and as a member of the broader population, what Foucault (1984) has termed biopower, took shape within discourses on sexuality. This transition was reflected in discourses on the sexual child within social hygiene. The body of the child and its sexuality provided a gateway for rational control and direction in the service of the health of future generations and racial betterment. Within the movement a strong corollary formed between the ontogenetic, or the health of the individual, and the phylogenic or health of the race (Mort 2000).

Through their use of neo-Lamarckian ideals and eugenics agendas, social hygiene transformed the target of social intervention from environmental or accidental concerns to the "regulation of life itself" (Mort 2000, 170).[6] Eugenic objectives replaced what was seen as an unreliable and indeed unsuccessful attempts to improve health, especially that of infants and women through manipulation of the environment with the predictability of natural selection and the "iron laws of heredity" (170).[7] The management of the sexual sensibility of the child offered a twofold benefit: it could shape the present social condition, as well as mould the future in its facilitation of a more robust and hygienic population. Although the foundations of eugenics did not completely transform discourses produced by sexual hygiene activists, its conceptualization of the child and its emphasis on racial "health" had a strong influence on the movement.

The Child in the Social Hygiene Movement

In her article "The Sex Problem" M. E. Robinson (1911) illustrates the ties between social hygiene and eugenics when she claims

> that the very use of this method will eventually make [laws restricting marriage among the unfit] unnecessary and bring

> about the perfect adaptation of sex desire and even, perhaps, of sexual power and fertility, to the social need for the renewal of population. (339)

American hygienist Harry Olsen (1913) in a speech "A Constructive Policy Whereby the Social Evil May Be Reduced" emphasized the gravity of dysgenics by offering statistics from various reformatory schools that detailed the number of "defectives" and "subnormals" in remarkable detail (5). Olsen bemoaned that as many as 33–60 percent of students would fall into this "disturbing category"—and stressed that these numbers would inevitably increase in the future (ibid). This population was dangerous because of its predisposition for crime and its reproductive propensity both of which posed "serious social consequences" (6). If the nation ignored the "metaphylaxis" or "after guarding" that sexual hygiene promoted, communities would be beset by a "circle of damage" with "stricken little ones" and other "inadequate citizens" blemished by "mental and physical deficiency" that will blight the individual, the race, and the nation (Piddington 1930, 1). Given the severity of such claims, the preventative approach advocated by sexual hygiene offered an attractive solution for many activists and law makers. Although hygiene reformers believed in racial fitness as a pathway for achieving social reformation, discussions of race, in our current use of the term, were strikingly absent in their literature on the sexual hygiene of children.[8] While the American Social Hygiene Association did create a special pamphlet for African American children, this was exceptional. Unlike other eugenic and hygiene discourses that explicitly espoused racist and nativist assumptions in their writings and social policy recommendations for adults, sexual hygiene reformers employed the language of "degeneracy" or "the poor" in narratives on children (Anderson 2006; Ordover 2003; Simmons 1993).

This silence could be read in one of two ways: either racialized, immigrant and colonized populations were understood to be part and parcel of the "degenerate" class in need of reformation; or the goals of social transformation were, due to genotypic theories of race, beyond the scope of non-White populations. Due to the lack of clarity in the sexual hygiene materials under analysis, we cannot offer a definitive answer. However, we want to point toward the long-standing association within Anglophone social reform discourses of innocence and sexual purity with White, and predominately middle-class, children as a sociohistorical context within which these materials were produced (Egan and Hawkes 2007; Anderson 2006; Hill Collins 2005; Stoler 1995; Simmons 1993).

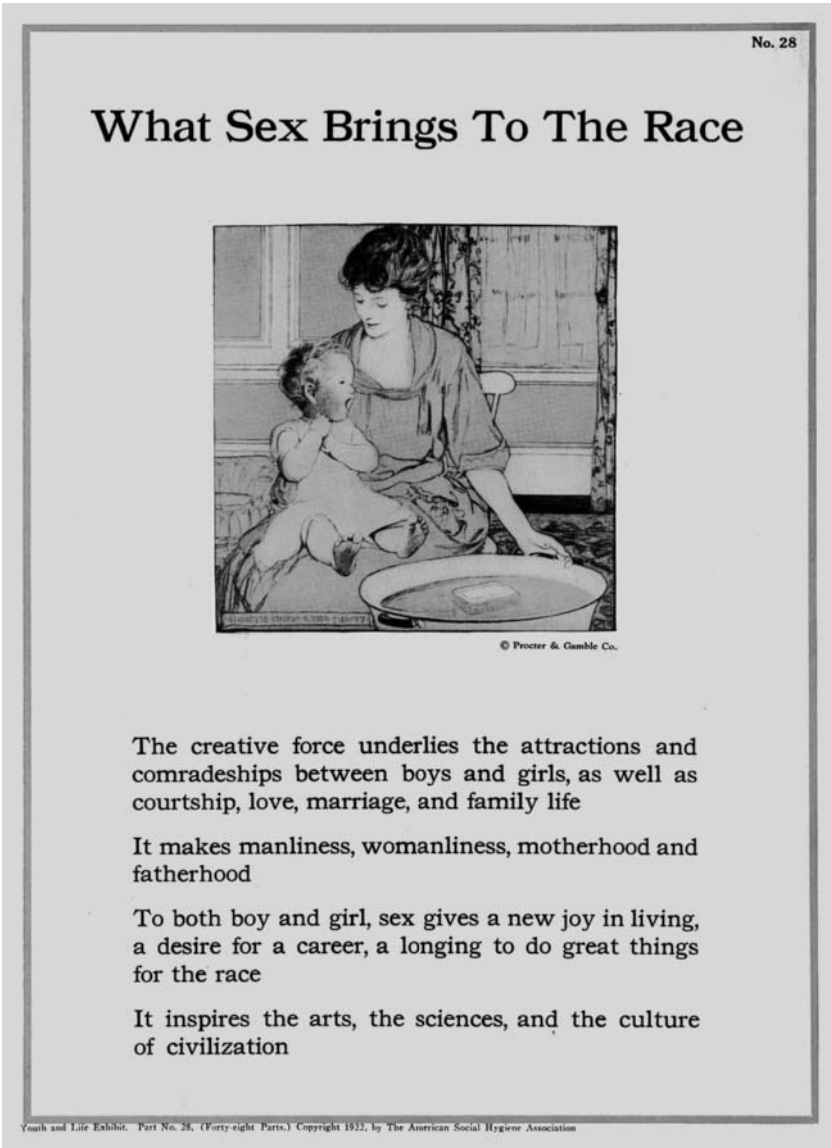


Figure 3.1 What Sex Brings to the Race. This poster from the American Social Hygiene *Youth and Life* series illuminates the connection between sexual hygiene and eugenic objectives. The ability to manage and direct sexual impulses could ensure "great things for the race." *Youth and Life Poster Series* American Social Hygiene Association. Credit: Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota.

Two dominant conceptions of the child converged in the discourse produced by sexual hygiene reformers. The first, recapitulation, posited that both the individual and species move through the same phases of evolution and thus the child reflects an earlier stage of adult evolution—the savage (Cunningham 1991). Placed alongside the recapitulated child was the second, the sentimentalized child in whom adults placed nostalgic recollections of their own past. As we discussed in the last chapter, although the "sacrilization" of childhood started as a predominately bourgeois presumption, it had extended into literature on poor children by the turn of the century (Sanchez-Eppler 2005; Zelizer 1983). While purity reformers espoused the sacred nature of childhood, their construction of sexual innocence in the end demanded the bifurcation of childhood and it was the poor, at least overtly, who were cast outside of the protected realm of sentimentalization due to their corrupting nature. In contrast, hygienists focused their attention on the children of the poor in order to predict and make predictable the future of the individual and the nation and drew on the discourse of the sentimental child and its recapitulated nature to justify its cause. Although there is divergence in the understanding of the child within both of these definitions, what should be noted is their convergence—both advance the need for safeguarding and justified social intervention into the lives of children and their surroundings through the advancement of "protection."

Endorsing the ability of science and rational empiricism to cure the ills of social evil, hygienists' aims found resonance with more sweeping reform movements in their quest to understand the life of the child through a scientific, as opposed to simply moral, framework (Mort 2000; Cunningham 1991). Social hygienists advanced the need for an empirical accounting of the life of the child. In this regard, sexual hygiene was one movement among many seeking to understand, safeguard, and govern the child.[9] However, what is unique about social hygiene was its deployment of the child and its sexuality within its narratives as well as the scope and success of its movement.

Expert Advice and Precautionary Measures

Decrying the danger of previous movements, especially purity, which they argued enshrouded sex within a "conspiracy of silence," sexual hygienists highlighted the need for sexual training in the life of the child. In his 1914 article directed toward fellow hygiene educators,

Wren Jones Grinstead expressed the objective of sex education as a frank discussion of reproduction that should happen concomitantly with training in sexual selection. Grinstead (1914) asserted that sex instruction would create a condition whereby "individual happiness and racial well-being shall be exercised under the protection of a trained capacity for judgment of sexual charms" and "that the finer graces and essential chivalry of ethics shall find a congenial soil" (250). American Thomas Parran (1937) offered a similar vision some years later, when he argued that "the right assimilation" of character in "this normal sector of life [sexuality] demands the best which science, social influence, personal inspiration, idealism, sound pedagogy and religion can do for the child" (3). Sex instruction grounded in sound science and hygienic techniques provided the tools to "assimilate" and socialize the child into a socially acceptable future. In its transmission of accurate information, sex instruction promised to eradicate any morbid preoccupation with sex in both children and youth.

The primacy placed on scientific expertise in sex instruction further authorized sexual hygiene's foray into this sensitive domain. By locating instructional capability in scientific and medical proficiency, as opposed to enlightened moral instruction, the parents' position was demoted from its former place of supremacy within the purity movement. Academic and hygiene activist Maurice Bigelow (1916) argued in a speech given to the New York City School Board that professionals, not parents, should instruct children because, "most parents lack the skill and knowledge to impart adequate and accurate information on sex subjects to their children" (A2). Thomas Balliet's (1928) counsel to educators was equally unemphatic. Because parents were unwilling and incapable of providing such instruction, all too often children learned about sex in the street instead of the home. This tainted form of sex education gave children "a wholly wrong attitude toward sex" and as a result "tempt[ed] them to go wrong" (4). According to Balliet, even the "*most stupid teacher* [trained in the science of sex hygiene] *in school could not make blunders in giving this instruction comparable in their injurious effects to the teachings in the street to which all children are exposed"* (4 emphasis in the original). Parents became a hindrance if they failed to draw on the capabilities of hygiene experts.

During the 1917 conference on "The Teaching of Sex Hygiene" in Sydney, Australia a debate broke out on whether hygienists should rely on parents for help with sex instruction. While hygienist and psychologist Tasmin H. Lovell argued that instruction should ultimately happen in the home, advocates who worked closely with parents offered a

different perspective. As one delegate, "Mrs. Street"[10] pointed out, "any of us who have talked on this matter to parents have found that they are willing that their children should be taught" but understand they possess neither "the knowledge [nor the] vocabulary" for such a task (Street quoted in Lovell 1917, 37). Nevertheless, "Mrs. Street" assured her fellow delegates, because "the children of today" will be sufficiently trained in sex hygiene, parenting in the future will have a different outcome (ibid.). However, until such a time was possible, an end point many reformers felt would not occur for at least a generation, children should receive their instruction from scientifically trained professionals. Although sexual hygiene promoted a curriculum that involved "sex" and "sex training," its project extended far beyond our contemporary use of the term sex education. An educator's job was to do what a parent could not; to this end, professionals were also encouraged to "never lose sight of the fact that [they were] doing this work in [their] relation to *vicarious parenthood*" (Hall 1916, 19–20 emphasis added).

Training Impulses and Shaping the Future

Illuminating the importance of sex education, M. E. Robinson (1911) stated that science, as a dispassionate and rational system of knowledge, avoided the "gross sensuality" of less informed types of instruction (332). Robinson assured, if sexual reproduction was "dealt with in a scientific spirit, the facts [would] arouse no more emotion than other facts in nature" (332). Distinguishing sexual hygiene from other less scientific information on sex, hygienists defended verbal instruction and objective "facts" as "indispensable" in contrast to "purity books which make the subject obtrusive" (ibid.). Until society replaced its shame and ignorance with rational and scientific fact, Robinson warned, "the selection of stocks and regulation of population which would eradicate them from the body politic [would] be impossible" (339). The task of sex education was both informational and directive in its charge. Sex instruction should train children and youth in the government of their "sex impulse as to give" them "the satisfaction of a rich expression of [their] own personality" as well as provide "outlets that do not bring [them] into serious conflicts with social standards" (Edison 1935, 362).

Thomas Balliet (1928) counseled that sex instruction should "strengthen all the factors of the control of sex life" to "prevent the abnormal development of the sex impulse" and help create an "attitude toward sex which is determined by the social as against the purely self-satisfying

motives; and to guide boys and girls to the most wholesome expression of their developing sex relationships" (1). The Assistant Surgeon General of the United States, Thomas Parran (1937), assured that sex training would help children "master" and "direct" the sex impulse and more importantly to "regard sex in its normal light," which would in the end, produce "high standards of human values and high aspirations for human achievement" in the child (3). Benjamin Gruenberg (1918) cautioned that "the question for educators and administrators is whether the ideas and ideals" that girls want and "eventually obtain shall be sound and helpful, or perverted and perverting" (756). Without adequate sex instruction, sexual hygienists feared that "thousands of quack doctors [would continue to] ply their vicious trade, widely disseminating falsehoods and preying on that fatal ignorance of vital matters that we have carefully cultivated in our children under the name of innocence" (Hall 1916, 286; see also, Weatherall 190/).

Hygienic council could also guard a child's sexual impulses from other distorting influences found within the home and in the broader urban landscape. In her instructional pamphlet *What Mothers Must Tell Their Children,* Mary Scharlieb (1917) warned mothers against "nasty-minded and vulgar' individuals outside the home who could stain the mind of the child" (12). Walter Gallichan (1921) later pronounced "inverts (homo-sexuals)," "prostitutes," "foul minded adolescents," and "bad parents" as the source of manipulation and vulgar stimulus (12). The sway of these individuals was so powerful that as little as one conversation could "color" and "blight" the future of the uninformed through the initiation of promiscuous sex and resultant disease (ibid.). Although hygiene advocates sought to distance themselves from the tenets of social purity, the danger posed by "ignorant innocence" and environmental risk was remarkably similar and renders visible how hygienists drew on both eugenics and purity to further emphasize the necessity of the movement.

Marion Piddington (1930) claimed that "no cry for mercy at the hands of flogger or torturer can be imagined of greater persistence" than the "unexpressed appeal" of children and youth today (1). Vulnerable children "thrust into the maelstrom of life unprotected" were "prey" for "agents of promiscuity" and "venereal disease" (ibid.). Dr. Valerie Parker (1925) painted an even more distressing picture in her article "Social Hygiene and the Child,"

> in every community are to be found children who are in manifest danger of sexual instability and exploitation. These causes are

> many and varied included such factors as bad housing, undesirable neighborhood conditions, lack of home protection or understanding on the part of parents, broken homes, poor mental equipment, early entry into industry, economic conditions, ignorance and many related causes. (49)

For Parker all of these conditions "stimulated low standards of sex conduct" in the future that could range from "children directing customers to the houses of prostitutes" to increasingly dysgenic situations where venereal disease and misery would run rampant among the entire population (ibid.). Within hygiene narratives, the severity of such predictions substantiated the need for sex instruction (to protect children from the surrounding threat) as well as the rationale for the expertise the social hygiene movement offered (due to parental ineptitude). Reviewing Parker and Piddington's emotively charged language highlights the moralizing framework underpinning the sexual hygiene movement and its "rational" scientific project.

Within sexual hygiene reform, danger to children was equated with a particular social condition: urban poverty. To this end, poor and working-class children were viewed as especially in need of intervention and protection. Hugh Cunningham's (1991) work highlights how at the turn of the century the movement "to rescue the children of the 'English savage,'... and penetrate the homes of the poor in order to expose instances of cruelty" was widespread and functioned as a dominant discourse within reform narratives more generally (133). Karen Sanchez-Eppler (2005), Alan Hunt (1999), and Warwick Anderson (2003) have also noted a similar historical trend in reform discourses from the United States and Australia, which fostered increasing suspicion of poor families and their abilities to protect and care for their children.

Our analysis of sexual hygiene literature illustrates the extent to which the deployment of the sexual child was an attempt to regulate the individual as well as the social body within the movement. Sexual hygiene discourses naturalized bourgeois conceptions of the child and in so doing warranted social intervention into lives of the poor through the "protection" of their children. Supervising the sexual impulses of children afforded hygienists the opportunity to shape and manage the poor and working class. To this end, sexual hygiene promised something that had hitherto been elusive—a rational method to curb the child's sexual impulse as the means through which to achieve eugenic ends.

Creating Sexually Sound Character in Children

The project of sex instruction extended beyond simple reproductive biology and incorporated eugenic aspirations as well as a planting of socially acceptable "ethics" that would continue to flower in the future. As Dr. Valeria Parker (1925) remarked, the aims of sex education within the social hygiene movement centered on a child's "divine right to an honest, decent and constructive presentation of the meaning of sex in life, and to early continuous *sex character training*" (46 emphasis added). Character instruction laid the groundwork for acceptable behavior, mate selection, and the stability of the family in the future. British hygienist Iain Fraser MacKenzie (1947) echoed these goals in his text *Social Health and Morals: An Analysis and a Plan* when he stated that sex education could produce the creation of socially acceptable characteristics in children by working on the following four areas: "habits, desires, ideals and attitudes" (172). If correctly equipped before puberty with the principles of good breeding, young people would make the right "sexual selection" and avoid such social danger in the future (ibid.). Winfield Scott Hall (1916) counseled that "little children fall into error because they have not had the benefit of wise counsel and guidance" that an education in sexual and social hygiene provided (19). Raised in an environment in which such education was present and reinforced, parents could "rest assured that when [a girl] approaches puberty, the instincts and feelings of modesty come into her experience as a natural and inherent heritage of our race" (30). A crucial step in this direction was the inculcation of behavior through habituation.

Drawing on a neo-Lamarckian philosophy, Philip Zenner (1926) postulated that the formation of habits required continuous repetition "until they are almost part of us" (6). "When we speak of the moral qualities of little children," Zenner claimed, "we do not speak of character, but of instincts" (ibid.). As such, "if these instincts [were] given full play" and became "fixed" they would produce "permanent" negative traits in the child (ibid.). Although Zenner stated that the production of negative traits was more likely in the fragile or feeble minded he also warned that if teachers and professionals did nothing to curb the negative sexual instincts of their charges, they would also "enter into a class with the weak minded" (ibid.). Intercession into the lives of children afforded hygienist the opportunity to "guide human evolution into whatever direction we wish, within the range of our native capacities" which included eugenic programs, environmental reforms and the ability to "specifically educate and train each individual in early life by focusing the skill and understanding of society upon him, so that

certain favored forms of conduct and qualities maybe strengthened and made habitual" (Galloway 1924, 127).

The job of a proficient sex instructor, within social hygiene discourse, was to facilitate the promotion of good habits over bad in the child. Tasmin H. Lovell stressed the importance of habituation in the life of the child as well as its benefits for the race. As Lovell illuminated, "if you develop something enough like cleanliness it becomes just the presence of a felt need which is most distinctly characterizes a habit" and as a result fosters "adaptive growth" (ibid.). The "plastic life process" of the "adaptable nervous systems, tends to conform to repeat pressure or stimulation" and it is for this reason that sex hygiene can create new habits and in so doing create "vital growth" in the child (Lovell 1917, 7). Instinct according to Lovell was simply a "race habit" that with training (through the repetition of particular actions) would become reinforced in the future (6). For Lovell, like other sexual hygienists, the same techniques used to train, adapt, and habituate the individual could be employed in the service of the race. Habituated behaviors, if successful, would manifest themselves and come to operate in the individual and the race *as if it was designed by nature*.

Hygienists' goal of shaping the child's sexual instinct and its "native capacities" into socially acceptable characteristics required a construction of the child that was both malleable and open to such intervention. The pliant quality of the child presented the avenue for creating suitable gender characteristics and future monogamous heterosexuals. Given the magnitude of this project, many hygienists argued that sex instruction should be taught sooner rather than later since "the majority of our boys and girls do not enter high schools" and thus "some instruction in matters of sex should be given in grammar schools" (Foster 1914, 257).

Making Monogamy Predictable

William Truant Foster in his 1914 article for *The School Review* wrote that sex education should promote a "serious, if possible, a reverend attitude toward sex and motherhood" and if this was beyond the capability of a particular teacher, he or she "should do nothing" at all (261). Similarly, Walter F. Robie (1920) encouraged teachers to install "ideas of romantic love, ideal homes and marriages resulting in a number robust children, into the minds of both sexes while young, not only as a duty to one's kind, but as the surest means to happiness and longevity" (224).

In his *Reading for Teachers of Sex Hygiene*, Wren Grinstead (1914) wrote that the most "elemental side" of sex education was the teaching of "sound

physique and function, normal marriage, and a reasonable number of healthy offspring" and that this emphasis would lead directly to the secondary aim of producing the "finer graces and essential chivalry of ethics" (249). Extolling the supremacy of their techniques, sexual hygienists claimed their methods extended beyond the bounds of morality by gaining successful entry to both the body and the home. Parker (1925) praised the scope of the movement when she maintained that, unlike previous reform campaigns, hygiene had finally pierced "the private, monogamic [*sic*] family" and could instill in its charges the desire "to make marriage permanent and successful, as the plan most conducive to personal happiness" (51). As we discussed earlier, the range of hygienic intercession and its focus on the family was part and parcel of a larger cultural compulsion toward the surveillance and management of the poor taking place during this period (Gordon 2007, 1998; Luker 1998). Fostering the desire for heterosexual monogamy secured a better future by curing the social ills wrought by the degenerate classes; an achievement that rested upon the creation of socially appropriate masculinity and femininity in children.

To this end, Robie (1920) advocated an education in science and the promotion of amorous ideals in children as a critical step in this direction. Instead of instilling "money, position or education" as the "*sine qua non* of marriage," Robie argued that children would be more swayed by an appeal to the romantic (245). Although knowledge of practical matters was considered important, to only focus on the pragmatic "without an admixture of the ideal or romantic" would be both "delusional and a snare" (245). In his discussion with girls, Robie coached them to "to dream of Prince Charming" (249). Conversely, he cautioned boys that there were many "half lifeless and entirely soulless young women" who "have no love to give . . . [and were] looking only for a man's name to masquerade under and his money to spend" (249). Although Robie contended that both of these messages were equally "romantic," what becomes clear is that they are far from impartial and found resonance with discourses on gender and social class emerging at the turn of the century. If a man was not chivalrous or virtuous he was barbarous, selfish, and dangerous; concomitantly a girl, untrained, could turn into a cold, licentious, and manipulative woman.

Transforming the Brutish Boy into the Monogamous Man

If boys exhibited bestial traits, M. E. Robinson (1911) coached teachers to be patient and understanding because these qualities were the result of "nature not conscious acts of defiance" (334). Winfield Hall (1916)

extended a similar logic when he claimed that although the school boy "has not felt the primordial [sexual] urge in his red blood, he does show the barbaric tendency to crudeness, rudeness and vulgarity" (23). To this end, "the problem of the grammar school boy, while less a sex problem than one of inherent barbaric vulgarity, is still one that requires great tact, patience and skill on the part of the teachers" (22). What was the teacher or hygiene professional to do?

Transforming the brute into the yet-to-be chivalrous man required intervention and habituation. Robinson cautioned that if habituation did not promote self-control, sexual desire would get confused with love and men might "fall in love with and marry, in the utmost confidence, women whom afterward they detest" (333). Kenneth Willis (1926) advised that an "education in the control of selfish desires and passions [was] necessary even in the youngest of children if we would see them happy and ready to fit into their environment" (2). Habituation fostered in childhood would not be lost "during the days of puberty" and could "do much to help when self-control [was] required to make a life sweet and clean" (2). It was for this reason that "the early teaching of chivalry and manly protection of women is very valuable for boys" (ibid.).

Such coaching could tame the sexual instinct because hygienic training offered something hitherto absent an "elevated" and "scientific" program that promised boys "a sympathetic helping hand [to] guide [them] quickly through the storm and stress period [of childhood]" and "into [their] period of dawning chivalry" (Hall 1916, 25). After hygienic council, a boy would "grow into the young man of seventeen—stalwart, broad-shouldered, deep-chested, hard-muscled, clear of eye, clean of life and chivalrous" (27). Afterward the traces of this training would vanish, so that a man's valorous "attitude toward all womankind [would] *seem to be inspired by instincts* of chivalry and honour" (ibid. emphasis added). Without such interventions, future manifestations of the sexual instinct would be dangerous because of their unrestrained nature as well as their susceptibility to female seduction. To ignore the habituation of chivalry imperiled both monogamy and a eugenic future.

Constructed as savage, barbarous, and vulgar, boys within sexual hygiene narratives were emblematic of recapitulated potential. In need of training, they embodied the "primal." Sexual hygiene discourses reproduced this logic by constructing boyhood brutishness as an essential, yet supple condition. To this end, boyhood was important because it could be transformed into something else—"broad-chested" and

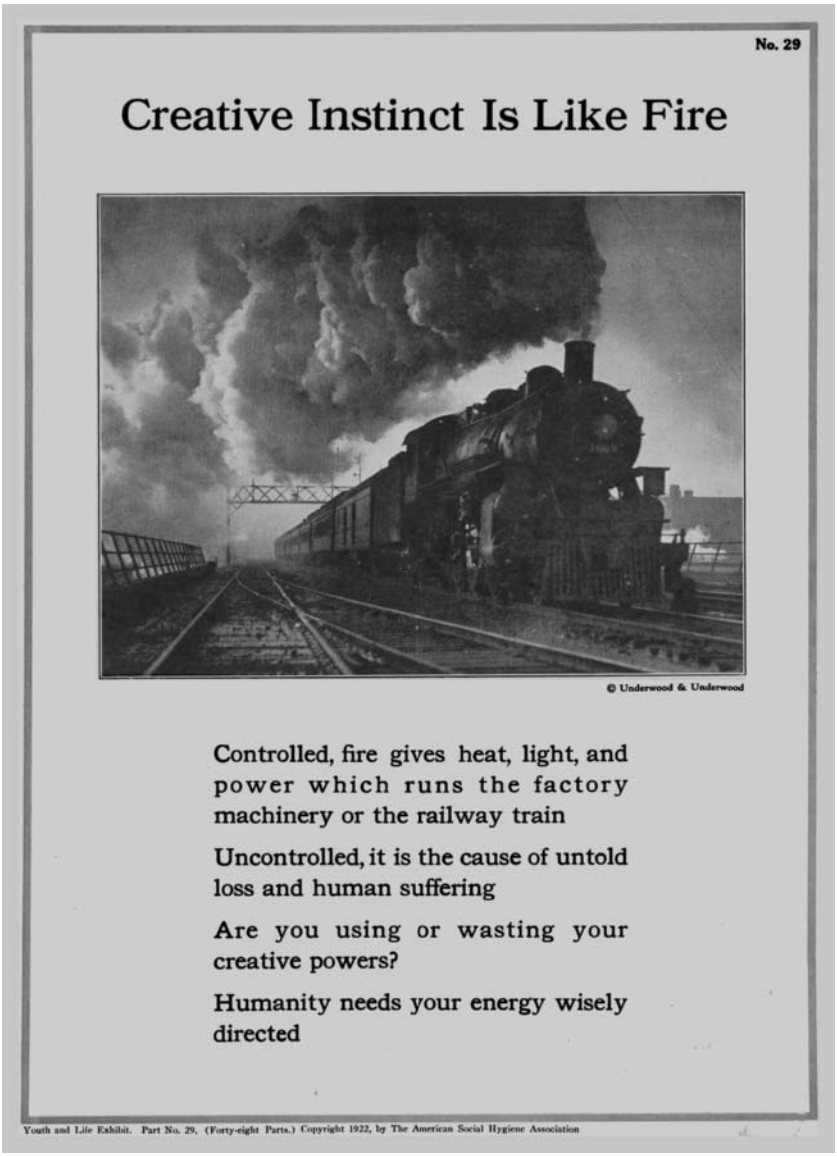


Figure 3.2 Instincts Like a Fire. Employing a similar sentiment to the British Hygienist Kenneth Willis, this poster represents the promise of habituation—that the creative sexual instinct could be managed away from its uncontrolled and thus perilous nature toward socially prescriptive ends. *Keeping Fit* Poster Series. 1919. American Social Hygiene Association. Credit: Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota.

"chivalrous" masculinity that offered protection for wives within the confines of heterosexual marriage (Hall 1926, 27). Pliable and undeveloped, successful intercession would be fully realized when impoverished boys turned into working-class men who exhibited bourgeois masculinity—a type of masculinity defined, at least in principle, by its patriarchal loyalty and its duty to protect.[11]

The authoritative quality of sex instruction lay in its ability to habituate character and in so doing transform instinct in the individual. If successful, its pedagogical trace became invisible and seemed as if inspired by nature. If boyhood was a site of recapitulation awaiting pedagogical intervention, girlhood functioned as emblematically romantic. Sexual hygienists sought to create mothers-in-waiting a goal which required a program of habituation to help girls steer clear of the dangers that might befall them if they succumbed to less upright dalliances in the future.

Fostering Femininity and Respectable Motherhood

Illustrating why the need for sex hygiene instruction was so crucial, Walter Gallichan (1921) claimed that the transition from childhood to adulthood was much "more complex for girls" (8). Society, in its ignorance, tried to deny this fact and, as a result, it was often a girl's "sex education" that was "most neglected" (ibid.).

This lack of training provoked a dangerous situation for both the girl and the society. Without proper guidance girls would "not concern [themselves] with the man's physical condition; his heredity taints, the cleanliness of his mind or past life, nor with the future of the race" (Sanger 1927, 44). It was for this reason that girls needed a unique form of sex instruction. For reformers such as Sanger and Gallichan, hygienic coaching, with its mix of biology and character instruction, would inspire girls to go beyond romantic distraction and toward respectable femininity. Such instruction would produce women who would expect "the extra-ordinary dignity and happiness to which she may be called a little later in life" (Scharlieb 1917, 11).

Margaret Sanger (1927) in *What Every Boy and Girl Should Know* maintained that a girl's sexual desire was incomparable to her male counterparts. At their core, girls felt no "conscious desire for the sexual act," and instead longed only for "kisses" and "caresses" (30). Kisses and caresses signaled a less active and more nurturing form of sexuality

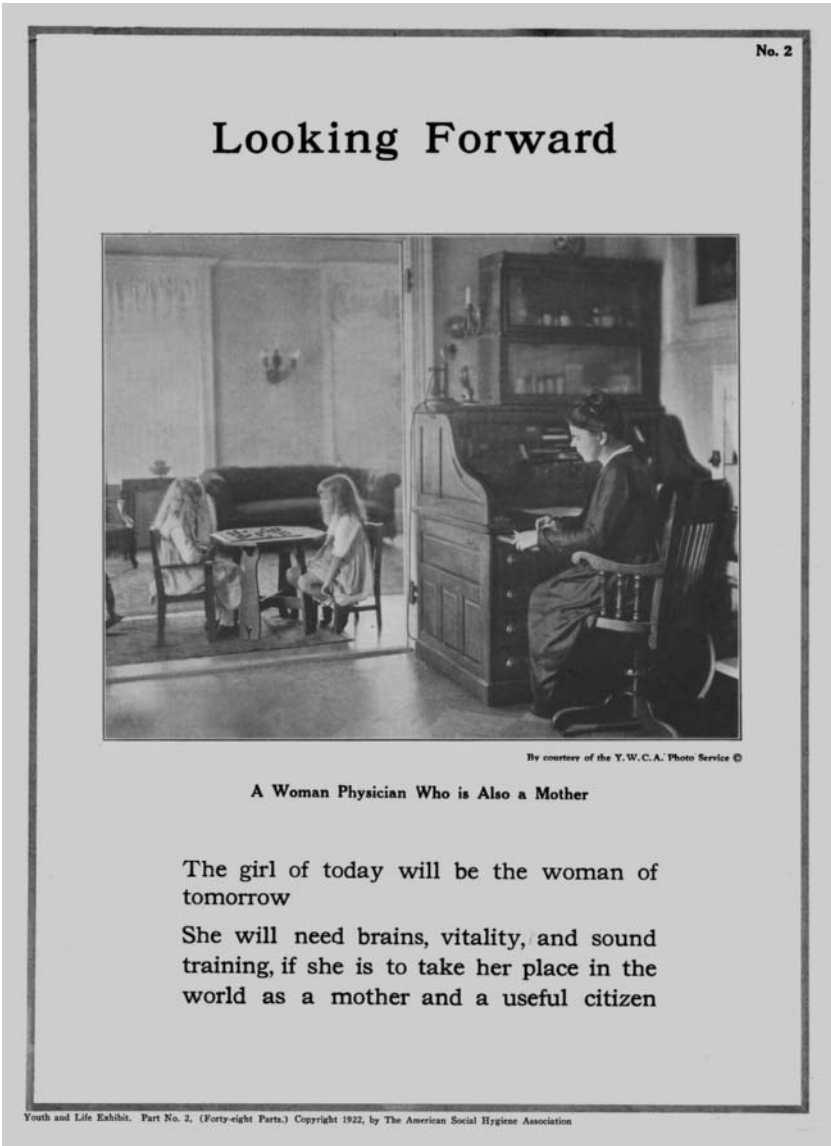


Figure 3.3 Looking Forward. This poster from the *Youth and Life* campaign is emblematic of Gallichan's and others' claims of the unique quality and capability of girls and their need for protection and supervision. *Youth and Life* Poster Series. 1920. American Social Hygiene Association. Credit: Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota.

and contrasted sharply with the masculine desire for sexual intercourse. Similarly, Gallichan (1921) noted that sex instruction was more crucial for girls because "sex [was] generally more diffused in woman than man" (9). Violet Swaisland (193/) and Marie Douie (1935), in their pamphlets for the Racial Hygiene Association of New South Wales, advised that it is "motherhood" and the "love of children" as opposed to an interest in sexuality that "should guide girls" on their path to a more hygienic family life (14, 30). Given the fact that a girl's main focus was supposed to be on her future as a mother, hygienists stressed "knowledge of the principles of healthy procreation and the rearing of the young" in their messages to girls in Australia, England, and the United States (Gallichan 1921, 9).

The foundational quality of socially sanctioned femininity was, for hygiene reformers, virtue. This quality guaranteed pathway to the successful transition away from girlhood crushes to future monogamous motherhood. Winfield Hall (1916) maintained that once properly trained, the "normal twentieth century girl [will look] forward to future motherhood, as a natural and much-to-be-desired experience" (33). The desire for motherhood was the endpoint of instruction, not a predetermined fact—to this end, hygienic intervention created a yearning for respectable motherhood. What is important to note is that reproduction within the discourse of sexual hygiene is an after effect of training as opposed to an inherent biological compulsion in the working class girl. If a girl's education was effective, adults could "rest assured [that] when she approaches puberty, the instincts and feelings of modesty come into her experience as a natural and inherent heritage of our race" (30).

Seemingly nurturing, but nevertheless in need of management, a girl's sexual instinct was conceptualized as unpredictable and endangered. Outwardly, sexual hygiene literature argued that feminine desire was the desire for affection and love, not sex. However, the perceived danger of leaving girls untrained belies this contention and reveals a larger anxiety—promiscuity. In the eyes of reformers, the drive toward affect was risky because, if left to their own devices, girls could end up with an unfit male as easily as a more suitable one and thus compromise the whole eugenic project. Hygienic intervention promised to direct instinctual aim toward a safe and socially prescriptive end—motherhood and the rearing of fit children. In this regard, sexual hygiene narratives attempted to desexualize girlhood, by linking instinct to affect as opposed to the desire for intercourse. The successful transition of working-class girls into habituated bourgeois femininity was realized in the production of nurturance and respectable motherhood in the future.

Figure 3.4 Danger in Familiarities. This *Youth and Life* poster created by the American Social Hygiene Association further illustrates the importance of proper training for girls. Girls are cautioned to steer clear of causal contacts based simply on physical attraction. Hygienists believed that the effective training of a girl's sexual instinct would protect her from the "dangers of familiarity" and in so doing insure marriage and the future of the race. *Youth and Life Poster Series*. 1920 American Social Hygiene Association. Credit: Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota.

Hygiene reform attempted to normalize restrictive gender characteristics and heterosexual desires by making them seem as if natural or "inspired by instinct" (Hall 1916, 27). If successful, any hint of pedagogical intervention would simply disappear. In their quest to cure dysgenic tendencies, reformers fused socially sanctioned gender with monogamous and reproductive heterosexuality. For sexual hygienists sex instruction could scientifically forecast proper gender, sexuality and monogamy and in so doing promote the goal of making particular modes of gender and sexuality normal.

This normalization of gender and sexuality relied upon and reproduced what Judith Butler (2004, 1990) theorizes as a "matrix of intelligibility" within sexual hygiene literature. For Butler, the matrix of intelligibility creates a taken for granted association between physiological sex and its corollary gender and a heterosexual outcome. For example, a child born with a vagina is expected to express acceptable feminine characteristics and desire a male partner (ibid.). However, what is particularly noteworthy is that hygiene literature took this coupling one step further—a female body was inextricably linked to habituated femininity and to the desire for a eugenically fit husband in order to create hygienic offspring in the future. In this manner, sexual hygiene goes beyond both the psychoanalytic and developmental discourses we discuss in the following chapters, which attempted to ensure heterosexuality, but were less concerned with "acceptable mate selection" and a pronatalist agenda. "Hygienic heterosexuality" required the direction of masculinity and masculine desire toward monogamy so that it would be satiated in the home instead of in the street. Similarly such predictions envisioned the production of girls as rational and loving mothers not as women, subject to their active desires, reproducing the unfit or, worse still, engaging in prostitution. Unlike purity discourses that emphasized the importance of producing "enlightened innocence" as a universal quality to curb sexual temptation, sexual hygienists sought to normalize gender difference and monogamy in order to secure societal stability and transformation in the future.

Conclusion

It would be inaccurate to say that the pursuit of a more demarcated attitude toward gender and sexuality through the body of the child was the unique province of sexual hygiene at the turn of the century. Nevertheless, the movement was unique in its deployment of

childhood sexuality as the pathway for social reformation among the urban poor. In their attempt to manipulate the future, sexual hygienists relied upon essential arguments about gender (e.g., boys as aggressive and girls as nurturing), while simultaneously denaturalizing gender and monogamy by conceptualizing them as bourgeois characteristics to be habituated in the poor. Sexual hygienists advanced hegemonic gender characteristics as both normative and desirable. However, the realization of these goals was compromised by genotypic theories of race and class that denied the very possibility of such traits within poor populations. Hygienists resolved this contradiction by insisting that the sexual instinct could be habituated and thus were able to overcome this hereditary obstacle.

Social hygiene reformers validated their entry into the domain of sex instruction and legitimated their epistemological claims through the rhetoric of science and medical expertise. Separating themselves from the social purity movements that deployed environmental and moral models, hygiene promoted the empirical over the spiritual.[12] Within the discourse of sexual hygiene, the child offered something no adult could—a site of intervention that could be made predictable through habituation. Conceptualized as malleable and open to invention, the child within hygiene literature offered a potential for cure in the present as well as in the future.[13] Hygienists constructed the body and sexuality of the child as a site where rational prophylaxis could promote prediction and predictability. Foregrounding the primacy of rationalization and efficiency as well as control over uncertainties, hygienists replaced more traditional and less proficient systems of belief with productive calculability. To this end, sexual hygienists sought to transform society and the future through the sexual instinct of the child.

The ability to shape and train both the sex impulse and sexual characteristics of children provided both the foundation and rationale for the expertise social hygiene afforded and bureaucratic structures of public health, education, and the government of populations that it supported. Sexual hygiene presented the theoretical means as well as the bureaucratic solution. The reformatory goals and rationalized measures of sexual hygiene stand in stark contrast to another group of medics writing during the same period—sexology. As we illustrate in the next chapter, although sexology was committed to scientific exploration, an analysis of its aims and goals offers a strikingly different definition and set of ideas on the sexual child taking place at the turn of the century.

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER FOUR

Sexology and the New Normality

Introduction

> By studying both natural and civilized man, it must find, as it were, the sexual elementary ideas of mankind, i.e. the common biological social phenomena in all peoples and historical periods. They are the firm foundation for the building of the new science. Only this anthropological view (in the widest sense of the word . . . gives us a scientific basis of the same exactitude and objectivity as that found in natural science.
>
> Iwan Bloch (1910, vii–viii)

The nineteenth-century emergence of the science of sex offered new touchstones for the classification of sexual behavior, which did not, overtly at least, draw upon a moral framework. Like many of the reformers discussed in previous two chapters, the first sexologists were trained in medicine and in many cases were specialists in the relatively new discipline of alienism (or in modern parlance, psychiatry). However, their justification for speaking about sex was quite different. Uninterested in contemporaneous projects of moral reform, their commitments were more intellectually driven and centered on the production of knowledge about a topic that had hitherto only been addressed in relation to disease and pathology—sexual behavior. Unlike social purity and sexual hygiene promoters, early sexologists did not seek out the sexual child within their work. Rather it was in the course of exploring the sexual lives of adults and more specifically their erotic biographies that the sexual child first appeared within this emerging paradigm.

It is not accidental that sexology coincides with the two characteristic features of modernity, themes that have already been encountered in the preceding two chapters: the ascendance of scientific approaches to the acquisition of knowledge and the conviction that such approaches were necessary to counteract the perceived "ills" of civilization. Foremost in this latter category were anxieties about the physical and mental fitness of the population; concerns that were to confer upon members of the medical profession, especially those involved with sexual hygiene, an unprecedented social and political authority. This was further enhanced by two developments that took place in the closing decades of the nineteenth century: formal medical training (as opposed to a combination of amateur and professional) and the fragmentation of the profession into medical specialties. The latter was, in part, a pragmatic maneuver to ensure both an established patient base and to enhance professional status, but it also articulated a 'division of labour' in the increasingly systematic acquisition of knowledge about human behavior. Driven by an overt commitment to empiricism rather than moral reform, sexologists classified information, gained from direct or indirect observation, into categories of normal and abnormal.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, sexology emerged "as part of a wider concern with the classification of bodies and populations, along with other new sciences such as anthropology, sociology, psychology and criminology" (Bland and Doan 1998, 1). Sexology was legitimated by this scientific approach for, as Bland and Doan continue, the first exponents were not just classifying sexual behavior but were "also concerned with populations as an object of study, and set about creating the criteria for human and 'racial' betterment" (2).[1]

By the end of the nineteenth century, a number of other factors contributed to a more tolerant climate to embark upon an objective study of sex. A key element was the work of Charles Darwin, who wrote, in 1874,

> sexual selection depends on the success of certain individuals over others of the same sex, in relation to the propagation of the species; whilst natural selection depends on the success of both sexes, at all ages, in relation to the general conditions of life. (515)

In insisting on the positive and indeed necessary implications of sexual behavior for human advancement, Darwin's work again illuminates the tension, as historian Harry Oosterhuis (2000) reminds us, between the bourgeois norms of self-control and constraint and the recognition of this powerful natural instinct (32).

The commitment to the scientific study of sex arose also in response to the recognition that nearly a century of fear and ignorance about sex was adversely affecting the stability of middle-class marriages. As historian Joan Perkin (1989) elucidates, "ignorance of sex started off many middle class marriages in an atmosphere of horror for each partner" (277). Finally, the language of medicine and of scientific inquiry offered the means by which to speak explicitly about sex in a new discourse that sought to inform rather than titillate.[2] As nineteenth-century physician James Kiernan (1888) famously claimed, "science, like fire, purifies everything" (130). To this end, science opened the door, albeit unintentionally, to the exploration of the sexual life of the child in unprecedented detail.

Categorizing the Normal

> Neither nature nor civilization seemed to provide a stable moral basis for a well-ordered sexuality . . . Medical literature on sexuality tended to underline fears of human inadequacy in both realms.
>
> Harry Oosterhuis (2000)

In retrospect, one of the most striking aspects of the early science of sex was the unapologetic manner in which sexologists detailed a wide range of sexual practices in meticulous detail. Such explicitness is especially noteworthy because its mouthpiece was that of science, not pornography. Despite their individualistic approaches, these writers shared a common conviction: that ignorance posed the greatest threat to the well-being of humankind. Scientific inquiry offered the means and the ideological justifications with which to confront and eradicate misconceptions that were restrictive and damaging in both individual and social life. It was this consensus that encapsulated the radical nature of sexology. In the introduction to *The Sexual Life of Our Time* (1910), German dermatologist Iwan Bloch outlined the features of this new approach. As he elucidates,

> the author of the present work . . . is . . . convinced that the purely medical consideration of the sexual life . . . is yet incapable of doing full justice to the manysided [*sic*] relationships between the sexual and all the other provinces of human life. (ix)

For Bloch sexology could not be just an extension of medical science; rather it should be "a general science of mankind" (ibid.). Accordingly,

practicing sexologists would include insights from biology, anthropology, psychology, literature, philosophy, and history in their writings on sexual behavior.

This multidisciplinary approach moved the subject matter of sexology beyond the mechanized body and the framework of diagnosis and treatment, for the data gathered from across the disciplines was complex and often contradictory. Classifying data about sexual manifestations went some way to establishing sexology's scientific credibility in constructing a "new normality." However, scientific legitimacy was not sufficient to ensure easy acceptance of such subject matter. As English physician and socialist writer Havelock Ellis (1927a) pointed out ruefully in the Preface to the first edition of *Studies in the Psychology of Sex,* "the pioneer in this field may well count himself happy if he meets with nothing worse than indifference."[3] Nor was the collection of data an easy task for

> so far from the facts of normal sex development, sex emotions, and sex needs being uniform and constant, as is assumed by those who consider their discussion unnecessary, the range of variation within fairly normal limits is immense, and it is impossible to meet with two individuals whose records are nearly identical.

The methodological approach of sexology reflected a commitment to rational empiricism, in which, to paraphrase Foucault (1984) observations were to become a new form of knowledge (196). This dimension of sexology shaped the analysis as well as the sources of its data. In order to revise assumptions about cause and effect, and especially a predictive capability to sexual knowledge, classification had necessarily to precede normalization of behaviors and manifestations. In contrast to earlier deployments of this concept, normalization in this context entailed a *broadening* of the boundaries of accepted sexual behavior.

While clinical case studies, as we discuss below, contributed important evidence to support such classification, sources of information went beyond the consulting room or clinic. Sexologists believed that a multidisciplinary approach was both crucial and necessary. This methodological lens offered access to both the vital complexities and the range of practices:

> to do justice to the whole importance of love in the life of the individual and in that of society, and in relation to the evolution of human civilization, this particular branch of inquiry must be treated in its proper subordination as a part of the general science

> of mankind, which is constituted by a union of all other sciences of general biology, anthropology and ethnology, philosophy and psychology, the history of literature, and the entire history of civilization. (Bloch 1912, ix)

By drawing on multidisciplinary sources the limited boundaries of normality that characterized the body-centered model of medicine was rewritten with reference to the social as well as physical dimensions of sex. The methods of sexology thus made possible an unprecedented recognition of sexual manifestations that would include, but not necessarily unconditionally endorse, that of the child.

Sexology and the Sexual Child: Krafft-Ebing Prepares the Terrain

> Every physician conversant with nervous affections and diseases incident to childhood is aware of the fact that manifestations of the sexual instinct may occur in very young children.
>
> Baron Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1892/1965)

That children were capable of autoerotic activity was never in doubt among nineteenth-century sexologists; however, recognition was not the same as acceptance. The work of these pioneers in the creation of sexual knowledge differed in this regard. Baron Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Austro-German physician and psychiatrist, for example, was primarily concerned with providing a systematic baseline for the association of sexual acts and sexual expressions with certain forms of neuropathology, especially the degree to which these were acquired or congenital. In introducing the 1965 edition of *Psychopathic Sexualis,* social scientist and psychoanalyst Ernest Van den Haag commented, "the collection of case histories was meant to help professionals cure, i.e. normalize, patients afflicted with anomalies and not to legitimize, accept, justify or advocate them" (5). As Van den Haag further emphasizes, late nineteenth-century medical knowledge was insufficiently developed to offer regimes of treatment rather, "description of symptoms, and classification in terms of phenomenal similarities had to do" (9). The justification for Krafft-Ebing's investigations was to provide a reference point for legal and medical practitioners (including himself) to distinguish between criminally and medically pathological sources for a range of aberrant sexual manifestations. Notwithstanding

this overt purpose, his work (although the most explicit passages were retained in the original Latin) "almost immediately . . . became a classic known far beyond professional circles" (8).

What Krafft-Ebing said about the sexual child reflects the influence of these conditional factors. The quotation that opens this section is the most well known of Krafft-Ebing's (1965) comments about childhood sexuality, but the terms under which the "recognition" of the sexuality of the child takes place are distinctive. First, he identifies the common incidence of sexual anomalies in "civilized races" that are either the result of "frequent abuse of the sexual organs" or of an "inherited diseased condition" (61). Such anomalies can present as either physical or neurotic, and in the latter manifestation, he identifies the category of "paradoxia" as the "sexual instinct manifesting itself independently of physiological process" (67). In this case, the manifestation of sexual instinct cannot be linked to a normal endogenous source. Rather, childish masturbation is the indicator of either accidental external stimulation or deliberate (and congenitally pathological) autoeroticism. For Krafft-Ebing both either lead to or are associated with other forms of mental degeneration. To this end, he unequivocally links normative sexuality with physiological maturation, and in this sense, appears to narrow rather than expand the parameters of normal. It follows, therefore, that the sexual instinct should be as absent in childhood as it should be in the context of the physiological deterioration of old age.

Nevertheless, the sexual child gains an inadvertent avenue of entry in Krafft-Ebing's work—the narratives of adults—to complicate and contradict his supposition on the nature of the sexual instinct in the child. Krafft-Ebing's data depended in part on the recollections of his patients and of individual case histories sent to him for comment by fellow professionals. Within these firsthand accounts, patients and correspondents frequently made reference to the presence of conscious erotic arousal, by a variety of stimuli, in early childhood; these included but were not restricted to homosexual arousal; flogging; visual display of genitalia; infliction of pain or actual injury by self or another (67, 107, 117, 119, 131, 133, and ff.). Such insights into the erotic world of the child were made much more explicit in the work of Havelock Ellis.

Ellis and the Psychology of Sex

British born Henry Havelock Ellis, trained as a physician at St. Thomas's Hospital, London. Medical training offered a legitimating framework

for Ellis to study the topic that he was convinced demanded scientific attention: the normal sexual life (Brome 1979, 8–24). While the practice of medicine carried little interest for Ellis, his seven volume opus on sexuality reflected the disciplines that reflected his intellectual range and expertise: literature, science, medicine, anthropology, and materialist philosophy (52). In 1886 Ellis was a founding member of the Fellowship of the New Life composed of progressive thinkers, writers, and activists, which would later become the Fabian Society. Ellis's eclectic, radical, and highly intellectual background is evident in the passionate introduction to his first volume of *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1897/1927a).

In the Preface he summarizes both the aim and the justification for this work:

> I regard sex as the central problem of life. And now that the problem of religion has practically been settled, and that the problem of labor has at least been placed on a practical foundation, the question of sex—with the racial questions that rest on it—stands before the coming generations as the chief problem for solution. Sex lies at the root of life, and we can never learn to reverence life until we know how to understand sex—So, at least, it seems to me. Having said so much, I will try to present such results as I have to record in that cold and dry light through which alone the goal of knowledge may truly be seen.

For Ellis it was crucial that data was gathered from informants located outside the consulting rooms and clinics. While acknowledging that a physician's training was needed to "get at the facts," Ellis argued that a focus on abnormal manifestations of the sexual impulse perpetuated the mistaken assumption that everyone knew what constituted normal sexuality. He was convinced that sexual ignorance was a great evil and that the prevailing reticence of Victorian society only perpetuated this destructive state. Moving away from the somatic focus, Ellis proposed that understanding the range and content of normal sexuality must include the recognition of nonphysical phenomena. The constitution of normal sexuality remained to be decided, and Ellis (prefiguring by many decades Alfred Kinsey's view) argued that the accepted binary of either normal or abnormal should be replaced by the notion of a continuum (Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin 1998).

In the first section of Volume 1 that deals at length with "autoeroticism," Ellis condemns the overreaction to masturbation in the writings

of Tissot, Rousseau, Voltaire, and Lallemand all of whom he accuses of exaggerating and universalizing the effects of masturbation (49–50). Far from being the destructive compulsive pathology that characterized masturbation phobia, Ellis claimed that "masturbation is an artificial subdivision of a great group of natural facts" (ibid.). For Ellis masturbation represents only one of many choices of autoerotic behavior. Drawing on examples from the animal world and from a range of non-European cultures, past and present, Ellis concludes that autoeroticism is a specialized form of "a tendency which in some forms, or in some degree, normally affects not only man, but all the higher animals" (ibid.). Such evidence, he said, demonstrates "how vast is the field of life—of normal and not merely abnormal life—more or less infused with autoerotic phenomena" (ibid.). By demonstrating the ubiquity of autoeroticism across species, cultures, and history, Ellis confronted and rendered problematic the normative binary that defined the medical model.

Using a range of case histories as one source of data for his normative analysis, Ellis includes examples of children (from infancy to pubescence) as well as adults in his discussion of autoeroticism. While he attaches no special significance to the issue of age in the section on masturbation, he does acknowledge "there appears to be no limit to the age at which spontaneous masturbation may occur" (1927b). Ellis identified the role of accidental stimulus in the child; however, he also illustrates that exposure to external stimulus does necessarily cause children to masturbate. Ellis was surprisingly half-hearted in his positive acknowledgment of childhood masturbation. He warned young men that prepubescent masturbation may lead to adult frigidity in both women and men. Moreover, girls are less troubled by anxiety about the practice, more likely to engage in it before puberty, and are less enervated by it at any age. Ellis (1927a) concludes that autoeroticism (including but not restricted to masturbation) is an inevitable consequence of civilization's restraint on the sexual instinct.[4] The autoerotic is he says neither normal nor abnormal but simply "an inevitable byproduct of that mighty process on which animal creation rests."

In order to emphasize this point, Ellis (1927b) asserted that "the majority of sexual perversions, including even those that are most repulsive, are but exaggerations of instincts and emotions that are germinal in normal human beings."[5] This conviction is reflected in his inclusion of explicit and multifarious erotic acts and thoughts in childhood. It is in the Appendices in *Studies in Psychology of Sex* that Ellis provides details of a wide range of childish erotic activity far beyond

that of masturbation. These stories illustrate inventiveness, initiative, and especially the presences of erotic subjectivity in the child. As one respondent reported,

> in the summer of my sixth year I experienced pleasurable sensations in daubing my genitals with oil and then fondling or rubbing them, but I abandoned this amusement after getting some irritating substance into the meatus. (Ellis 1927c)

Another correspondent detailed a sexual relationship with a sibling:

> During the holidays I now first practiced intercrural intercourse with a younger brother. I started touching his penis, and causing erections, when he was about five. Afterward I got him to masturbate me and I masturbated him; I used to get him into bed with me. On one occasion I spontaneously (never having heard of such a thing) made him take my penis in his mouth. (Ibid.)

Not confined to the description of physical expression, narratives also conveyed experiences of profound emotional attachment. As one correspondent recalled, "the psychic side of my sexual emotions awoke in early childhood; and though my love affairs as a boy were not frequent and were kept to myself, they attained a considerable degree of emotional power" (Ellis 1927c). These recollections paint a picture of sexually curious and inventive children, who had a clear understanding of how their actions transgressed adult rules:

> when I was seven years old and back in the Eastern city I lived in the house of a physician. Alone with his 3-year-old daughter one day, I showed her my erect organ, and felt a delicious gratification when she stroked it with the words: "Nice! Nice!" I confessed my fault to my guardian that night after I had said my prayers. (Ellis 1927c)

Within Ellis's research, these accounts are represented as recollections that make up the larger erotic biographies of his adult respondents. Although Ellis makes no comment, positive or negative, about such the childhood encounters, they nevertheless provide forceful evidence for a range of consciously sought erotic activities in early childhood.

While sexology ostensibly sought to challenge the rigid boundaries of the normal/abnormal binary the extent to which this is realized in the works of individual authors is variable. Although identified as the

"father of sexology," as it was he who coined the term in 1907, Berlin dermatologist and medical historian Iwan Bloch's characterization of the sexual child is considerably more conservative than that of Ellis (Haeberle 1986).

Bloch and the Sexual Child

Bloch's commitment to the study of sexual behavior was driven by his belief that sex must be removed from the constraints of its association with pathology and fear. In the Preface to the first edition of *The Sexual Life of Our Time*, he insists that the scientific study of sex should go beyond the boundaries of "medical considerations of sexual life" to a "general science of mankind" that would include history, anthropology, and philosophy (Bloch 1910, iv). Though his work was directed toward "the expert and specialist investigator," Bloch also expressed the hope that his readers would include "all earnest men and women who wish to form well-grounded views regarding the problem of sex" (xi).

He goes further to claim that "the socio-ethical goal" of sexual love has been in the past thought to be that of the reproduction of children. However, with the advance of civilization, this explanation has become inadequate. "At the present day," he writes at the beginning of the twentieth century, "sexual love constitutes a part of the very being of civilized man; his sexual life clearly reflects his individual nature" (4). Bloch's initiation of the term sexology, and its implication for the creation of a new discipline of scientific study, is reflected in the particular quality of his writings in this text. For unlike Ellis's original investigations, Bloch's work is largely a review of existing literature, ranging widely across sources from the disciplines of anthropology, philosophy and history. In so doing, it offers a solid justification for the acceptability of a new discipline of sexology beyond the medical model of the body for, in his view, "the duplex nature of man, his bodily-spiritual dualism is most clearly reflected in the phenomenon of his sexuality" (409). He reiterates Ellis's view that the study of human sexuality must go beyond the physical and the pathological; indeed, much of his text focuses on love, not sexual practice.

Within Bloch's general account of sexual pathologies the child is absent and emerges only in his discussion of masturbation and autoeroticism. While he echoes much of Ellis's opinion of the wide range of the normal autoerotic practices (and in places offers evidence taken from Ellis without attribution), his discussion of masturbation is conservative,

even orthodox. Nevertheless he does distinguish between masturbation that is pathological (associated with neurotic manifestations) and normal autoeroticism. "Autoeroticism is almost always a precursor of completely developed sexuality, and manifests itself a long time before puberty" (413). At the same time, autoeroticism, or as he also describes this range of practices, "sexual equivalents" (409), is amplified with increasing civilization. Such "sexual equivalents" though wider in variance, are equally not necessarily pathological. Nevertheless, he makes a normative distinction between autoeroticism and its "grosser form, masturbation", (410), and it is within this division that he introduces directly the issue of childhood sexuality.

Very young children may be accidentally stimulated by infection or unintentional touch and in this case, self-stimulation is neither a sign of moral corruption nor criminality, but an example of the "premature development of sexual sensibility" (ibid.). It is only in infrequent illustrations from case studies of "sexual irritability and sexual weakness" that accounts of childhood sexuality are to be found in Bloch's work. In one example, a two-year-old girl's habit of masturbation is explained as a consequence of a weakness inherited from her mother and grandmother; while that of another's sexual activity "from three years upwards" is viewed as the result of "seduction and suggestion" (417).[6] Thus in his aim to "facilitate a comprehensive and objective consideration of all the relevant problems" of sexual life, Bloch falls short of recognizing the distinctiveness of the sexual child, by confining his focus, and by implication the study of sexology itself, to the exposition of *adult* sexuality (ix).

Revisiting the Pathological: Magnus Hirschfeld

In his work *Sexual Pathology, A Study of the Derangements of the Sexual Instinct*, Berlin physician and campaigner for homosexual rights Magnus Hirschfeld differentiated his approach to the study of sexual manifestations from that of Ellis (Hirschfeld 1940).[7] Hirschfeld focused his analysis on the firsthand accounts and experiences of sexual pathologies he encountered in twenty years of clinical practice (xi). His interest in this volume published in English in 1919 was to present the "pathological in sexual life" for a more tolerant public appraisal than had prevailed since Krafft-Ebing's publication, thirty years earlier (xii). From examples that "I myself had observed and investigated," Hirschfeld claimed that he had "no need to draw upon outside

casuistic arguments," rather his work provided a "cool objective presentation of the facts" (xii). For Hirschfeld, a fully scientific as well as humanistic understanding of sex required equal attention to be paid to both the normal and the abnormal. His contribution to the "new normality" was an ongoing commitment to the exploration and inclusion of homosexuality within the pantheon of normalcy. This dedication to illuminating rather than occluding sexual practices that were already been marginalized allowed him to also include evidence of a wider erotic world of the child.

Hirschfeld's study made use of medical histories from his patients to challenge the long-standing view that fetishistic sexual impulses were symptomatic of a mental illness. In his aim to depathologize such adult attachments, he explored (as did Ellis in a different context) the psychological elements of fetishistic manifestations and in so doing sought to advocate for its place in a wider range of normality. This method allowed for accounts of an equally detailed picture of a lifetime of erotic diversity since Hirschfeld often locates the origins of adult fetish attachments in early childhood recollections.

While not all of such accounts included evidence of a consciousness of such attractions, a letter from one of his patients who presented with an adult shoe fetish recalled the impact of the sight, at the age of twelve, of "a beautiful young girl in laced ballroom slippers" that caused "such a commotion in my head that I did not know where I was" (23). Another patient "who had been under my care for ten years" recounted that at age eleven he experienced "active abnormal sensations" as a result of using crutches that he had "first experienced sensations with at the age of five" (25, 29–30). Olfactory and sensual associations were identified as actively stimulating by additional respondents, one of whom remembered the erotic attraction of the smell and feel of air cushions from the age of eight. Another recalled, "since [I] was a little boy the touch of flannel had always given [me] great pleasure and [my] mother knew of the circumstance" (110). Yet another recollected his first erection at five years old at the sight of an adult relative sleeping in the same room, and through contact with the nightcap "the erection increased to the point of seminal discharge" (105).

Neither Ellis nor Hirschfeld state an intention to provide primary evidence for a distinctive childhood sexuality. Nevertheless, both employ methods underpinned by specific assumptions that extend the normal erotic range in both adult and child, and their work illuminates what had once been hidden in the darkness of assumed pathology. Through the commitment of these first sexologists to a scientific presentation of

"facts," the consciously erotic child, rather than the compulsive unconscious masturbator, was incorporated into the pantheon of a new normality. The range of possibilities offered by the approach of the science of sex was shaped by the individual preoccupations of its principal exponents; in the following account more direct connections with the discourse of social hygiene are evident.

Forel, Science, and Social Justice

The contribution of Swiss psychiatrist entomologist[8] and neurologist August[9] Forel to the potential of a scientific study of sex has been understated.[10] Edwin Haeberle argues that Forel's 1905 publication *The Sexual Question* "was the first book to provide a comprehensive treatment of human sexual life from both biological and sociological perspectives" (Haeberle 1986). Forel's approach was informed by his clinical experience as an alienist of both normal and abnormal mentality (Forel 1931, 3).[11] In the Introduction, he undertakes to study the sexual question "without sentiment," and in this regard he identifies the problem of prurience aroused by the study of sex. "As all sentiment, more or less, warps judgment, it is the duty of scientific criticism to eliminate eroticism in order to be exact and impartial" (3).

In his discussion on "the ontogeny of sexual life," Forel claims that the sexual organs are in a "non-functional state" until puberty (200). Nevertheless later in the text, under the heading of "the sexual question in pedagogy," Forel offers his theory on the origins of sexual sensibility and the need for the sexual guidance of children. He argues that "the sensual appetite" is composed of both internal and external elements (470). The former remains "in a state of rest" in children until they reach puberty (200). The latter are the consequence of the impact of a range of external stimuli on this inherent capacity. It is only this exogenous element that can be influenced by education.

Forel is untroubled by the presence of a childish sexual impulse. However, this tacit approval is contingent upon proper adult guidance of the child, the need for sexual enlightenment that as we already indicated typified many of the social hygienists. Accordingly, "education can do much to avoid pathological error and habits, by guiding the sexual appetite in a healthy direction and by avoiding excess" (470). Speaking to children about sex, he says, will not corrupt or encourage them to precocious sexual behavior if undertaken in the right manner. Adults make the mistake of thinking that children will be stimulated

by sexual imagery or words in the same way as grown persons. On the contrary, he says, what stimulates a child's latent sexuality is ignorance and the resultant shock of unfamiliar experiences, for example, evidence of its developing body or the nudity of an adult (470). Preserving a mystery around sexual matters induces erotic thoughts, he claims (471). In his discussion on "the sexual question in pedagogy," Forel further echoes the discourse of hygiene when he proposes sex education as protection from such unwanted experiences. However, he cautions, "in giving these explanations it is important not to awaken eroticism in the child by dwelling more than necessary on sexual topics" (485). Thus far, thus orthodox.

Although he deploys much of the language of the sexual hygiene movement, Forel goes further in offering a more positive framing for sexual subjectivity in the child that operates independently of adult guidance. For example, he acknowledges that manifestations of the "sexual appetite" appear in the mind before physical maturity, and it is possible for children to feel sexual jealousy, exhibit profound attachments to objects, and even engage in coitus to orgasm before puberty. Although he identifies this last manifestation as "pathological," Forel does concede that "the brain has acquired by phylogeny a sexual appetite relatively independent of the development of the sexual glands" (201–202). But at the same time he identifies a phenomenon that he terms a "sexual paradox . . . the appearance of a sexual appetite, or even of love, at an abnormal age" (221). He offers a number of examples of children of seven to nine years, both boys and girls, who exhibit such behavior (221), and who, he says, could be rehabilitated if they undertook rigorous retraining in special institutions. In such places, these precociously sexual children would be occupied from morning to night "rendering them too tired to do anything else but sleep" (231). In Forel's view, evidence for active and self-initiated sexuality in the child could not be ignored; nevertheless, in proposing reformatory cure, he was acknowledging that sexual paradox was not inherent but acquired.

There exists, among the scientists of sex already discussed, a range of attitudes to the normality of active sexuality in children: from Ellis, who appears most comfortable with a true erotic range, to Bloch and Forel, who avoid outright pathologization, but align anything other than accidental autoeroticism with some degree of pathology, whether acquired or congenital. While they all certainly uncover evidence that suggests the phenomenon of the sexual child, they do so in the process of classifying and exposing for reappraisal the range of adult sexual lives. This elision is attended to in a text that has been largely forgotten,

which uncovered, in a very deliberate manner, the sexual life of the child.

Moll and *The Sexual Life of the Child*

German physician Albert Moll was a contemporary of Hirschfeld, Bloch, Freud, and Ellis and has been simultaneously described as a "political conservative" and a "founder of sexology" along with Hirschfeld and Bloch (Haeberle 1986). The impact of Moll's contribution to childhood sexuality is encapsulated in the title of his 1910 publication *The Sexual Life of the Child*. His motivations for addressing the topic of sex were shared with his other contemporaries but unlike them he claimed a special distinctiveness for his own approach. Early twentieth-century American psychologist Edward Thorndike, in his Introduction to the 1912 English translation of Moll's work, placed the topic of childhood sexuality firmly within the respectable terrain of science. Identifying Moll as a "gifted physician of long experience" he praises the text for its freedom of elements that would "gratify low curiosity" while commending the author for his necessary "brutal frankness" on the topic (v).

In the Preface Moll declares that scientific expertise legitimates the entry into the topic of the sexual life of the child. To this end, he espouses "a more scientific approach rather than simply offering comprehensive treatises of sexual life" (xi). This is especially relevant to more dedicated studies of "special problems," in which he includes childhood sexuality. Specifically Moll sought to isolate the topic of the sexual life of the child from earlier accounts that have addressed the issue only through the lens of adult experience and perception (8).[12] Moll's project was to demonstrate the existence of a sexual life of the child and to offer a detailed and empirically supported account of the subjective components of this life. To assume that the sexual life of the child begins with the external physical manifestations of puberty is, according to Moll, a "disastrous error." It is essential for "the scientific investigator, the physician, the schoolmaster and the parents" to appreciate the importance of eradicating this idea (111). Addressing the forensic significance of his enquiry, Moll notes that the official acceptance of a conscious sexual life of the child would also help judges and jurists pronounce on the validity of sexual abuse claims by children (206–207).

Moll begins his treatise with a historical summary of the topic of the sexual life of the child. He identifies the beginnings of "serious

interest" in the topic in the latter half of the eighteenth century through the twin issues of onanism and the need for sexual enlightenment (7). Moll claims that in these discourses though childhood sexuality was identified, it was so only in the context of adult definition and experience. However, in examining the biographic recollections of Rousseau, Goethe, Dante, Byron, Napoleon, and Flaubert, Moll finds direct evidence of physical and emotional engagement as children between the ages of eight and ten (10). In contrast, Moll argues that contemporary professional writings of education and psychology ignore childhood sexuality, an absence he attributes to ignorance and embarrassment (10).

Moll takes issue also with his contemporary colleagues with whom he shares an interest in sexual manifestations for addressing the topic of the sexual life of the child "in a casual or cursory manner" (14). He specifically identifies Sigmund Freud and Sanford Bell in this regard. Moll was particularly critical of Freud's tendency to link childish sexuality with adult neurotic and somatic disorders.[13] Freud, he claims, "has not systematically studied the individual manifestations of the sexual life of the child" (14).[14] He likewise detracts from American psychologist Sanford Bell's study of love relationships between children for restricting his approach to "heterosexual qualitatively normal inclinations" that deal only "with the psychological aspects of the question" (15). Moll nevertheless conceded that Bell's "paper is full of matter," and made extensive use of Bell's examples in his text. Moll was more generous in his appreciation of the work of Ellis, whom he described as "the leader of all those at present engaged in the study of sexual psychology and pathology" (15). Like Ellis, Moll relied on information gathered from volunteer adult respondents, and avoided any reference in this process to "pathological considerations" (15). Although he drew on the childhood recollections of the healthy, Moll acknowledged that the accuracy of the recall of his adult respondents may be compromised by poor memory or embarrassment (6). Despite these limitations on his evidence, Moll also insisted that "a thorough presentation of the subject has not, as far as my knowledge extends, hitherto been attempted" (14). By distinguishing his work in this manner, he sets up a straw man in respect to the work of his contemporaries.

> Formerly, it was very generally believed that in sexually perverse persons the sexual sensation awakened unusually early in life. There is no foundation for this view. Normal sexual sensations can be detected very early in childhood. The existence of these

was ignored because the study of the normal was neglected for the study of the perverse. (98)

Yet Molls work is distinctive. Like his fellow sexologists, he identifies the "sexual impulse" as a natural phenomenon, but he argues that the sexual life of the child manifests itself in three stages: from birth to five years, from six to twelve years, and from thirteen years to adulthood. This periodicity is the first unique contribution of Moll's approach. The second is that he claims that there are two manifestations of the sexual impulse: one that involves the genitals (the detumescent impulse) and the other that involves the urge to be close, both physically and emotionally, to another person (the contrectation impulse). Another way of expressing this distinction is that the detumescent impulse is entirely somatic, and in the child is often an automatic response like scratching an itch, whereas contrectation involves an expression of "amatory sentiment" and passionate love that can be directed toward a range of those identified by the child as "the beloved" (80). The sexual life of the child is composed of both physical and psychological elements, the interaction of which progresses at varying rates from around six years old.

In relation to Moll's identification of the detumescent impulse, from infancy there exists the capacity for erection due to external stimulus, and both boys and girls will respond to the pleasurable sensations by seeking to recreate them. A child may experience physical excitation and even an immature form of ejaculation (57–58). However, this physical climax can take place without, necessarily any experience of affect. But in keeping with his more complex understanding of the sexual impulse, he identifies levels of engagement. "Sometimes it is a purely organic act, the individual masturbating in the entire absence of any imaginative sexual ideas; but at other times the imagination plays a notable part in the process, alike in children and adults" (88). Moll describes the inclusion of this latter element, which may take the form of erotic imagination, as the "voluptuous acme." By this he means not just the *physical* orgasm but an emotional experience that together with the physical climax constitutes the "acme of erotic experience" (ibid.).

In contrast, contrectation expresses itself in a quest for physical intimacy driven by emotional attachment. Both elements of the sexual impulse can occur independently of each other in all humans but especially, he argues, in the child. He further distinguishes between the two stages of childhood: up until seven years the detumescent impulse may come about from local stimulation and its relief may involve pleasure;

however, the voluptuous acme and ejaculation do not occur until well into the second stage (eight–fourteen years). Moll emphasizes,

> this much is beyond question, that the voluptuous acme and the sense of satisfaction associated therewith make their appearance subsequent to the development of erection and the equable voluptuous sensation in the genital organs. *Mutatis mutandis* this is equally true of both sexes. (59)

The significance of contrectational emotional attachment between children had been earlier addressed by American psychologist Sanford Bell (1902) who in his study of "love between the sexes" collected data from nearly 2,500 adult respondents about their recollections of love attachments as children. However, Bell contends,

> love between children of the opposite sex bears much the same relation to that between adults as the flower does to the fruit, and has about as little of physical sexuality in it as an apple-blossom has of the apple that develops from it. (333)

Although Moll makes use of Bell's case studies, he does not support this desexualization of love attachments between children. He acknowledges that in a young child it is difficult to prove the sexual basis for these attractions. Nevertheless, he argues that such attractions increase with age and become, as the child matures, more likely to be accompanied by tumescence and detumescence (69, 81). According to Moll, this may even result in sexual intercourse between children. Moreover,

> the same is true for those [situations] in which children at times readily lend themselves to the gratification of the sexual passion of adults. We learn from experience that in such cases attempts at actual intercourse may be made by children, usually accompanied by erection but in most cases without ejaculation. (82)

Moll does insist that while there is a complexity and a consciousness to the sexual life of the child, the experience differs qualitatively from that between adults in its physical and/or emotional manifestations.

The sexual life of the child is distinguished first by the ways in which the two components are manifested; especially in regard to spontaneous physical excitation without a sexual consciousness, and the experience of deep and ardent love attraction without necessarily any physical

expression of those feelings. It is important to distinguish between these two—they are not the same. Second, Moll offers examples of the range of connections possible in children's contrectational relationships: these can be between the same age; the same sex or the opposite, between children and animals, between the child (male or female) and adults and/or older children; even between the child and its parents.[15]

In both these respects, Moll widened the grounds on which childhood sexuality could be understood and evaluated. To this end, Moll's work moved beyond what Foucault identified as the somatization of childhood sexuality by expanding the exploratory lens to include subjective experience (Foucault 2003). In his contention that prepubertal children were not just capable of, but habitually engaged in, conscious sexual expression without any physical or psychological harm offered a final death knell to masturbation phobia.[16] Moll's approach to the topic of the sexual life of the child is both distinctive and challenging despite his more general political conservatism.

There is much that is notable about Moll's work. For example, his dispassionate account of same and opposite sex attractions, and especially of what we could now call cross-generational sex. In addition, he acknowledged intense emotional and psychosexual attachments between children and animals (137–138). Indeed, it is this multiplicity of possible attachments that brings him close to Freud's argument, yet he makes no comment about this connection, despite his obvious familiarity with Freud's *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*.[17] Moll's work extended the boundaries of childhood sexuality beyond the passive body or the regulation and surveillance of medicine or family (ibid.). Nor was his work directed toward cultural transformations through managing the sexuality of the child as we have illustrated in the social purity and sexual hygiene movements. His was a purely descriptive project: offering an empirically based account that he rightly identified as having been hitherto ignored.

The significance of Moll's work lies in his enquiry of "the sexual *life* of the child" (emphasis added) and it was this that marks the originality and impact of his work. This focus allowed him to offer the justification and evidence for a unique recognition of a sexually agentic child, in a study that was scientifically based. It was an empirically supported account of childhood sexuality that was not dependent on adult definitions for either its meaning or its legitimacy. It is, therefore, of interest that of all the sexologists, Moll's work, and its implications for a more systematic formulation of childhood sexuality, has remained largely on the margins, eclipsed by the more familiar work of Freud.

We do not wish to overstate the revolutionary intentions of this turn of the century physician: Moll also acknowledged the negative outcomes of precocious sexuality in children, and though an exponent of sexual enlightenment, he held no misapprehensions about the effectiveness of this strategy on either component of the sexual impulse. "It must not be supposed that their adaptation will immediately result in the disappearance of all unfavorable aspects of the sexual life. We will not, he says, turn children into 'little angels'" (Moll 1912, 302).

Conclusion

The potential of the work of sexologists for constructions of the sexual child outside the science of sex was never fully realized. Certainly what was written about the sexual child in any of the texts examined in this chapter received less attention than the work of the famous contemporary and fellow scientist Sigmund Freud. It is ironic that the two authors whose work presents the most complete and challenging picture of the sexual life of the child—Ellis and Moll—are arguably the most and least well known of these pioneers of sexual science.

The foundational idea of sexology was the identification of the sexual impulse as an integral dimension of evolution beyond the reproductive imperative. The second key idea was that this impulse is "spontaneous," that is, it is a self-generated phenomenon without any external cause. Three new terrains were opened up by these claims: first, that if they occurred independently of external stimulus, sexual manifestations could not so easily be identified with pathological physical consequences or with moral corruption. Second, that if the sexual impulse is internally generated, its manifestations may vary considerably and thus the formerly narrow limits of normality would be challenged. Third, that such manifestations open up the possibility of individual choice in, and direction of, the impulse—and thus of the consideration of a sexual consciousness. The notion of a spontaneous sexual impulse additionally opened a space within which to identify its manifestations in the child.

The dynamic for this outcome was the conviction that scientific collection of empirical information was the only means by which "normality" could be established: a world brought to life by adult recollections and memory. Gathering the erotic experiences of adults also shed light upon a wide range of erotic and affective experiences of the

child To this extent, all the works reviewed in the chapter contributed to the recognition of "a sexual life of the child."

Reading the work of these men more than a century later, it is tempting to reject the notion of their work as revolutionary, or even as scientific. But viewed in the context of their time, what was said about the sexual child, either directly or indirectly, was groundbreaking. As historian Christopher Nottingham (1999) has pointed out in relation to Ellis, which could be equally relevant to the work of all the first sexologists, "the point . . . is not so much what they said as they said anything at all; they made their point by their existence. They stood as a statement that sexuality needed to be retrieved from privacy and rescued from the distortions of respectability" (244).

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER FIVE

Freud and the Cartography of Infantile Sexuality

Introduction

> The effects of seduction do not help reveal the early history of the sexual instinct; they rather confuse our view of it by presenting children prematurely with a sexual object for which the infantile sexual instinct at first shows no need. It must, however, be admitted that infantile sexual life, in spite of the prepondering dominance of the erotogenic zones, exhibits components which from the very first involve other people as sexual objects.
>
> Freud (1905c)

Childhood sexuality and the desires, demands, and conflicts it entails occupy a foundational, if often paradoxical, location in the work of Sigmund Freud. Repeatedly revised in his writings on psychoanalytic theory, diagnosis, and methodology the imprint of infantile eroticism leaves its trace on everything from an individual's psychic life to rendering visible the fragility of their gender development and their objects of sexual desire (1938, 1933, 1919, 1905a, 1899). Its residue is found in the symptoms of hysteria and neurosis and the regression to its desires is far from uncommon in both the "normal" and the "pathological" (1912b, 1908b, 1905c, 1905b, 1905a). Our Oedipal desires and the restrictions society imposes on them undergird the psychosocial dynamics of both "savage" and "civilized" societies and underpin our artistic and cultural development (1918b, 161, 1918a, 1930). At base, the erotic life of the child, within Freudian psychoanalytic discourse, is the ground or "prehistory" upon which the psychical and the cultural are built (1925, 175).[1]

Freud's conceptualization of infantile sexuality was a continually unfolding and interlocking set of ideas—a particularly illustrative example of this progression can be seen in the multiple and, at times, contradictory additions in his various revisions of *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*.[2] Nonetheless, what is consistent within the work of Freud is the foundational nature of the erotic life of the child. Havelock Ellis (1939) remarked that it was the elastic nature of Freud's thinking on the topic that best illuminated his genius and helped explain the fractious and complex influence his work had on psychology and psychologists. As we illustrated in chapter four, although psychoanalysis was not the only or even the most radical empirical work taking place at the time, it was the significance Freud placed upon the fraught, and often complex nature, of infantile sexuality as a primary causal factor within his paradigm that fomented controversy (Foucault 1984; Davidson 1987; Ellis 1939). Freud addressed this directly when he stated that it was his "insistence on the importance of sexuality in all human achievements" and his attempt "at enlarging the concept of sexuality" that provoked "the strongest motives for the resistance against psycho-analysis" (Freud 1920a, xxx).[3]

Historian and biographer Peter Gay (1988) compares the scope and magnitude of Freud's work to that of Charles Darwin and Karl Marx (4). As a figure within early twentieth-century Western culture Freud's fame was akin to that of Albert Einstein (Schwartz 1999). His readership extended beyond doctors and scientists, to include artists, writers, film makers, and politicians and his lectures attracted large general audiences in both Europe and the United States (Gay 1988; Ernest 1963). Given his position in the modern assemblage of knowledge production, it should come as no surprise that within our history of ideas the work of Sigmund Freud is the most famous, but, ironically, is also all too often under read and thus misunderstood in our contemporary culture. Freud is commonly credited with "inventing" childhood sexuality; however, as we have shown in our analysis thus far, he was by no means alone in his preoccupations or concerns. Nevertheless, it is impossible to deny that Freud's theories of infantile sexuality transformed the conceptual landscape of ideas on the child and its sexuality and have remained in the public consciousness and popular culture ever since.

This chapter provides a holistic portrait of Freud's ideas by illuminating its central themes as well as its relationship to other discourses within the larger discursive constellation on the sexual child being produced at the turn of the century. The fecundity of Freud's writing and

its influence in the Anglophone West informed our decision to focus on the trajectory and content of Freud's psychoanalytic writings as opposed to its adaptation by Anglophone practitioners (Damousi 2005; Budd 2001; Schwartz 1999; Hale, 1995; Garton 1988a, 1988b; Jones 1963).[4] It is our contention that Freudian psychoanalytic discourse functioned as a conceptual transition point between the reform movements already discussed and the later developmental models featured in chapter six.

Freud's construction of the sexual child was provocative in its acknowledgment that *all* children were inherently sexual, pleasure seeking, desirous as well as sadistic and masochistic in the quest to fulfil their libidinous drives. However, this recognition must be placed alongside his theory of latency, which as James Kincaid, Arnold Davidson, and others have argued, allowed Freud to transport the child's sexuality back into an absent and unconscious space until its more socially acceptable expression later during puberty (Egan and Hawkes 2008a; Romesberg 2008; Kincaid 1992; Davidson 1987). Equally important, the potential of Freud's more radical thinking on childhood sexuality was derailed by his turn toward Oedipus, identification, and castration. By constructing the child's sexual development as a barometer of heteronormative progression, Freud's later work reproduces the normalization of adult development through the sexuality of the child. To this end, normalcy within Freudian psychoanalytic discourse ultimately translates into heterosexual desire.

Gaining Access to "the Claims of the Child" and Legitimating Psychoanalytic Practice

For Freud, the explanatory power of psychoanalysis was its ability to excavate and render visible the otherwise hidden erotic machinations of childhood within the symptoms of adult neurosis (1905c).[5] To this end, psychoanalytic explorations provided insight into the direction and development of the sexual instinct in the pathological and the normal. His focus on the primacy of ontogeny was particularly strong in his early writings on neuroses. As Freud argues, where others may devote their "attention to the primeval period, which falls within the life of the individual's ancestors" psychoanalysis is driven by its interest in another type of prehistory—"childhood" (39).[6] Pointing toward the balance he later sought between ontogeny and phylogeny in the progression of his thinking on sexuality, Freud softened these claims by stating that it is

impossible to "correctly estimate" the phylogenic or hereditary impact on the lives of adults until "the part played by childhood has been assessed" (ibid.). By raising its "voice on behalf of the claims of childhood," psychoanalysis was believed to offer unique ingress to a hitherto obscured and opaque domain (1919, 102). Psychoanalytic technique enabled analysts to "unearth the missing fragments" of infantile experience and shed light on a myriad memories, fantasies, and wishes housed in the unconscious (1899). By opening a window onto the past, practitioners would, according to Freud, help patients move forward with their lives free of the travails that brought them to analysis (1920).

Acknowledging the time consuming and challenging nature of his technique, Freud conceded that the "analysis of early childhood" is both "tedious and laborious" in its demands upon the physician and the patient by leading them "into dark regions where there are as yet no sign-posts" (1925, 173). Nevertheless, Freud claimed that it was precisely the arduous nature of analysis that warranted against it "becoming too mechanical" and overly staid (ibid.). Gaining entry to a patient's "innate instinctual constitution and the effects of his earliest [sexual] experiences" provided the necessary materials to "accurately gauge the motive forces that have led to his neurosis" and how these events have been "remodeled and overlaid in adult life" (173). For Freud, one could only enter the present and shape the future through a circuitous and protracted archeology of the tumultuous period of infantile sexuality in the past.

In his preface to the fourth edition of *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, Freud emphasizes the significance of the "technical skill" needed to fully understand infantile sexuality:

> [T]he beginnings of human sexual life which are here described can only be confirmed by investigators who have enough patience and technical skill to trace back an analysis to the first years of a patient's childhood…None, however, but physicians who practise psycho-analysis can have any access whatever to this sphere of knowledge or any possibility of forming a judgment that is uninfluenced by their own dislikes and prejudices. If mankind had been able to learn from a direct observation of children, these three essays could have remained unwritten. (1920, xxix)

Through the practiced lens of psychoanalysis an objective and uncontaminated image of the erotic wishes of the child would materialize through the conscious recollections and the unconscious associations

of the adult patient. However, Freud was also quick to note, in 1910, that "it has become possible to gain direct insight [from children] into infantile psycho-sexuality by the analysis," and that these sessions have "confirmed" the trustworthiness of the method and its insights (1905c, 59). The value of child analysis is also illustrated in his writing on female sexuality when he claimed that the proof of his theories "can be seen in children if one knows how to look" (1933, 150). In "The Sexual Theories of Children," Freud further highlights sources needed to study infantile sexuality—analysts may draw on materials from the direct observation of children, the statements of neurotics, and from the "conclusions, constructions and unconscious memories" brought to the fore during analysis with neurotics (1908a, 223). However, his position on working with children was anything but consistent. For example, the value of direct observation was questioned in the 1920 revision of the *Three Essays* and later still in his 1933 essay on "Femininity" when he comments on "how little of its sexual wishes a child can bring to preconscious expression or communicate at all" (1933, 150). What becomes evident in Freud's writings is that the erotic intrigues of the libido are as opaque for the child being compelled by them as they are in later life, albeit for different reasons. The question this raises is: given the ambivalent, and ultimately unresolved, status children occupy within psychoanalytic technique, how does Freud conceptualize the child and its nature more generally within his theories?

The Freudian Child

Freud asserts that the child is driven, almost exclusively, by insatiable libidinal wants. In his essay "The Dissection of the Psychical Personality," children are described as "amoral," lacking any "internal inhibitions against their impulses striving for pleasure" (1933, 77). Deeply curious, children are guided by "an autonomous investigative drive" that is both sensual and sexual (1908a, 226). So obvious is a child's lack of shame in matters of sexuality that for Freud this fact cannot "be disputed even by people who [are] insistent [in their claims regarding] the seraphic innocence of the child's mind" (1926, 34). Devoid of reason and rationality, the child is a hedonistic and self-absorbed creature vacillating in its love, lust, and hate. Lacking the constraint imposed by the superego,[7] children are at the mercy of the id and in need of guidance and control by their parents or other parental substitutes (1933). Scratch below the surface of the sentimentalized child and you will

find the Freudian child, a rapacious and greedy beast that requires the "exclusive possession" of its love objects and fixates on the satiation of impossible wishes (1931, 190).

Deeply narcissistic, the child wants to be the center of its parents' universe; however, any "punishment" or perceived slight hurls it "from [its] cloud castles" back to earth thereby shattering its solipsistic worldview (1924, 166). While children may require guidance, they also tend to harbor deep resentment and hostility toward the enforcers of "the educative influence" in their daily lives (1925, 180). Far from benign, the Freudian child was often preoccupied with jealousies and had a penchant for cruelty, often fantasizing about ways to eliminate its siblings and crafting imaginary scenarios where one or both "parents [get] replaced by others whom are grander" (1909, 39).[8]

Freud did not drop the erotic child into the unblemished Victorian garden of innocence; rather psychoanalytic discourse took the "other child" discussed in the previous chapters from the shadows and placed it in the home of every bourgeois parent. His theories illustrate the Janus face of "the seraphic child" by shedding light on its sexual or corrupt complement. As different sides to the same coin, the child within both of these conceptions shares certain epistemological assumptions; namely that the child is an incomplete being on its way to becoming fully human in adulthood and thus is devoid of reason and rationality. Due to its position within the hierarchy of cognition, the child is also conceptualized as in need of outside intervention.[9]

Childhood, as a "prehistoric epoch" or stage in the process of becoming, is the focal point of Freudian psychoanalytic discourse. While this period may be positioned at the center of Freud's explanatory framework and function as the locus of his analytic insights, what is equally noteworthy is that "his majesty the child" occupies a thorny and deeply ambivalent place in much of his work (1914, 29).[10] The nature of this prehistorical epoch, whether it is made up of previous experiences or psychical states, and how one is granted access to it occupies an imprecise and, at times, contradictory place within Freud's writing on infantile sexuality. The ability to "trace back" to "the first years of a patient's childhood" experiences and indeed the place of the child itself is rendered even more complicated when framed through Freud's theory of "infantile amnesia" (1920, xxix). The deployment of infantile amnesia as a barrier, past which only psychoanalysts could gain entry, illustrates how Freud attempted to make infantile sexuality, and the psychic state involved therein the unique province of psychoanalysis, thereby rendering credible its practice.

Figure 5.1 The Naughty Child. Rembrandt's image highlights the long-standing cultural ambivalence surrounding the child as both a figure of innocence and evil. As we argue in this chapter both images have a central place within the history of ideas on childhood sexuality. Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn. 1635. *The Naughty Child*. Staaliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany. Credit: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY.

Screen Memories, Repression, and Infantile Amnesia

In his 1899 essay "Screen Memories," Freud elucidates the obtuse nature of childhood recollections and formulates his early theorizing on the "problems concerning the operation of memory and its distortions" (Strachey in Freud 1899, 6). For Freud any memory "whose value consists in the fact that it represents thoughts and impressions from a later period and that its content is connected with these by links of a symbolic or similar nature, is what I would call a *screen memory*" (15 emphasis in the original). In other words, the recollections of our childhood act as "screens" by displacing taboo wishes and desires onto an early innocuous childhood scene that is only symbolically related. As James Strachey notes Freud's theory of screen memories set in play "the importance and *raison d'etre* of phantasies" as well as "the amnesia covering our early years, and, behind all this, infantile sexuality" (6). Reminiscence is part experience, part fantasy, part adult wish fulfillment—as such "there is no guarantee whatsoever for what our memory tells us" (15). Although his theory of screen memories focused primarily on how early events act as a screen for later desires, it is the inverse—how later encounters come to act as screens for early occurrences—that in the end had a far greater impact on psychoanalysis and Freud's thinking in *Three Essays* (Freud 1901, 1905c).

While infantile amnesia receives fairly minimal attention in Freud's *Three Essays*—only 2 out of 130 pages—the implications of it for psychoanalysis and infantile sexuality are quite substantial. In his essay on childhood sexuality, Freud notes that infantile amnesia effects "most people" by obscuring "the earliest beginnings of their childhood up to their sixth or eighth year" so all that remains are "but a few unintelligible and fragmentary recollections" (1905c, 40). It is during the course of our childhood that we have the greatest "capacity for receiving and reproducing impressions" that leave "the deepest traces on our minds" and have a "determining effect upon the whole of our later development" (41). Ironically, however infantile amnesia, which turns everyone's childhood into "a prehistoric epoch and conceals from him the beginnings of his own sexual life, is responsible for the fact that in general no importance is attached to childhood in the development of sexual life" (42).

Given the depths into which our childhood impressions recede, an examination of the impact of our early experiences remains out of reach to anyone other than the psychoanalyst. Like the archeologist, the analyst excavates a lost aspect of self that has escaped our recollection

to provide the key with which to decipher the patterns it has set into play in adulthood.[11] Freud lays claim to infantile sexuality through the clarity bestowed by the psychoanalytic method as evidenced in his conviction that "not a single author has *clearly* recognized the regular existence of a sexual instinct in childhood" (40 emphasis added).[12] In "A Child Is Being Beaten: A Contribution to the Study of the Origin of Sexual Perversions" he highlights the analyst's unique ability to uncover the past and gain ingress into the "claims of the child" (1919, 102). Whereas others become distracted by the "later impressions of life" that "speak loudly enough through the mouth of the patient," psychoanalysis brings forth the child itself (102). Through the analyst's ability to make visible the hidden and illuminate the unconscious, psychoanalytic discourse legitimates both its method and its claim on this domain of knowledge production.[13]

From Secret Seductions to the Repressed Libido

In his early clinical work, many of Freud's female patients spoke of being "seduced by adults or other children" at an early age (1905b, 4). In response, Freud forwarded his, now infamous, seduction theory which states that repressed sexual trauma in childhood produces hysteria and obsessional neurosis later in life (1906).[14] Neurotic symptoms would take place in adolescence after a relatively minor (often romantic) event triggers the memory of the original trauma (ibid.). However, after seeing more patients and listening to their stories, Freud rejected the theory of seduction and replaced it with a theoretical matrix that comprised fantasy, infantile sexuality, and repression. In "My Views on the Part Played by Sexuality in the Aetiology of the Neuroses," Freud notes that he "overestimated" the frequency "of these occurrences" and as a result was unable to "discriminate between the deceptive memories of hysterics concerning their childhood and the memory traces of actual happenings" (1905b, 4). Freud's analysis of neuroses evolved into an examination of how patients employed seduction fantasies as a defense mechanism to distance themselves from "the sexual activities" they practiced in their childhood (ibid.).

For Freud, seduction fantasies were "created mostly during the years of adolescence and related on one side to the infantile memories on which they were founded, and on the other side to the symptoms into which they were directly transformed" (1905b, 5). Similar to screen memories, seduction fantasies transform and repress early sexual activities

in order to make them more psychically palatable to the individual.[15] Significantly, Freud's theory of repression also uncoupled early sexual molestation with mental illness and perversion:

> my investigations into the mental life of normal persons then yielded the unexpected discovery that their infantile history in regard to sexual matters was not necessarily different in essentials from that of the neurotic, and that seduction particularly had played the same part in it; the result was that accidental influences receded still further into the background in favor of the influence of "repression," as I had begun to call what I had formerly termed "defence." (6–7)

Events from childhood, will not produce a uniform response in adulthood; rather it was how a person reacted "to these experiences" that was most essential for clinical practice (1905b, 7).[16] By depriving the "traumatic element in the sexual experiences of childhood of their importance there remained a recognition that the form of the infantile sexual activity (whether spontaneous or provoked) determines the direction taken by later sexual life at maturity" (4–5). To this end, "seduction is not required in order to arouse a child's sexual life" (1905c, 57). Freud acknowledged the presence of eroticism in children as primarily somatic—it comes "about spontaneously from internal causes" (57). Although this transition seems to discount traumatic or "accidental forces" in the sexual life of the child, Freud was unwilling to completely abandon the importance of external factors (1905b). As he argues much later in "Feminine Sexuality,"

> actual seduction is likewise common enough, either at the hands of other children or of nurses who want to soothe the child, send her to sleep or make her dependent upon them. Where seduction intervenes, it invariably disturbs the natural course of development and often has profound and lasting consequences. (1931, 191)

While Freud believed that seduction could have "lasting consequences," he also emphasized that it should not be constructed as the only causal factor for the expression of infantile sexuality. To this end, Freud's contention that seduction does not necessary produce long-lasting damage to the child or the adult is distinct and exceptional.

With this transformation in his thinking, the symptoms of neurosis were seen as a result of repressed libido. In *Three Essays* Freud argues

that the energy of the sexual instinct "is the most important and only constant source of energy of the neurosis and that in consequence the sexual life of the persons in question is expressed" in their symptoms (1905c, 29). Neurosis, then, is the "conflict between the libido and sexual repression" and its symptoms the compromise "between these two mental currents" (1905b, 7). Although neurotics may wish to disavow their sexual aims or the objects of their desire (either "normal" or "perverse"), their libido ultimately refuses this suppression and finds its release through somatic symptoms—to this end "*neuroses are, so to say, the negative of perversion*" (1905c, 31 emphasis in the original). According to Freud, "even the most complicated symptoms reveal themselves as "converted representations of phantasies" that have an infantile "sexual situation as their content" (1905b, 8).[17] By illuminating the path of our sexual instincts and its component parts, psychoanalysis renders visible "the sexual function in its true range" by tracing how it has been "circumscribed by the infantile disposition" (1905b, 8). It is the unfolding of Freud's conceptualization of infantile sexuality that occupies the rest of this chapter.[18]

Mapping Infantile Sexuality

In her foreword to *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, Nancy Chodorow (2000) writes that, for Freud, sexual wishes originate "from innate psychobiological propensities beginning from birth that combine with family experiences" (x).[19] However, the ability to correctly unravel the amount of influence that either the congenital or the "accidental" exerts in the sexual life of the child is an unresolved tension in Freud's work over the years. The persistence of this concern is evidenced as late as 1931 in Freud's work when he concedes that "we are not yet able to distinguish what is rigidly fixed by biology and what is subject to change or shift under the influence of accidental experience" (Freud 1931, 198). Nevertheless, what is decisive is that there is "no doubt that germs of sexual impulses are already present in the new-born child and that these continue to develop for a time" (1905c, 43). The impetus driving psychoanalytic discourse was not an attempt to unravel the "problem," "danger" or "damage" caused by childhood sexuality—rather it was a desire to understand its "nature" (1905b, 8). Particularly in his earlier work, Freud was critical of what he viewed as the moralizing and nonscientific quality of reform literature—especially in their calls for abstinence and

campaigns against "degeneracy" and perversion. Emphasizing the untenable nature of prolonged abstinence for young people, Freud argues that

> on the whole I have not gained the impression that sexual abstinence helps to shape energetic, self reliant men of action, nor original thinkers, bold pioneers and reformers; for more often it produces "good" weaklings who later become lost in the crowd that tends to follow painfully the initiative of strong characters. (1908b, 24)

Although cultural sanctions are often successful in curbing the sexual activities of youth, Freud warned that all too often these create the "unwished-for result" of "permanently" impairing sexual desire once it's "set free" in marriage (1908b, 24).

Sexual instincts, for Freud, are situated at the intersection of the mental and the physical—they are the psychical representation of a continuously flowing source of stimulus—as opposed to the response to a singular source of excitation (1905c). Freudian psychoanalysis foregrounds the primacy of pleasure, as opposed to the quest for reproduction, in the manifestation of the sexual instinct. Unlike nonhumans, the sexual instinct of humans "consists of many single component-impulses" and is evidenced long before puberty (1908b, 16). The search for pleasure is apparent "in infancy, when it attains its aims of pleasurable gratification not only in connection with genitalia, but also in other parts of the body (erotogenic zones), and hence is in a position to disregard any other than these easily accessible objects" (16–17). In its studies, psychoanalysis makes understandable "the many aspects and varieties" of our sexual constitution by showing the "composite nature of the sexual instinct as a whole and its origin from various contributory sources in the organism" (6). For Freud, psychoanalysis alone could illuminate the circuitous route the infantile sexual instinct takes to satisfy its sexual aims as well as the pleasures it seeks in its sexual objects.

Pregenital Organization, Sensual Pleasure, and the Component Instincts

Freud contends that the sexual constitution of the child is more "variegated," "polymorphously perverse," and autoerotic than its adult

counterparts (1905c, 1905b). Infantile sexuality emerges from and in relation to "one of the vital somatic functions" (48). As a result, it is the pleasurable feeling the child receives from the satiation of its basic needs, such as hunger, that it later seeks to reproduce on its own. Moreover, a child's sexual aim and its search for a sexual object are formed in an analogous fashion; both are created "in connection with the bodily functions necessary for self-preservation" (1912b, 50).[20] Pleasure for the child emerges in a twofold fashion: from the satiation of its basic needs and through somatic stimulation. During the first phase of its sexual life a child's sexual impulse is "freely exercised" in both aim and desire; moreover, both its aims and objects are born out if its dependency upon and relationship with its mother (1908b, 17).

In her daily care of the infant, the mother produces a continuous source of excitation and pleasurable feelings in the various erotogenic zones of her child's body (1905c). While some regions of the body are "predestined" to provide pleasure (such as the oral and anal orifices and later the genitals), any "part of the skin or mucous membrane can function as an erotogenic zone" (49). Primary sexual experiences are "naturally passive in character" during the oral phase (because it is the mother who "suckles, feeds, cleans and dresses" the child) (ibid.). However, during infancy "active" characteristics also come to the fore and are manifested during the anal phase (for example, the child's ability to withhold feces) (1931, 195). As Freud emphasizes, during both of the oral and anal phase the child's "excretory needs are cathected with sexual interest" (1926, 32). Although parents might find this information "unsavory" and hard to accept, Freud informs us that it should be expected, because "it takes quite a long time for children to develop feelings of disgust" or shame (ibid.). Children are compelled by the pleasure principle alone (ibid.). The prolific and nongenital constitution of the child's sexual impulse, within Freudian psychoanalysis, displaces the otherwise taken for granted assumption of genital sexuality and its concomitant reproductive imperative. Moreover, it underscores that the emergence and stimulation of the erotogenic zones in the child has "more to do with producing a pleasurable feeling" than with "the nature of the part of the body concerned" (1905c, 49).

Freud highlights the practice of "sensual sucking" (thumb sucking) as another example to help illustrate the sexual excitation erotogenic zones offer when children engage in autoerotic activities. "Completely absorbed" by its pleasure, sensual sucking leads "to sleep or even to a motor reaction in the nature of an orgasm" (1905c, 46). As such,

Figure 5.2 The Cornstalk Madonna. Freud's discussion of the erotic nature of the mother-child relationship was deeply shocking to his audience. Freud's supposition that the mother was the child's first sexual object illuminated a child's erotic drive and its subjective sexual longing. Equally important, Freud's claims that the maternal touch provided unlimited amounts of erotic pleasure in the child challenged conceptions of childhood as well the sacrosanct position of the mother's bond to her child. To this end, Freud rendered suspect the sanctity of mother and child in his discussion of its erotic undertones. Orin Crooker. 1916. *Cornstalk Madonna*. Credit: United States Library of Congress.

the autoerotic quality of infantile thumb sucking is analogous to the pleasure a child receives from breast feeding, whose "flushed cheeks and blissful smile" provide a mirror image of "sexual satisfaction later in life" (48).[21] Likewise, the pressure produced from "holding back" stool or the pleasurable feeling a child gets from tickling its anus provides similar excitation. While oral fixation might arise more passively and anal retention functions more actively, indulgence is at the center of both. It is for this reason that Freud argues that once "we have understood the nature of the instinct arising from . . . one of the erotogenic zones, we shall have little more to learn of the sexual activity of children" (51).

The psychosexual life of the child is further complicated by its other "component instincts" that come to the fore during the child's pursuit of sexual pleasure (58). Devoid of shame and empathy, children are driven

by a quest for mastery and sadistic cruelty (ibid.). Scopophilia, exhibitionism, and cruelty are not only present, according to Freud, but are also universally expressed in children. For example, the impulse for exhibition underlies the child's "unmistakable satisfaction in exposing" the "sexual parts" of its body (58). Similarly, a compulsion toward scopophilia explains why children gaze upon each other's genitals and take special efforts to watch the process of "micturition and defaecation" (59). Although the instinct for scopophilia transforms when it undergoes repression during latency, the desire to see others' genitals persists (and for some neurotics to the point of becoming compulsive) into adult life.

For Freud, it is the last impulse—cruelty—that "dominates" the child's pregenital sexual life (1905c, 59). "Cruelty in general comes easily to the childish nature" because the capacity for pity emerges "relatively late in life" (58–59). If parents notice a strong penchant for cruelty in their child, its presence, according to Freud, should "give rise to a just suspicion" that an "intense," "precocious," and overactive level of "*erotogenic* sexual activity" is taking place (59 emphasis in the original). Freud further warned that if a child's sadism becomes too enmeshed with its sexual aim; such desires may be "unbreakable" in later life (59). The impulse for cruelty could produce masochism as easily as sadism, and it was for this reason that Freud cautioned against corporal punishment.[22] In Freud's early theories, pregenital sexuality is active and passive for both boys and girls. Unlike the later stages of sexual development where the masculine and feminine are central to its operation, Freud in his 1913 essay on "The Predisposition to Obsessional Neurosis" states that gender difference does not influence "pregenital object choice" (82).

The increasing importance placed on the pregenital phase in Freudian psychoanalytic discourse is evident in his 1915 revision of *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, in which he states that a child's pregenital sexual organization "constitutes a regime of a sort" in its life and when passed through normally offers "only a hint" of its prior existence (1905c, 64). The sexual impulse during the pregenital phase becomes almost analogous to its manifestation in puberty. For Freud, the only distinction is that in childhood "the combination of the component instincts and their subordination under the primacy of the genitals has been effected only very incompletely or not at all" (65). As he further articulates in 1919, it is in "the years of childhood between the ages of two and four or five that the congenital libidinal factors are first awakened by actual experiences and become attached to certain complexes" (1919, 102).[23]

Freud's pregenital organization is radical in one sense because it foregrounds the universal and polymorphous nature of infantile sexuality and in so doing uncouples the association sexuality with corruption in the life of the child. Sexuality becomes a facet of pleasure seeking as opposed to a postpubertal quest for reproduction.[24] To this end, the eroticism of childhood is not something to correct (unless it becomes dangerously intertwined with the instinct to cruelty); rather it is a foundational instinct in the child. Nevertheless, Freud's conception of latency ultimately undercuts the potential of his theory by consigning the child's sexuality back into a "dormant state" and, as we illustrate in the next section, once resuscitated, one that is conscripted to heterosexuality.

Latency and Diaphasic Developments

Human sexuality manifests diaphasically in psychoanalytic discourse and it is latency that creates this rupture in our erotic biography. In his first edition of *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality,* Freud argues that even though "nothing is known for certain concerning the regularity and periodicity of this oscillating course" of sexual development, the child's sexuality is gradually overtaken by a "progressive process of suppression" (1905c, 42). As a result, the child's blossoming sexual efflorescence is inevitably "nipped by frost" and redirected only to reanimate again at puberty (1912a, 106). The mental forces of disgust and shame, which "later impede the course of the sexual instinct and, like dams, restrict its flows," are formed during the latency period and bring forth a metamorphosis wherein the libidinous and solipsistic child is left behind for the "civilized" adolescent who takes its place (1905c, 43).

Socialization, therefore, is not the result of an outside educative influence for Freud; rather, an individual's entry into society must follow the "lines which have already been laid down organically" and impress "them somewhat more clearly and deeply" (1905c, 44). Latency supports the conversion of erotic libidinous energy into more socially acceptable activities—via sublimation. Although Freud warns that we should not "deceive ourselves" into "thinking that we have perfect clarity with regard to latency," he posits that it is this process that promotes civilization (45). As he argued in 1908, "the energies available for 'cultural development' are thus in great part won through suppression of the so-called perverse [infantile] elements of sexual excitation" (1908b, 17). In

his contention that sublimated sexual energy is the engine that drives a child's education and advances civilization, Freudian psychoanalytic discourse inverted the theory of the uneducable and corrupting sexual child forwarded by both purity and sexual hygiene reformers of the time (1905c, 1918b).

The psychical function of latency turned in a new direction in Freudian psychoanalysis in 1915—to the suppression of incestuous object choice. This modification must be placed in the context of two further revisions to *Three Essays* in the same edition. It was in 1915 that Freud supplemented his thoughts on infantile sexuality with his new emphasis on the pregenital phase and it was in this edition that castration anxiety made its entry into his essay on infantile sexuality for the first time. He argues in his early writings that a child's sexual activity takes place in "two waves": first in infancy (between ages three and five—which he changes in 1920 to between ages two and five) and then again during puberty (1905c, 66).[25] However, the sexual objects of our early childhood take on "the highest importance" in Freud's revision because they illuminate the cause of and propensity for "disturbances" in our objects of desire later during adulthood (ibid.). The child's sensual feeling toward its primary sexual object transforms and grows more intense at puberty because between the first phase and the second the child has to pass through the Oedipus complex. As we discuss in depth later, the Oedipus complex renders the child's object of desire—the mother or father—"unutilizable" and what is reawakened at puberty is the desire for an object like the mother or father (66). Ideally, the child's love transforms from the sensual to the affectionate. If, for whatever reason, this transformation of feelings fails, both sexual satisfaction and object choice in adulthood may remain out of reach.

The concept of latency is problematic within psychoanalytic discourse for two reasons.[26] First, although psychoanalysis recognizes the child's sexuality, it denies sexual subjectivity to any child past the age of five. Freud renders a child's sexual aims and objects dormant with latency and makes the recollection of these feelings and experiences equally out of reach with his theory of infantile amnesia. By crafting the child's sexuality as a once fertile domain lost in the prison of the unconscious and thus shrouded from memory, infantile eroticism becomes the sole province of the psychoanalyst who deciphers it, not the child experiencing it. Second, Freud's post-Oedipus revision of latency transforms its function from a socializing mechanism to a normalizing one that constricts sexual development to a prescribed outcome. Between 1905 and 1912 latency moves from an organic stop gap

that fosters socialization and forwards civilization through sublimation to a prohibition against incestuous object choice.

We contend that the shift away from sublimation marks Freud's transition toward the normalization of adult heterosexuality through the body and psyche of the child. In his early writings, Freud distinguishes the difference between sublimation, which is necessary, and the costs of "overly" strict sanctions against sexuality that produce neurosis, prohibitions against "so-called perversions," a lack of "potency" in men, "frigidity" in women and ultimately in the "renunciation" of marriage by "both parents" (1908b, 28).[27] Excessive moral sanctions are harmful to both individual and culture. After the formation of the Oedipus complex, object choice is foregrounded because it secures the path toward acceptable gender identification and heterosexual object choice later in life. Latency becomes a barometer of normative individual development and, thus, far more conservative in its implications. However, as we elaborate, the normative imperative in Freud's work comes to full blossom in his writing on the phallus, gender, and the Oedipus complex.

Infantile Genital Sexuality and the Phallus

Although the genitals do not play "an opening part" in the sexual lives of children, there is no "lack of stimulation [to them] by secretions which may give an early start to sexual excitation" (1905c, 53). Children seek to reproduce the pleasure their genitals provide even "during their earliest infancy" (54). The genital phase arises from its "connection with micturition (in the glans and clitoris)" and manifests later during masturbation. According to Freud, around age four "a brief efflorescence," or second genital phase, of masturbatory activity takes place and persists "until it is once more suppressed [by latency], or it may continue without interruption" (55). The nature of this phase is less transparent and "may assume a variety of different forms which can only be determined by a precise analysis of individual cases" (55). Nonetheless, what remains consistent is that the genital phase, like its precursor, forms deep "unconscious" impressions thereby shaping future health or neurosis in adulthood. Freud argues in his early theories that "the coalescence of the component-impulses and their concentration under the primacy of the genital organs is not effected in childhood, or only very imperfectly" (63). Logically, then, the genitals are "the last phase which the sexual organization undergoes" (63). This supposition is radically revised in the progression of Freudian psychoanalytic thought.

After 1912, Freud's theory focused on the "far-reaching similarity between the last stages of infantile sexuality (about the fifth year) and the final form to which it develops in the adult" (1923, 161). In his 1923 essay "The Infantile Genital Organization of the Libido: A Supplement to the Theory of Sexuality," Freud claimed that infantile sexuality mirrors adult sexuality in the desire for its sexual objects as well as in the realization and primacy of genital sexuality (ibid.). While the "perfect concentration of the component-impulses under the primacy of the genitals" may be elusive in this phase, one should be aware that the "functioning of the genitals" and a child's "interest in them reaches predominant significance which comes little short of that reach in maturity" (162). This transformation in his thinking is remarkable for two reasons. Freud intertwined the sexual object with its sexual aim in children as young as four, something hitherto absent in this history of ideas. Equally important, Freud genders infantile sexuality and in so doing moves away from his previous theory of the gender neutrality of prepubertal sexuality.[28] As Freud argues,

> the only difference between infantile genital organization and the final genital organization of the adult—constitutes at the same time the main characteristic of the infantile form, namely, that for both sexes in childhood only one kind of genital organ comes into account—the male. (162)

The emphasis in this stage shifts away from the genitals and toward the primacy "of the *phallus*" (162 emphasis in the original). What is significant is that Freud not only genders the sexual life of the child, but first universalizes it through a masculine lens.[29] The masculine nature of the phallic phase forms the foundation for the gendered nature of sexual development.

Over the course of the phallic phase, a budding interest in the nature of sexuality emerges in the child, what Freud terms the "sexual researches" of childhood (1908a). Compelled by "the components of [their] sexual drives," a child's sexual curiosity functions as an integral part of their "psychosexual constitution" (228). One theory that emerges in the child's mind as a result of their "researches" is the unqualified supremacy of the penis and the resultant fear of its castration. Because the "penis is already the leading erotogenous zone" for boys and their "most important auto-erotic sexual object," their solipsistic perspective makes it impossible for them "to imagine a personality similar to him" without one (228). In the same manner, girls also

come to believe in the primacy of the penis due to the phallic nature of infantile sexuality.

When a boy happens to look upon the girl's naked body for the first time, he believes that a girl must possess a small penis, one that will grow with time. When this corporeal transformation fails to materialize and gets associated with threats made concerning his own masturbatory activity, the boy "comes to the conclusion, so fraught with emotion, that at least [the penis] had been there and had at some time been taken away" (1923, 163). In other words, the visual image of the girl's wounded body renders far more serious threats made by his mother that had hitherto gone unnoticed—that if he continued to masturbate he would be castrated by his father or some other male authority (1938, 211).[30] Given the propensity for pleasure the penis affords, it is no wonder that the threat of castration takes on such an urgent and traumatic nature (211).[31]

A girl's clitoris provides similar autoerotic pleasure and in this sense "behaves like a penis" during the phallic phase (1924, 170). Like her male peers, the girl "zealously engages in masturbation" and receives similar threats from her mother about her autoerotic activities (1938, 211). However, as Freud illustrates, this is where the paths of boys and girls diverge. When a girl views the naked bodies of her "boy playfellows," she sees that she "has come off short" (1924, 170). Although the girl may, at first, attempt to deny her deficiency, she ultimately recognizes her condition for what it is and comes to envy what her brothers or playmates possess and of what she has been deprived—a penis. The girl begins "to share the contempt felt by men for a sex which is the lesser" and blames her mother for putting her in such a position in the first place (1925, 178). In the girl's mind, her lack becomes connected to her mother's antimasturbatory dictates. This combination worsens with the girl's feelings of "humiliation" and brings to a close her clitoral autoeroticism (180). As Freud elucidates, shame "forces her away from . . . masculine" sexuality and "onto new lines which lead to the development of femininity" (180).[32]

A close reading of Freud's reconceptualization of infantile sexuality illuminates contradictions that plagued his writing on technique and came to beset his theory of psychosexual development. The first is the incongruity between the sexual consciousness Freud affords the child and his simultaneous restriction of it within psychoanalytic discourse. The inquisitive child is driven to sexual researches; however, the outcome of these activities are extra-individual and thus universal (e.g., the supremacy of the penis). Equally, although the child has sexual

aims and objects and can perceive and attach social significance to sexual difference, the realization of these differences, at least in their ideal form, is uniformly prescribed (e.g., castration and the foreclosure of the clitoris). As we suggested earlier, the voice of the child within Freudian psychoanalysis is marginal at best. Freud noted in 1933 that children have little to no understanding of their "sexual wishes," much less the ability to bring them "to preconscious expression" or even "communicate [them] at all" (150). To this end, the sexual child within Freudian psychoanalytic discourse is present in the abstract, but absent in the material.

After reading Freud's theory of castration anxiety, a second and equally important question emerges: given the level of trauma induced during the phallic phase, why would any man desire a woman in the future? Moreover, why would a girl give up the phallus? To fully grasp how heterosexuality becomes the end result of psychosexual development at puberty, we must unravel the complex path boys and girls travel to pass through the Oedipus complex before latency. It is in this final transition that the production of gender and the normalization of heterosexuality become fully intertwined in Freudian psychoanalytic discourse.

Gender and the Oedipus Complex

In *The Question of Lay Analysis,* Freud states unequivocally that a child's "first choice of [a sexual] object is, to use the technical term, an incestuous one" (1926, 32). Prior to latency, "children regularly direct their sexual wishes towards their nearest relatives—in the first place, therefore, towards their father and mother, and afterwards towards their brothers and sisters" (32). To this end, the Oedipus complex "represents the peak of infantile sexuality, which, through its after-effects, exercise[s] a decisive influence on the sexuality of adults" (1905c, 92). Anyone who fails to successfully pass through this phase "falls victim to neurosis" (ibid,). Ideally, incestuous desires are "given up" and "radically disintegrate" with the formation of puberty; for Freud this transformation is crucial for "normal" functioning in later "mental life" (1926, 32–33).

Freud's theory of the Oedipus complex inverted the long-standing belief "that Nature has laid down an innate abhorrence in us as a guard against the possibility of incest" by highlighting the universal "nature" of incestuous desire in the child (1926, 33).[33] Given this,

what is particularly noteworthy is that the Oedipus complex came into full bloom relatively late in this thinking.[34] It does not make its first appearance in *The Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* until Freud's 1920 revision of the text, and then only in passing.[35] Nevertheless, the Oedipus complex is a key pillar in Freud's theoretical architecture. As he elucidates, "the importance of the Oedipus complex has [become] more and more clearly evident; its recognition *has become the shibboleth* that distinguishes the adherents of psycho-analysis from its opponents" (1905c, 92 emphasis added). The clearest explication of the universal nature of the Oedipus complex in the life of the child is found in Freud's essays "The Passing of the Oedipus-Complex" and "Some Psychological Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction between the Sexes" as well as in his books *The Question of Lay Analysis* and *The New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis,* and it is from these texts that we draw our analysis. As each essay painstakingly illustrates, the process of Oedipalization and its resolution is highly gendered—and as a result—must be addressed in a gender specific manner.

Boys, Oedipus, and Narcissism

The transition through the Oedipus complex is both psychically tumultuous and highly advantageous for boys (1925, 175). A consequence of the repeated stimulation of a boy's body, the maternal touch initiates Oedipal desire during the oral and anal phase. Around age four, when the "efflorescence" of the second phallic phase emerges, the boy has "two sexual objects"—himself and his mother (1914, 29).[36] As Freud notes, it should be "easy to understand" how a child might remain cathected to the woman who originally animated his pregenital libido (1925, 175). Although the boy practices "manual masturbation" with great frequency during this phase, his desires are not fully satiated by this autoerotic practice (1938, 211). In the thick of his "Oedipal-attitude," masturbation is the only outlet for his incestuous desire and it is the connection between these two types of libido (autoerotic and incestuous) that will shape his life "for ever after" (1924, 168). For Freud, the child's quest for "sensual satisfaction—so far, that is, as the child's powers of imagination allow" is beyond question (1926, 33).[37]

Given the potency of the boy's desire, how does "the lovelorn little one" turn "away from its hopeless longing" and move on (1924, 166)? The cessation of a boy's incestuous desires, according to Freud, depends upon the triumph of narcissism over object libido. It is the boys'

self-interest and his desire to protect his penis that eclipses his incestuous desires. So significant is a boy's anxiety "that this highly valued part of him will be taken away" by his competitor—his father, that it obliterates his libidinous desire and in so doing "abrogates" the Oedipus complex (167). Dejected, the boy enters into a process of aversion where his erotic desires are forfeited and replaced by his identification with his father and later still his mother, albeit under a different guise (1924, 1925, 1933).

Being "loved by the father" and indentifying with him help make the mother "superfluous" in the boy's mind (1924, 169). For Freud, the amorous feelings the boy has for his father are not sensual, rather they get transformed into his desexualized desire to be like his father and trigger the formation of the superego and acculturation.[38] To this end, identification involves the "introjection" of the father's authority into the boy's ego; an influence that forms "the kernel" of a boy's superego and helps "perpetuate [the father's as well as society's] prohibition against incest" (169).[39] In other words, Freud's theory of identification mirrors the socializing function of latency in his earlier work. A second form of identification also manifests after the Oedipus complex—and it is this one that comes to secure heterosexuality in the future. According to Freud, the grief caused by Oedipus is so severe that the boy takes his mother, as an object, into his ego. The erotic love a boy feels for his mother develops into a search for sexual objects like his mother in the future. As such, a boy's erotic love for his mother is "desexualized and sublimated" by this double identification (171).

Nevertheless, as Freud's work with his patients illustrates, a smooth transition through the Oedipus complex is anything but assured. Freud asserts that if the transition through the Oedipus complex is unsuccessful, a boy's incestuous desire may "persist unconscious in the *id"* only to "express itself later on in some pathogenic effect" (170). Similarly, a boy with a more passive orientation may refuse to identify with his father's position and instead desire "to take his *mother's* place as the love object of his *father*—a fact which [he] describe[s] as the feminine attitude" (1925, 175). In equal turn, a boy may repress female castration completely and develop homoerotic sexual objects because he is "incapable of having" sex "without a penis" (1908a, 229). Or, finally still, the boy can resist his father's authority and continue to desire his mother. Within Freud's later work none of these variations fall under the designation of the "normal."

Reviewing the Oedipus complex within Freud's self-proclaimed *shibboleth* of psychoanalytic discourse raises a host of questions about the presence and absence of the boy's sexual subjectivity. Although Freud

concedes that the path through Oedipus is tumultuous at best, its variation and multiplicity are constricted into categories of success and failure. As such it preordains the only "normal" outcome. As Judith Butler (1990) has noted, Freud's attempts to secure the path to heterosexuality in boys required the inclusion of often contradictory and paradoxical conceptions of identification to stabilize libidinal desire in a heteronormative direction. Given this, one might expect the transition for girls to adult sexuality would be less, rather than more complicated. This, as we now demonstrate, is far from the case.

Girls, the Maternal Object, and the Path to Oedipalization

The passage to and through Oedipus is a more protracted and "indeterminate" journey for the girl (Freud 1938, 171). According to Freud, Oedipal desire is "secondary formation" for girls, one that is constituted by and through castration anxiety (1925, 176).[40] However, before the girl can fall in love with her father, she must renounce her primary pre-Oedipal sexual object—her mother (1931, 184). Sustained far longer than a boy's Oedipal progression, a girl's attachment to her mother persists "well into the fourth year" and thus past "the longer period" of "early sexual efflorescence" (185). The girl's incestuous desire for her mother shapes her Oedipal desire and, later still, sets the patterns for her future marital relationship or lack thereof. Logically, it seems that the architecture of a woman's psychosexual life is constructed during a prolonged period of primary homoerotic attachment to the mother. However, Freud dismisses this possibility.[41] Instead as late as 1931, Freud continued to believe that "everything connected with" a girl's pre-Oedipal and Oedipal period in analysis "seemed to me so elusive, lost in a past so dim and shadowy, so hard to resuscitate, that it seemed as if it had undergone some specially [*sic*] inexorable repression" (1931, 185–186).

The girl's libidinal desire for her primary object, her mother, forms in much the same manner as it does for boys—from the sensual stimulation provided by her mother during the oral and anal phase. However, it is during a girl's secondary phallic phase "that strong active [sexual] wishes towards the mother…make their appearance" (1931, 197).[42] Freud contends, that "the sexual activity of this period culminates in clitoridal [*sic*] masturbation" during which a girl may fantasize about her mother. However, "whether she really imagines a sexual aim and what that aim is my experience does not make clear" (197). Although the girl may view her father as a competitor during this period, it is the arrival

of a new sibling that induces the greatest trauma and fosters the strongest resentment. Girls, like boys, often express the wish to have a child with their mother; but once the girl sees her new sibling and understands that it was given to her mother by another—her father—she feels despondent and becomes deeply jealous (ibid.). Realizing the futility of her desires the girl becomes hopeless and withdraws her affections. The trauma of this rejection so "severely" wounds her "active impulses" that her libido "readily abandoned[s] them" (197).[43]

During this same period, girls are forced to face the castrated state of their body and blame their mother for their wounded condition.[44] Penis envy further compounds a girl's feelings of rejection, converting tenderness and erotic attachment for her mother to hate and revulsion. Freud warns that this vitriol against the mother is often "very striking and last all through life; it may be carefully overcompensated later on as a rule" but at least some of it will always remain (1938, 151). Equally troubling, the girl's adoration for her mother is beset by another entanglement—its composition. Freud cautions that a girl's pre-Oedipal attachment is analogous to the psychic structure of "hysteria" and is thus pathological (ibid.). This consequence, Freud notes, is not at all remarkable "when we reflect that both the phase and the neurosis in question are feminine" (1931, 186). As a result, a girl's pre-Oedipal love often causes paranoia and extreme jealousy later in life. Abrogating the desire for her mother "is a most important step in the little girl's development" because it nullifies her masculine sexual aims and her incestuous object (197). The cessation of clitoral masturbation and the disillusion of pre-Oedipal longing permanently damage "a considerable part of [the girl's] general sexual life" (198).

The renunciation of her mother fosters the girl's transition into the Oedipus complex and as a result she "transfers her erotic attachment to her father" (ibid.).[45] Unlike boys, who pass through the Oedipus complex rather quickly, girls may "remain in it for an indeterminate length of time" (1938, 161). A girl's Oedipus complex "is far simpler [and] less equivocal, than that of the little possessor of the penis" and often goes no farther than "the wish to take the mother's place" and display the "feminine attitude toward the father" (171). Converting her longing for a penis via "symbolic analogy," Oedipal desires transform penis envy into the desire to have a child for her father (1931, 178). Weak, unequivocal, and seemingly chaste, the Oedipus complex for girls is desexualized and lacking in socialization. Under these circumstances, "the formation of the superego must suffer; it cannot attain the strength and independence which give it its cultural significance" (1938, 160–161).

Oedipus requires a double renunciation for girls. First they must abandon their primary active erotogenous zone—the clitoris—to make way for the passive vaginal one. Second, they are obliged to abandon two sexual objects, the mother and the father, albeit under distinctly different circumstances.[46] With the loss of their sexual aim, object(s), and clitoral pleasure, girls forego narcissistic protection as well as libidinous desire. The result of their sacrifice is acceptable entry into a cultural order that further reproduces their inequitable state. Freud's early work acknowledges the "double standard" women face in Victorian culture. However, his later work shifts toward the biological imperative of and cultural support for the girl's passive and inequitable state. As Freud notes, the suppression of a girl's active clitoral eroticism (or masculine complex) and her relegation to inferiority "is prescribed for them constitutionally and imposed on them socially." As a result women later in life develop "powerful masochistic impulses, which succeed, as we know, in binding erotically the destructive trends which have been diverted inward" (1938, 144).

If the transition away from the mother and through Oedipus is unsuccessful, a girl may continue to believe that she "[possesses] a penis" and subsequently "behave as though [she] were a man" and become a lesbian (1925, 178). Recognizing her castrated condition, she may develop a sense of inferiority and wear her degraded position "like a scar" (178). Or finally still, she may renounce sex altogether. The sexuality of the female child within Freudian psychoanalytic discourse is most definitively present and absent. Although a girl's sexual activities are manifest in infancy, her sexual aim and her desire for the sexual object become diluted to the point of almost complete desexualization in Freud's later work. This absence raises a number of important questions. Why is the mother the pre-Oedipal object? The extent of her influence and the timing of the attachment all point to the mother as the Oedipal object—particularly when one considers by his argument, that the attachment to the father is weak, passive, and indeterminate for girls. Like secondary identification for the boy, the introduction of the father secures heterosexuality and in so doing validates Freud's theory of normal sexual development and its gendered and heterosexual outcome.

Conclusion

Given the centrality of infantile sexuality within Freudian psychoanalysis and the length of time he spent thinking about it, the extent of

Freud's revisions are hardly surprising. While the voice of the child within Freudian psychoanalysis occupied a deeply ambivalent place from the start, it is our contention that the construction of the sexual child within his theories became more abstracted, prescribed, and constricted as time progressed. Freud's early writings on the sexual child provided a framework for recognizing the complex sexual subjectivity of children. However, his turn toward the Oedipus complex ultimately undermined this potential. Although infantile sexuality comprised a key tenet within Freud's psychoanalytic paradigm, the place of the child and the complexity of its sexual subjectivity became increasingly marginalized and silenced.

Illustrating the sexual life of the child in its various iterations (oral, anal, genital, and the component instincts) to uncover the implications of its repression helped Freud understand adult formations. Within this explanatory framework, infantile sexuality was constructed as the prehistoric foundation for the pathological and the normative. Infantile sexuality within early psychoanalytic discourse was primarily descriptive. The libidinous character of childhood eroticism shed light on the formation of neurotic symptoms and its sublimation was said to foster cultural development. This conceptualization also helped to further Freud's deconstruction of the reproductive imperative in humans and cultural conceptions of "perversion"—both of which he argued were highly problematic. To this end, the diversity of a human's sexual aims and sexual objects were rendered intelligible in psychoanalytic discourse through the description of the spontaneous and polymorphous quality of the child's erotic demands.[47]

Although this supposition provided Freud with the ammunition to construct a radical theory of childhood sexuality, its realization never materialized. Instead, Freud painstakingly constructed a model of sexual development for boys and girls that was entirely incongruous; and required a series of contradictory theoretical turns (e.g., narcissistic self-protection, identification, and Oedipus) in order to secure a heterosexual outcome. As a result, hegemonic gender expression and heterosexuality became for Freud the barometer and proof of a child's "successful" completion of its various psychosexual stages. Freud prescribed a path for the child that led to the endpoint he desired. In the following and final chapter, we illuminate the legacy of such constructions in relation to its practical application in child-rearing advice and the degree to which many of its themes are reflected in the broader discourse of development, albeit from a different theoretical perspective.

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER SIX

Developing the Sexual Child

Introduction

> The idea that a child should not have sexual interests and experiences is fast being supplanted by the knowledge that he does have them; that they are an expression of perfectly normal, healthy energies, and that while it is necessary to gain control over them, they should not be forcibly suppressed.
>
> Carl Renz and Mildred Renz (1935)

During the interwar years, the issue of the sexual child moved from the domain of the experts into the sitting rooms of ordinary parents via child-rearing texts. As the quote from Renz and Renz illustrates, "sexual interest and experiences" of the child are recast in a positive light.[1] This conceptualization of the sexual child reflects a distinctive cultural shift in attitudes amongst child-rearing experts, namely that sexual subjectivity is normal and, especially, healthy. Such a shift appears taken for granted, for there is no sense that this statement should cause any disquiet among the readership. Despite the contingent idea of "control" there is an effort to downgrade the "specialness" of the child's sexuality. Most strikingly, the two components of sexual subjectivity—childish imagination and activity—are represented as no more worthy of anxiety than any other aspect of the child's growth and development.

There are two more issues raised within Renz and Renz's passage that are reflective of the predominant ideas about child rearing in this historical period. First, parents must avoid repressing childish sexual interest.

Second, although normal, parents should not allow a child *carte blanche* in its sexual expression. Children must be taught to practice self-control over these natural expressions of their humanity; and this lesson (as with all other aspects of "growing up") demands the informed attention of adults. The story of developing the sexual child is especially illuminating as it demonstrates both the modernizing process at work and the accompanying ambivalence about such modern progress.[2] It also illustrates a continuity of themes across our larger story: the recognition of the sexual instinct, a claim for expertise to be granted legitimate entry into the domain of childhood sexuality, and the underlying conviction that the sexual instinct of the child requires supervision and regulation.[3]

In this chapter we explore the features of a historical shift that in many ways epitomized the context in which it occurred. For at the height of modernity integrating the complexities of social relationships, in both private and public spheres, was increasingly seen to demand the intervention of experts in rational planning. The justification for such intrusion into the private sphere, especially in relation to child rearing, was the view that amateur parenting could not be trusted to raise well-socialized and predictable children. British educationalist Robert Lewis (1929) emphasized, "the future of the child is the concern of both the parent and the state, between whom the responsibility must be shared" (7). Although there was an evident continuity in the conviction that ignorance should be eradicated, a new basis for fear and guilt emerged during this period—the belief that parents could make irreversible mistakes in the rearing of their children. As Peter Stearns (2003) elucidates, this transition promoted the idea that "parents did not know their job and that parenting was hardly a natural act, save in the most rudimentary biological sense" (20). These principles were reflected and articulated in the professionalization of child rearing.

A notable feature of the professional literature in child rearing was the coexistence of two distinct approaches: behaviorism (after John Watson) and Freudianism (after Sigmund Freud). Examining the distinctiveness of both offers a more nuanced understanding of how the two distinct approaches to the same task can appear at the same time as progressive and restrictive. The overriding justification for this professionalization was the conviction that ignorance must be dispelled in such a manner as to avoid, at all costs, imparting anxiety or fear to the child about sexuality. The primacy of this goal is reflected in the dominant tone of the instructional texts of both traditions. Upbeat and optimistic, they direct and encourage guilt-free engagement of parents with their developing child. The result of these historically specific

concerns is a complex mixture of the liberal and the authoritarian: itself emblematic of the "new times."

The Modernizing Process: New Times, New Preoccupations

> With a little thoughtful care properly exercised during their formative period our children can be made ever so much more efficient, but also ever so much more capable of finding happiness in life.
>
> James Walsh and John Foote (1925)

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, a new approach to the organization of social life extended its remit as the principles of "scientific management" began to be implemented beyond the factory gates.[4] Though more usually associated with industrial production and the rational management of the labor force, faith in the scientific direction of human activity was increasingly evident in the "reproductive" home. Rationalization of the production of developing minds and bodies required the input of dispassionate experts who could transcend and thus manage the emotional and affective "messiness" of parent-child interactions.[5]

Historian Christopher Lasch (1977) identified this process with the extension of the division of labor from the productive to the familial and affective sphere. In this context he acknowledges the "proletarianization of parenthood" in which, as in the sphere of production, deskilling was a necessary central component (12). Deskilling was accomplished through the hierarchical ordering of expertise and efficiency over parental ignorance and mismanagement. This evaluation legitimated the intervention of professionals into parent-child relationships, and led to a consensus that identified the potential problem within what had hitherto been seen as instinctive behavior.[6] Deskilling thus created a gap between nature and culture, in which "the expert emerged as the missing link, the modern parent's modern parent" (Hulbert 2004, 36).[7]

Australian social historian Kereen Reiger (1985) addressed this shift when she declared that by the interwar years, child welfare and development had become "institutionalized." A key justification for this process was the insistence that child-rearing professionals would be motivated by their scientific expertise rather than irrational emotions that drove both the parent and the child. The parent (and as we will show, what was meant was the mother) could not be trusted to such an expert task equipped only with maternal instincts, nor could the child be trusted

to traverse the risks of its environment or of its internal drives without proper instruction.[8] Here the moral suasion advocated by purity campaigners is demonstrably antithetical to proper child rearing. As British educationalist and psychoanalyst Ella Freeman Sharpe (1936) counseled,

> all conscious planning is of secondary importance to the environment provided by the parent's own emotional responses, subjective biases and prejudices. Their ability to recognize these … depends [on] the success of every plan however seemingly wise and rational in conscious intent. (27–28)

Indeed, such construction of the parent was a crucial element in the elevation of the professional over the amateur.[9] This strategy was matched, in the interwar years, by the recognition of the child's need for emotional as well as physical nurture, and of the social urgency for experts to attend to this need.[10] As American social psychologist James Bossard (1930) summarized, "science now counsels what our tender sympathies long have dictated. Society's 'acre of diamonds' lies revealed in the rocking cradle within the door, and social statesmanship find[s] its task in the heart of a child" (10). Within such "white heat" of rational professionalism, the untrained parent was equated with the developing child: in need of training and guidance to function efficiently. Thus the dependent role of the child in the family was reflected in the emerging relationship between the amateur (parent) and the adult expert.

Child-rearing literature in the interwar Anglophone West drew on the language of rational planning and the authority of expertise in the professionalization of parenting (Cable 1975; Stearns 2003; Hulbert 2004). The language of development was, overtly, one of optimistic progression and affirmed the capacity of professional expertise to properly direct social reform. Behind the dispassionate veneer so characteristic of these child-rearing texts, as we have illustrated throughout this story, there was always a lingering anxiety about the reliability and efficacy of this project. The following sections demonstrate the ways in which these seemingly contradictory themes coexisted.

The Distinctiveness of Development

> I hope to show how the parents in following out their ideals of training or education have obstructed their children's adaptation to the social environment.
>
> Elida Evans (1920)

The significance of the environment for social reform was not unique to this period; however, there were features of this project that distinguished it from both the social purity and the sexual hygiene movements.[11] Modern child rearing did not involve amateur philanthropy or politico-moral reform, but the intervention of professionals who applied scientific principles to the management of amateur child rearing. Moreover, this was not a discourse between experts as was the social hygiene movement. The objective now was the parent, seen as problem (because of their amateur status) and solution (because of their emotional commitment to "do the right thing") as mothers. Stearns (2003) and Hulbert (2004) have both identified faith in scientific management as the driving rationale for this detailed intrusion into the mother-child relationship, and Hulbert (2004) especially points to the combination of the moral and social in the emerging "child-rearing science" (106).

The justification for the interface between mother and expert recommended in modern child rearing was the assumption that intervention into the life and especially the mind of the child was both possible and necessary.[12] Elevating expertise over emotion was necessary because neither maternal instincts nor the physical development of the child could be trusted to deliver reliable and manageable outcomes. Leaving it to nature was certainly not enough, especially when it came to child raising. The replacement of the maternal by the scientific is exemplified in the work of one of the pioneers of American pediatrics, Luther Emmett Holt. Holt's book *The Care and Feeding of Children: A Catechism for the Use of Mothers and Children's Nurses* remained a touchstone for infant care till well into the twentieth century. Limited technical instruction promised reliability, thus maximizing efficient outcome. As Holt (1897) insists, "in the preparation of this catechism everything has been sacrificed to clearness and simplicity. It has been deemed best to emphasize strongly the essentials without going into many minor details" (6).

Despite the less than subtle suggestions about maternal inabilities and shortcomings, the intrusion of such expertise found a ready audience in those to whom the advice was directed. In part, as Kereen Reiger (1985) has argued, this is because these texts spoke the same class language, "some evidence does suggest that middle class women were more likely to respond favorably to new styles of infant care, partly because they have much in common in terms of attitudes and values with the scientific, professionally orientated experts" (149). Equally, Historian Mary Cable (1975) had earlier argued that the scientific management of child rearing was a key element in the appeal for parents. "Where infants

and young children were concerned, the mothers of the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s tended to place the same abiding and implicit faith in science that their grandmothers had placed in God" (175–176). Motherhood itself becomes professionalized through the discourse of development, but in such a way that mothers become consumers of "purpose-built" knowledge. The consequent undermining of more traditionally based maternal confidence ensured the continuance of this cycle of problems and solutions. Moreover, behind the scientific detachment and reliance on education, there was a less well-defined fear, as Peter Stearns (2003) clarifies,

> Flaws could emerge in the best of homes, without any provocation or bad example, and could poison the adult personality . . . Without active adult intervention and manipulation to inhibit the flaws of character, emotional imbalances might intensify and lead to a totally dysfunctional adult personality. (22)

The second distinctive feature was that this was education by proxy—the experts directed the mother and the mothers "directed" their children. The interface between nature and professional management was complex. It involved such factors as preconceived notions of the family as the proper place of nurture; the deep emotional attachment between mother and child that was a potent guarantor of a ready and compliant audience; the shifting and contradictory options for women in the interwar years; and the direct links made between the role of the mother rearing the individual child and the collective national future. The result was that the idea of natural maternal instincts had been almost completely engulfed in a discourse of expertise, of management, of direction, and underneath all this, of a profound responsibility for the future.

While the condition of childhood offered such hope for the future, it was not the child that was the pivot of the training. Attention focused instead on the role of the parent as the carrier of these new strategies. American psychologist and pupil of Jung, Elida Evans (1920) underlined the priorities when she asserted, "the child's 'nervousness' is not due to naughtiness and therefore punishment will make things worse. Blaming the child needs to be replaced with training the parent" (222–230).

This contextualization has been necessary to provide a foundation for our argument about the construction of the sexual child in this epoch. However, what constituted this process now needs to be

explicated, for it involved a representation of childish sexuality that was neither linear nor uncomplicated. The complexity was due to two identifying features of the discourse of development: the reduction of "sexuality" to reproductive function and the conflicting but equally influential concepts of John Watson and Sigmund Freud. The former denied and the latter based his arguments on the existence of a sexual instinct. Those experts who followed John Watson and his behavioral psychology associated the acquisition of sexual awareness with sensibility: included in the attainment of other properly socialized habits.[13] For those who accepted Freud's theory of infantile sexuality, normal childhood sexuality was expressed through the sexual instinct and its adult healthy form achieved through the gradual suppression and sublimation to social forces.[14] Despite the divergence of their starting positions, both offered similar justifications for and limitations to the characterization of the child's sexual sensibility.

Training the Parent to Train the Child

> No one today knows enough to raise a child... Parenthood, instead of being an instinctive art, is a science, the details of which must be worked out by laboratory methods.
>
> John Broadus Watson (1978)

The planned regimes of factory production inspired by Taylorism were reflected in the theories of behaviorist child-rearing professionals.[15] The work of pioneer American psychologist John Broadus Watson was foundational in presenting a blueprint for training the parent to train the (sexual) child.[16] For Watson, as for his followers, the child was a *tabula rasa*; nature offered no guiding blueprint since "there are no instincts" (38). Rather, everything the child does or feels is accomplished by positive training. Mothers are viewed as holding erroneous views, which are based upon irrational and unscientific assumptions.[17] This is to be expected, as Watson points out, since "most mothers perhaps feel quite naturally that all infant and childish activities, whether 'good' or 'bad' are due to the unfolding of the inborn equipment of the child" (15). Since the child has no inborn equipment, it presents a clean sheet on which to inscribe good habits and this must be done without the distortion of emotional attachment or physical intimacy. Such limitations were considered essential to the successful raising of the child and for the formation of a healthy adult.[18]

Maternal love was the primary obstacle to psychologically healthy development success. The sensual stimulation of the child was considered to be especially potent in distorting its acquisition of an independent sense of self, and a petted child would inevitably become a bad marriage partner (87). The ideal "mother" in this respect, says Robert Lewis (1929), is the father.

> In many ways, with his supreme selfishness, man proves the best mother. Man is not a nurse and the wholesome neglect which he displays is of sound educational value to the growing child . . . Man it is who has sawn the rockers off the cradle and shown that the hand that rocks the cradle can wreck the world. (21)

Mothers were directed to avoid physical expressions of affection, especially cuddling, and to place their children either in the care of a nurse, or "in the back yard for a large part of the day" (Watson 1978, 84). But this was not a punitive regime, for the key to effective training lay in positive rather than negative encouragement. As American sex educationalist Frances Bruce Strain (1934) insisted, good habits must be encouraged rather than bad habits punished.

There is a distinction here between the training of the Watsonian child and earlier notions discussed in chapters two and three. This is not about the protection of innocence nor does it rely on a sentimentalized vision of childhood. Sentiment, for Watson, was the most damaging influence of all, especially when it emanated from the mother. Such a view follows logically from the conviction that the child at birth can be neither innocent nor ignorant; both imply that the child possesses an inherent disposition. Instead, a core tenet is that the child is not only capable of, but also must learn from its own experience. Developing the sexual child, for Watson (1978) and his followers, was predicated upon the view that sexuality was something that was acquired through experience (15). Thus it was essential, for proper sexual development, that the child be exposed to what was considered to be healthy sensual inputs. In order for this to happen, the Watsonian child must grow to be emotionally independent of its mother, and to acquire, instead, good habits through correct exposure to such inputs. But once again, balance distinguished good habits from bad habits. The concern was that the child develops control of all its senses—no special significance was attached to the erotic. Bad habits were bad habits, regardless of whether they involved masturbation or eating.

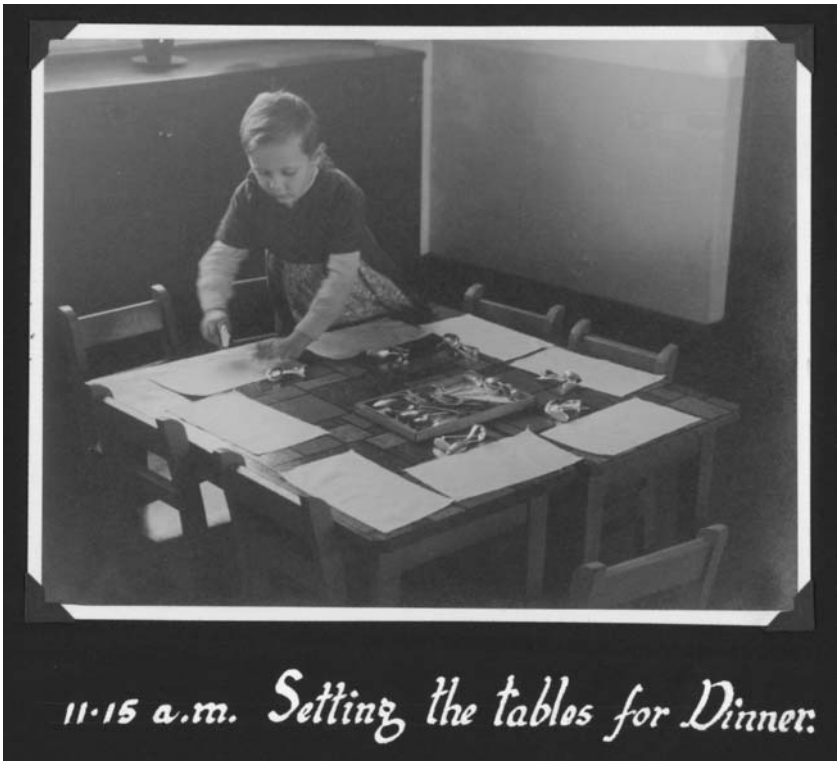


Figure 6.1 Boy Setting Table. The well-trained Watsonian child is self-sufficient from an early age. The child in this picture is also, interestingly for the period, gender neutral, and the utensils being laid on the table indicate that the children being catered for were too young to use a knife and a fork.

Source: Papers of Alexander Gore Gowrie, 1835–1987. MS 2852/19/12. Sydney Day Nurseries and Nursery Schools Photograph Albums. By Permission of the National Library of Australia.

In order for the production of good habits to happen effectively, and in the interests of attaining the required levels of independence, the child must be left to its own devices.[19] Knowledge of bodily functions including excretion and sexual arousal are acquired through observation rather than direct experience. From the outset, correct terms must be used for bodily parts, and parents must, as American academics and educators Thomas Wood, Marian Lerrigo, and Thurman Rice (1937) point out, "treat naked bodies as a matter of course in bathing, dressing and other natural intimacies of family life" (8). Peer experiences are equally important and help reinforce emotional distance between

parent and child. Children, Watson advised, should play together unsupervised by adults for an hour a day. Ideally this interaction would take place in the backyard, with siblings who, weather permitting, would be naked (125–126). There should be no inhibitions about nudity between sexes, either with child or adult. For example, Watson encourages parental nudity with the child, but discourages mother and child sharing a bath.[20] The child should not be kept in sexual ignorance, and especially it should not be mislead into thinking that there is something special about sex. Rather the child must be encouraged to understand the functions of sexual organs and feelings in ways that will immune it to any distorting influences it may encounter.

Parents should be open and honest, but also vigilant about curbing bad habits, such as masturbation and thumb sucking. These activities are not serious, just something that must be handled properly. Children must be "verbally organized" about the purpose of their genitals and distracted from an overreliance on physical self-stimulus, like thumb sucking (175). But distortions can happen: given the insistence on the sexual *tabula rasa*, Watson advises against the children playing exclusively with members of their own sex.[21] As he counsels, "the boy so brought up may shy away from marriage and turn to men for a sex outlet. This is called homosexuality. Exactly the same is true for women" (179).[22] Parents are warned against older children, as Watson emphasizes "a child of six or eight badly brought up associating with your child of four can make a wreck of your most careful efforts" (175).[23] Attitudes to masturbation have markedly shifted by this epoch: seen now as nothing more than a bad habit that should be ignored in order that it will "die away."[24] Yet, as Australian developmentalist Mrs. Sydney Frankenburg (1933) cautions, "the chief inconvenience of it is that as long as the child has this habit he must be kept from other children in order that they may not discuss or imitate it" (157).

Mothers must talk to their children about sex from around their second year, and the child should have full sex education by eleven. Although here mothers are conceptualized as the solution, they remain the problem in another sense—sexual ignorance. Watson says over 75 percent of mothers are incompetent because of ignorance (175).[25] There is no suggestion that speaking about sex will encourage sexual promiscuity. For behaviorists, since there is no inherent sexual drive, there is nothing there to be encouraged. The justification of this early sex talk is to make the first imprint on the *tabula rasa* with the proper knowledge. In the second set of instructions for developing the sexual child, the sexual instinct reappears and becomes the primary dynamic in this process.

Training the Sexual Instinct

> It is to be remembered that, to a child, its body and sensations are the most real things it encounters. They occupy first place in its interest and no inherent shame opposes their exploitation.
>
> Edward Wrigley Braithwaite (1939)

The recognition by followers of Freud of the active sexual instinct in infancy and childhood offered a different justification for discussing childhood sexuality in the context of child-rearing. Instead of directing the child's external experiences and acquisition of habits, attention focused on attaining the proper balance between the endorsement and the direction of the sexual instinct. As British psychologist Eustace Chesser (1927) emphasized,

> the sexual instinct is very powerful because it is concerned with the preservation of the race. These primitive instincts are neither good nor bad in themselves, they are 'natural.' Rightly used they will make for happiness; uncontrolled and perverted they are ugly and the source of intense misery. (10)

Chesser here is identifying the primary strategy of Freudian child-rearing advice: the importance of the distinction between repression (damaging) and suppression (necessary).[26] The "right use" was made possible by socializing the instinct without repressing its expression, thereby ensuring the "production" of a psychologically healthy and well-socialized adult. For Freudian child developmentalists, raising the child in the modern world, as opposed to the world of the primitive past, necessitates management of the sexual instinct and its expressions. As British psychologist Christabel Meredith (1924) elucidates,

> The [modern] child's development towards civilization must be infinitely quicker than that of his primitive ancestors. This rapid development is not unattended with dangers, and to allow the "free growth" of the child, and the "free" exercise of his impulses is, I believe, the best way to avoid these dangers. The educator must avoid forcing on his pupils the intellectual and moral burdens of civilization. (7)

Once again, from a different standpoint entirely, what is considered to be present "by nature" cannot be left unattended. Meredith points

out that it is the task of the adult (parent or professional) to guide the instinct in ways that avoid instilling any negative associations with sexual impulses. This tension is resolved by proper training. She uses an example from the animal world to more clearly illustrate her point:

> The dog's impulse to hunt at first finds satisfaction in chasing everything that runs away, but he may readily learn to respect such creatures as hens and chickens, and to chase only rabbits. It is improbable that he suffers seriously from this guidance of his instinctive impulses. (8)

Nevertheless, training the instinct requires a delicate balance between direction and free will. Leaving the instinct untamed is not an option, either for the present or for the future. This raised the question of what manifestations of the instinct were acceptable and how parents were to make such decisions. While the training manuals were authored by the professionals, the delicate balancing act fell to the parents, the final line of proper socialization. As American psychiatrist Douglas Thom (1927) advised, "the instinct, second to none in its strength, needs to be guided, directed and inhibited to meet the demands of society" (263).[27]

As with the behaviorist child-rearing instructions, there was a balance to be sought and accomplished. Care must be taken, for example, not to attach undue significance to private pleasures that may occur as a result of the active sexual instinct. As British psychiatrist Merrell Middlemore (1936) argues, infantile sensuality was polymorphous, directed toward "releasing libidinal tension" (62–69). Parents needed to understand the force of the libido and the degree to which it could be redirected without repression. Yet it was their responsibility to convert the libido into nonerotic activities that would, nevertheless, allow the child the experience of sensual pleasure. In the Freudian discourse of development, autoerotic exploration is no longer a cause of alarm. As British physician Edward Wrigley Braithwaite wrote in *Parent and Child* (1939), if the child masturbates, parents are counseled firmly to "take no notice of this other than to satisfy yourself that there is no source of irritation present" (61).

As importantly, care must be taken to avoid conveying any specific significance to sexual behavior, whether positive or negative. Especially, it is important to steer clear of associating autoerotic behavior with shame or fear. To do so would make a problem where none should exist. In their book *Big Problems on Little Shoulders* (1934), American physician Carl and teacher Mildred Renz assert "a child must be persuaded

to control the tendency to masturbate for the reason, as in the case of childish nose-picking, that it is an unaesthetic thing to do" (105). But this is not just about attitudes. The child cannot be allowed to develop a relationship with its own body, and it is the parents who are given the lines for their part by the experts. The child that is observed masturbating too frequently is dealt with compassionately while leaving it in no doubt who is in control of it's body: to this end, parents are advised to tell their children "whenever you want to play with your body let me know and I will find something else for you to do which will make you forget all about it. It won't be any time at all before you have lots of self-control" (109). This approach is summed up by Middlemore (1936) in the phrase "liberal sensual education." As American psychiatrist Florence Clothier (1938) elucidates, in its ideal form, this is education "reached by a pathway midway between allowing and forbidding."

Attaining this balance is the responsibility of the parents, who must identify themselves as someone who helps, not punishes. This is no mean feat, since according to developmentalists, these parents belong to a generation raised in fear and ignorance about sex. "Many a parent who has love in his heart for his own and all children punishes severely for a sexual offense . . . He forgets that the behavior is motivated by a desire as natural and as strong as hunger" (Renz and Renz 1934, 113). Focusing on the need to direct the instinct, while at the same time desexualizing it, renders the task less onerous. Parents must be taught how to tread the narrow path between socializing the behavior that releases tension while at the same time avoiding negative judgments or associations. These would exacerbate the conflict the child is already experiencing between "the demands of his own instinctual life and the demands of his social environment" (Clothier 1938, 285).[28]

In all that has been said so far, the actual child is barely evident; it is characterized as the passive recipient of directions from its parents and their expert advisors. The logic of these elaborate strategies for instruction was that the child would respond in the desired manner. But the texts also addressed a phenomenon that was simultaneously welcomed as a natural phenomenon and viewed with some misgiving about its possible misuse.

Sexual Curiosity and the Right Knowledge

It is natural and normal for children to ask about sex because they are curious about everything, thus be matter of fact and simple.

> In these days there is no excuse about the simple facts of sex and the way to accurately convey this to the child should include "a healthy attitude" to sex by information and example.
>
> Elizabeth Burgner Hurlock (1943)

The issue of sexual curiosity represented a fault line in both discourses. For the behaviorists, curiosity is unexplained within the notion of the child as a blank slate. For post-Freudian theory, curiosity is not antithetical, but does underline the importance of proper direction of the instinct. For both, sexual curiosity emphasizes the role of the parents and together these factors represent both a challenge and a possible hazard. The antidote is the right knowledge. The issue is not whether children may have a sex consciousness that drives them to seek out information about the topic; it is who speaks to the child, what they say, and when. Silence is unthinkable as an option. Sexual knowledge gained from other children is equally unacceptable; for the information must come from the experts via the parents. The right knowledge is dominated by the functional themes of biology and reproduction, using animals or plants as examples.[29] Instruction in what would colloquially be termed "the birds and bees" should be given from the age of two and progressively increased before puberty in order to "inoculate" the children with "proper knowledge" to prevent "street corner talk" (Watson 1978, 174). For Freudian child-rearing practice, the right knowledge was not so much defined by content but by balance. As British psychiatrist Frances Wickes (1927) cautions, "everything connected with sex has for so long been under a ban that we must be careful now not to fly to the other extreme and preach sexual indulgence as a cure for repression" (281).

The recurring message in these texts is that conveying a sense of fear or embarrassment about sex to the child is to be avoided at all costs, and the right knowledge for either school of thought reflects these priorities. Eustace Chesser (1927) affirms,

> a child is interested in his own body and admires himself. If we object and sneer at what we call conceit, or worse still, if we infer that there is something shameful about the human body we produce inhibitions and complexes which are very harmful in their effect upon character and personality. (15)

The need to eradicate ignorance and avoid imparting negative associations between the child and its sensuality appeared to occlude any

concerns about age appropriateness of the right knowledge. There is a sense of urgency about sex instruction, for leaving it too late risks a distorted outcome in the present and in the future. For behaviorists who deny any preexisting instincts, early exposure to instruction would prevent the development of bad habits. Equally, training the sexual instinct cannot be left to chance even in an infant who discovers its sex organs in the same spirit of curiosity as it does its fingers and toes. Overstimulation of the instinctive excitability of the child's body may result in distortions in development. For, as Wood Lerrigo and Rice (1937) acknowledge,

> it is important to realize that while the infant usually experiences no conscious sex sensations or impulses, he possesses a sex mechanism normally highly sensitive to stimulation . . . Intense satisfaction may be experienced by the baby through stimulation of the sensitive zones related to sex, such as the sex organs, and sometimes other skin regions. (9)

Both the age and a parent's approach are crucial for success. For once the child has reached four years of age, the attitudes to sex become more important than the sensual experience itself. Everything depends on developing a "wholesome objective attitude towards sex and reproduction . . . and to forestall the unwholesome influences of his general environment" (12). Though it is not directly stated, these possibilities of distortion of instinct, or the acquisition of the wrong habits, are disturbing because they are evidence of the developing child's sexual subjectivity and free will. Both, despite (or because of) the emphasis on education, represent evidence of the acquisition of "the wrong knowledge"—that which allows for free interpretation by the child.

The "right knowledge" is defined in ways that offer a resolution to the tensions inherent in the whole project, behaviorist or Freudian. For the latter, treading the fine line between repression (harmful to the acquisition of healthy adult sexuality) and suppression (necessary for healthy development to adult sexuality) was rendered less fraught if the information given identified no distinctive sexual elements or sexual sensations. Sanitizing the information also made its communication less stressful for parents. The "right knowledge" was not their creation but its communication was their duty. Giving children sexual knowledge before adolescence was crucial for avoiding the dangers of the future. As Frances Wickes (1927) counsels, "we cannot leave the building of the road until it is time to embark upon the journey and then

expect to find it safe and easy going" (288). But there is another element in the sex consciousness of the child identified in both discourses that calls into question the issues of latency, of sexual subjectivity, and of, perhaps, the ultimate success of "developing the sexual child": a phenomenon that is described as "sex play."

Allowing and Disallowing Sex Play

> As children grow older they are aware of a kind of forbidden sex play that goes on more or less secretly among their schoolmates and are swept into it or repulsed by it according to their standards of conduct and inclination. To the uninitiated it is something that "bad boys do to girls."
>
> Frances Bruce Strain (1934)

The issue of "sex play" recognizes an element that has only been implicit thus far: namely the degree to which the sexuality of the child manifests itself in conscious and self-directed expression.[30] Whether the stimulus is understood to be the external environment or the direction by inherent instinct, sex play suggests the active translation of these influences by the child into its own sensual world. Carl and Mildred Renz (1935) recommended that the best way to deal with observed sex play in a child was to characterize it as silly, since "ridicule is one of the surest methods of hurrying a thing to oblivion" (114). It is the sex play itself that is being mocked, not the child who engages in it. Negative judgments about sexual experiences must be avoided at all costs, even while encouraging proper attitudes. Even in the most extreme circumstances, parents are advised against overreacting:

> Returning home . . . the little girl, shocked and frightened, told her mother about an offense that the nurse had committed . . . The mother simply said "well, dear, that was not a polite thing for Nurse to do. Nurse evidently does not know what is polite and what is not. I am sorry you were frightened (sympathy should not be denied, but it should not encourage self-pity) . . . Nurse doesn't always have nice manners." (116)

The nurse should be dismissed, the authors advise, but no mention should be made of the reason why, or any direct reference made to the "offense" (ibid.). However, judgments about activities that are, or

are not, to be trivialized are far from consistent or logical. Activities that are not overtly sexual, for example, tree-climbing, sliding down banisters or sitting astride the father's leg are recognized as having some potential sexual content. Whether such activities are trivialized or acknowledged as potentially problematic depends, it seems, on adult perceptions rather than any sense of the experience of the child. But there does not appear to be a consensus about the degree to which sex play is a consciously initiated sexual activity by the child. For example, Frances Strain (1934) acknowledges, there are instances in which the child is the instigator of "quite open" sex play. She quotes

> the case of two boys who one summer ran a popcorn and cool drink stand on a side street of their town. Every afternoon at about four o'clock a little girl sauntered down the street, disappeared beneath the bunting of the "pop" stand with one of the boys while the other unconcernedly continued to serve the trade. (85)

This anecdote is related as an example of openness (as opposed to secrecy) but not as consciously sought sexual experience. Strain goes on to offer another example of sexual activity between cousins with a sense of amused tolerance while at the same time reframing this activity (and thereby anodizing it) as a quest for knowledge.

> The object was to obtain the "lowdown" on anything pertaining to sexual knowledge or experience. When they finally discovered the phenomenon known as coitus, they realized they had reached the goal of their researches. (85)

Strain supports her contention that this was driven by curiosity since the children involved stopped before the "grand finale" because "training or conscience intervened" (ibid.).

Sex play is a phenomenon that must be addressed in advice to parents, but in a manner that simultaneously accepted and defused its sexual content. On the one hand, it is suggested that trivialization is possible and desirable because of the age of the children involved—the suggestion is that the child is often too young for a sexual interpretation. On the other hand there is a sense that such activity cannot pass without comment—indeed, the advice is for the parents to directly address the activity. However, this must be done in such a way as to avoid the child being aware that its activities have been observed, and an unnecessary significance placed upon it. Yet, even if these activities

are designated as nonsexual because of the lack of physical maturity, the possibility remains of a different interpretation by the child—one that may involve inadvertent sexual satisfaction as well as asexual curiosity. This possibility renders necessary what amounts to an elaborate reconstruction of "sex play" through adult eyes, one in which the evidence for an active and conscious sexual life of the child is, itself, suppressed.

The level of tolerance about sex play is more evident in the Freudian texts, but for behaviorists as well, trivialization of sex play is a key component in instilling the right knowledge. Unenlightened or misguided parents may unwittingly distort the direction of the child's future sexual development if they show too much anxiety. In both paradigms the use of the term sex play appears to complicate rather than simplify the development of the sexual child. Sexual experience, either from autoeroticism or through interaction with another, even with an adult, is at the same time played down and understood as highly significant. In its inclusion into both development theories sex play is simultaneously acknowledged and defused. Yet, there is a lingering question raised that is never resolved. On the one hand, the developmental framework conceptualizes the sexual child as the to-be-adult, a characterization that ensures the continued surveillance and training of the child's body and mind. On the other, sex play conjures images of innocent exploration that speaks of a specific childhood sensibility and consciousness. We argue that this possibility is closed down in the child-rearing advice: play sex is "pretend" sex and is not, in this understanding, sex at all.

Conclusion

> We can no longer blind ourselves to the truth that native innocence is a chimera, and that these [sexual] organs are invested with mystery and uneasiness of mind.
>
> Fritz Wittels (1933)

The discourse of scientific child rearing, founded as it was in the wider rationalizing project of modernity, was a conditional process. It relied on the persuasive view that a child well versed in its sexual function produced a sexually proficient and stable heterosexual adult. Developing the sexual child was conditional also on the presence of professional expertise and guidance, and on compliant parents who took their duty to raise a well-trained child seriously. Despite the optimism about the outcome and the conviction of the necessity to "sexualize" the children

in this manner, the task was complex and often contradictory, and the intended outcome never assured.

This instability is expressed in the dilemma of the parents and of the professionals who provided the instructions: how to convey proper instruction without either attaching undue significance to sex or to render it in any way fearful. The dangers of ignorance and sex negativity coexisted with the expressed faith—on which the whole movement of the time was based—that the parent (properly trained) was the best person to effect the necessary changes and to protect the mental health of the child (Holt 1897, 28). The literature of the day maintained a balance between levels of anxiety and commitment to parental duty. The mother, because the father is always a shadowy figure—was thus both the problem and the solution. As historian Nancy Pottishman Weiss (1977) points out, "In one serious sense child rearing manuals might be renamed mother rearing tracts" (520).

Nevertheless, this was neither a coherent nor a linear discourse. Holt's simplistic equation of well-trained mother equals a well-trained child was by the 1920s challenged by the emergence of behaviorism. John Watson took a far less optimistic view of the impact of the mother—well-trained or not. Mothers posed a direct danger to their children through indiscriminate expression of motherly love and affection that they were not, in Watson's view, able to control. The view that emotions posed an obstacle to healthy development was consistent with the rational scientific approach that characterized the interwar years. Here a covert anxiety about enlisting the parents in this important task become more explicit, articulated through familiar constructs of gendered tendencies toward irrationality and hyper emotionalism. As American education scholar Michael O'Shea (1920) comments, "it would have been better if nature had equipped the mother so that she could control her affection by her reason when her child needs social training" (128).[31]

The marginalization of maternal affection was matched by the "desexualization" of the permissible discourse. Reduced to the right knowledge or trivialized as sex play, this process is silent witness to the unresolved (and irresolvable?) dilemma that was never directly addressed in the child-rearing texts drawn on in this analysis. This "absence" can be perceived in both the post-Freudian and behaviorist discourses; a striking commonality given that there is a central disagreement about the existence of the sex instinct. In Freudian texts, the necessity for training the sexual instinct implied, if not actually spelt out, that an unschooled instinct was undesirable. Similarly, the

behaviorist's insistence on ensuring the acquisition of healthy sexual ideas removed from the equation the normative possibility of a childish sexual imagination imagination. In both, erotic independence was unattainable in theory as well as practice.

These interwar texts were also very open about the importance of encouraging children to acquire the proper knowledge about the body, of their own, of other children, and of adults. Freudians and behaviorists alike were committed to detailed sexual enlightenment of the child from a very young age, much younger than is generally thought necessary today. Moreover the shared condemnation of ignorance and fear legitimated attitudes that might today be at least questionable. For example, the tolerance of adult nudity in the presence of the child illustrated the ways in which the right knowledge was both anodized and desexualized, and the satisfaction of curiosity rendered evidence of childish eroticism asexual, reduced to a "hunger for knowledge" or "sex play." For satiated curiosity is the antidote to the child acquiring not just the wrong knowledge but the wrong attitude, and leaving curiosity about the body unsatisfied was deemed to be more damaging than any fleeting childhood encounter that could be managed away by well-trained parents.

What are we to conclude from this complex brew? Despite the fundamental differences between the two interpretative frameworks, the striking feature was that they both agreed on the endpoint and the means by which this should be achieved. The issue of developing the child's sexuality, actual or potential, could be left neither to chance nor to nature. The consequences would be catastrophic for the child-as-adult. Both Freudian and behavioural child-rearing texts recognized implicitly that shaping the direction of—developing—the child's sexuality was an essential precursor to sexual stability in the future. In the process, the possibility of an agentic sexual child was deeply compromised.

Regardless of its perceived origins, childish sexual potentiality with all its perils was effectively defused and rewritten through a range of strategies that assiduously avoided any negative constructions of sexuality from whatever source. Despite, or perhaps because of, the commitment to scientific training of the child and the translation of professional advice into parental practice, the child was marginalized—acknowledged only as the passive receptor, not the active agent. It was conditional on the boundaries of two opposed theoretical assumptions that either accepted or denied the presence of a sexual instinct. It was dependent also on a chain of transmission of the right knowledge,

from expert to parent to child, a dynamic that was underpinned by the conviction that the future adult could be planned through the present child.

We have used the term desexualization above, yet the texts would appear to contradict our claim. They all insisted on the need to inculcate a positive and comfortable relationship between the child and its body, a relationship that included but did not prioritize its sexuality. However, the sex that was spoken of was mechanical.[32] Like the underlying dominant framework of modernity, this was a sex that was rationalized and ordered—a process that appeared parallel in significance to a balanced diet. It was a "sex" with a purpose but without erotic presence; a sex that was serious but at the same time trivialized. "Developing the sexual child" was, in retrospect, a profoundly frustrating methodology and philosophy. There was sexual enthusiasm evident, for sexual prudery was backward and damaging, and excessive constraint would distort the child's social development. Yet, ultimately, the possibilities this ideological shift offered were sacrificed at the altar of purpose and outcome. Behind the rhetoric of education and training there lurked a doubt that instinct or no instinct, the child was predisposed toward vulnerability and misdirection. In the words of American cultural anthropologist Rhoda Metraux (1955), spoken in 1955, "one omission, one neglected occasion or one unconscious act by the parents is sufficient to encourage a 'weed' to grow in the child, which can then be uprooted only by unremitting effort" (214).

We suggest that the potential for an open acknowledgment of the sexual child was truncated by the very conditions that allowed it to be spoken of as a positive, not a negative social phenomenon. The sexual child was permissible only as the pathway to the properly sexual adult, and "the weed"—its sexual subjectivity—was muted and marginalized. The matter-of-fact tolerance that characterized the child-rearing texts belied a provisional acceptance, one that depended upon the chain of command, from expert to compliant parent, and from compliant parent to passively acquiescent child.

This page intentionally left blank

Concluding Thoughts and Potentials for Future Thinking

> Man spends his time devising techniques of which he afterwards remains more or less a willing prisoner.
>
> Bloch (1944/1992)

The leitmotiv of this history of ideas is the multifarious and contradictory forms ascribed to the sexual child. Arriving at any conclusion about this constellation of ideas would appear at first to be a futile task. However, constructions of "the sexual child" are highly reflective of the social context in which they were constructed. It was the cultural entrenchment of these ideas in the Anglophone West that led to our retrospective and reconstructive approach. Accordingly, our engagement with the history of ideas entailed three dimensions: historical, discursive, and theoretical that together provided a more informed framework for unpacking the complexities of this story.

As Marc Bloch (1992) argues in *The Historian's Craft*, this approach to historical research illuminates the nonlinear relationship between the past and the present and in so doing affords scholars the tools through which to critically address the persistence of present misunderstandings, for, "misunderstanding of the present is the inevitable consequence of ignorance of the past" (36). In the case of the sexual child, Bloch's advice is especially salient. As we have already illustrated in the introduction, the recent phenomenon of sexualization phobia provides an excellent example of all that is irrational and ahistorical about the sexual child in our contemporary culture.

Our story is also characterized by the convergent and divergent themes that spanned across the periods and discourses we analyzed. In part this is to be expected, because on the one hand we deliberately restricted our enquiry to Anglophone modernity and on the other we chose to deploy a history of ideas. What is worthy of note, however, is that through our use of close textual analysis of a range of divergent sources we found that there were recurrent themes *between* discourses that signal a deeper ideological continuity. In chapter one, we identify the emergence of an ideological landscape that established the child as inhabiting a subjective world distinct from that of the adult. Within the emerging natural sciences and pedagogic philosophy, the mind of the child and its somatic responsiveness were identified as the centerpiece of human advancement. Yet, despite this optimistic framing, certain fundamental capacities that were accorded to the child, most notably the centrality of its sensuality, became the foundation for another strategy in the management of its body albeit from a very different direction—masturbation phobia. The sensuality of the body that served as the platform for the acquisition of reason became the justification for its management due to its compulsive and uncontrollable nature. Pedagogic guidance was replaced by physical constraint. Valorization of the child's subjective interpretation of its sensual world transformed into fears about its corruption by uncontrollable somatic forces. Yet, here two very different discourses share the same assumption: that the child possessed potentiality that could not be left unattended. This ambivalence toward the body of the child and its incendiary potential continued to be reflected in and shape the construction of the sexual child in modernity, as our three case studies so vividly illustrate.

Within the domain of theory, the sexual child was constituted through an entirely different lens. The science of sex and Freudian psychoanalysis emerged in historical parallel, and to a great degree shared the same conviction, that scientific exploration could reverse damaging presumptions about or ignorance of the vast range of human sexual behavior.[1] However, as we have illustrated in detail, there was a significant difference in the means chosen to achieve this end. Drawing on materials detailing sexual practices from various cultures, sexologists compared these findings with their patients' narratives and stories from correspondents. The erotic biographies collected chronicled a wide range of sexual activities often starting from the patients' earliest memories of childhood. The frank details of their stories gave readers access to a sexual world in which, apparently, the child could partake as easily as an adult. Though mutual erotic play was a recurring theme,

additional evidence was offered by Hirschfeld, Krafft-Ebing, and Ellis of fetishistic attachments and sexual imaginations in early childhood. Within the study of sexology, the work of Ellis and Moll demonstrated the existence of autonomous sexual life of the child beyond prevailing social expectations and adult surveillance.[2] The insights offered by the empirical work of sexology and the potential of their research to provide a more nuanced and complex perspective on the topic in the future never materialized. Instead, the work of the first sexologists, though justly recognized as the founders of the scientific study of sex, tends to collect dust in libraries or on professorial bookshelves. We speculate that the work of Sigmund Freud and its popularity contributed to silencing the voices of those children who spoke from the past.

The conterminous linking of sexology and Freudian psychoanalysis was more than temporal, it was also collegial and, to an extent, theoretical. However, there is also a distinct difference—within Freudian psychoanalysis the child and its sexual sensibility occupy a central place. In his early theories, a kaleidoscopic and vivid image of childish sexual faculties is painted for the reader: the child actively engages in its erotic aims and is wholly polymorphous as well as exhibitionist and sadistic in its quests and longings. Yet, as Freud's later work reveals, these are all potentials that, as the child develops into adulthood, are necessarily subsumed under erotically inadequate monogamous gendered heterosexuality. In this sense, Freud's sexual child epitomizes the construction of the sexual child in modernity and the history of ideas detailed in this book. For it simultaneously identifies the existence of a lively and complex sexual subjectivity only to neutralize this potential behind a thick veil of normalization. Although Freud's sexual child exemplifies the ambivalent position of the child in modernity, normalization inhabits an equally complex but central position in this history of ideas.

While the term normalization is not used specifically in the sources drawn upon in this study, normalization is nevertheless a shadowy presence in every discourse. The definition of "normal" within the various discourses we examined was far from monolithic or uniform. From the eighteenth century onward there was recognition of the significance of the senses in "awakening" the rational mind. Here the relationship between the mind and the body is seen as benign and creative of self and society. Nineteenth-century medical conceptualization of the body severed this link and replaced it with a hierarchy in which "the body" was accorded the capability to dominate and to destroy. This force, present but dormant in the sexual child, was considered especially destructive, since it transcended and, if left unaddressed, ultimately defeated, the possibility of normal sexual

development. Such a construction of the body relied on the presence of an inner impulse that was covertly acknowledged even if overtly denied.

Within both purity and social hygiene the presence of the sexual impulse was "natural"; however, the construction of normality was contingent upon its proper realization. As such, it was the shaping of the sexual impulse through their respective instruction that produced a normative end. In the heart of rational modernity, validation of the sexual impulse on these terms opened the door to another imperative, the need for its training. The logic and success of both movements depended upon the recognition of the child's sexual impulse as a "natural" and malleable potential. Once acknowledged, the sexual impulse demanded the presence of adult guidance.

In addition, like the child itself, the childish sexual instinct was perceived as possessing capabilities for "good" and "evil"—a Janus face that is one of the most persistent themes throughout this history. Accordingly, the training of its sexual instinct toward a particular outcome (morally sound and fulfilled within purity campaigns and monogamous heterosexuality expressed within socially acceptable gender in hygiene reform), became an added site of intervention in the life of the sexual child. As we have illustrated, various strategies were entailed within this unacknowledged process of normalization. These included sensual education; physical constraint; moral suasion; and expert scientific intervention into a broad social education or training of mothers in the techniques of scientific child rearing. It was perhaps, of all the accounts addressed here, the work of Freud that made explicit the irresolvable tensions that drove the transformation in his work from the characterization of the ever-present volatile and polymorphic instinct of the sexual child into the muted and subjectively unsatisfactory resolution of properly gendered adult marital coitus.

Within all three case studies there was clear evidence that autonomous sexuality existed in children, framed in the uniformly negative consequences of leaving such expressions unattended and unaddressed. This was demonstrated in the characterization of the child as "corrupt seducer"—the knowing child whose disruptive activities were also a metaphor for the disruptive and disorderly aspects of modern society. Equally, the phenomenon of "filthy and indecent play" or "silly sex play" was variously intended to induce guilt, or in the more liberal paradigm to ridicule the choice of activities, equating it with childish trivialities that will disappear if the child learnt the requisite self-control from the parent. These characterizations are especially evident in the three case studies of the practical application of these interlocking but distinct constructions—purity, hygiene, and development. In all, the

only evidence of agency permissible was that which demonstrated conformity with the prevailing adult values.

Yet despite the difference in the content and application of these values, there was a recurring theme between the discourses: the use of the sexual child as a vector for the preoccupations about social order and disorder. Here the final property of childhood sexuality had a special salience: for throughout our history the child has been seen as simultaneously the hope for the future (in its malleability) and as emblematic of the worst aspects of modernity (in its resistance to the impositions of rational planning). The identification of an active sexual sensibility in the case studies was represented as evidence that the strategies of modernity—the application of scientific methods and the deployment of expertise and regimes toward proper development—had failed. Through this final shared theme the autonomously sexual child returned, conceptually, to its original construction, both recognized and simultaneously rendered insubstantial.

The purpose of this book was not to offer any universal or universalizing explanation for the complexities that comprised the construction of the sexual child in modernity. Rather, the aim was to weave the range of apparently incongruent ideas into a tapestry that would provide a foundation on which to develop a more reflective and reflexive paradigm for the sexual child. Despite the best attempts to normalize the child's sexuality over the nearly past two centuries, this topic continues to evoke high levels of anxiety. We might speculate that persistence of this response in our contemporary culture is precisely because of the ease with which it becomes a metaphorical repository for the expression of wider social anxieties. If so, we contend, perhaps it is time for a different way of thinking, one that is directed toward a positive and affirming recognition of the sexual subjectivity of the child on its own terms. We propose a more nuanced and collaborative vision of "recognition" that moves beyond a cultural conception of "the child and its sexuality" toward children's sexuality in all of its complexity. Before we discuss what a framework for recognition might look like, it is important to contextualize our use of this term in the context of Judith Butler's argument in *Undoing Gender* (2004).

Recognition, Social Viability, and Agency

In *Undoing Gender*, Butler (2004) underscores the primacy of recognition as the entry point through which an individual becomes a socially viable member of community and culture. Drawing on Hegel's theory

of the master/slave dialectic, Butler argues that our ability to function in culture is predicated upon an *other* who acknowledges us as an individual and in the process accords us status as a socially acceptable person. For Butler, however, recognition is not a battle between two autonomous beings as Hegel contends; rather it is mediated by and through larger social structures of inequality and privilege. To this end, cultural hegemony sets the parameters for acceptable social existence. Recognition is not the outcome of rational action, individual will, or autonomy; rather it is constituted by and through dominant discourses. As a result, recognition is a deeply political question because of its connection to power and its effects on how humans are differentially constructed and materially live within our culture.

Although we are constituted by and through our culture, we can "endeavor to live in ways that maintain a critical and transformative relation" to social norms (Butler 2004, 30). Cultural critique entails an interrogation of the terms by which social life is constrained in order to foster and create different modes of living. Transformation within this framework becomes a community question—conceptualized as the process of negotiating a set of cultural standards that were defined prior to one's own acceptance or consent. It is only through collective contestation that self-determination is made possible. Agency, for Butler, is definitively a social enterprise.

Within this theoretical framework, issues of subjectivity, identity, and bodily integrity are not the products of individual desire or an act of will; rather they are dependent upon a culture that recognizes and supports their viability. This foregrounding of individual codependence raises larger questions about the ethical imperatives of social relations and agency more generally. Codependence requires a reconceptualization of our relationship to the social. Whether we like it or not recognition is bound to those with whom we feel personal propinquity and those we do not—as such the context for our community membership and social acknowledgment is highly complex. Moreover, it reveals why associations across difference are not a luxury but crucial for collective change and the transformation of social institutions. However, Butler (2004) is quick to note this does not mean that we should rely on or seek to create a singular vision of social change. Predicting the shape our culture takes and how it will look in the future should not be the goal, rather "contestation must be in play" for society to be truly democratic (41). For Butler "to live is to live a life politically, in relation to power, in relation to others in the act of assuming responsibility for a collective future" (39).

We contend that this framework offers a powerful model for rethinking the sexuality and sexual agency of children. By highlighting the mutually interdependent nature of social recognition, the possibility of social and sexual agency extends beyond the province of adult rationality to a reflexive and dynamic collective undertaking—one that includes children and adults as socially viable members and agents in their community.

Rethinking Sexual Agency and the Sexual Subjectivity of Children

Recognizing the sexual subjectivity of children requires the creation of a cultural context that acknowledges them as socially viable sexual subjects and affirms their agency as such. A child's sexuality, like all sexuality, is situated at the intersection of culture, the body and individual biography—as something that is shaped by the social and open to refutation and resistance. In this regard, discussions on children's sexuality should no longer be the sole domain of parents, policymakers, professionals, or even children. Instead, the sexual rights of children should be part of a larger collective and collaborative endeavor to create a social setting that promotes children's self-determination and the exercise of sexual agency. Both children and adults should be recognized as subjects who are mutually engaged, as agents, in questions of sexual rights and sexual citizenship.[3] Making such a culture a reality would involve a paradigmatic shift in thinking. It would be overly naive, and quite possibly unreflexively arrogant, to believe that we could create a vision that encompassed all of the complex changes needed to make this happen; instead we want to offer the following four suggestions in the hopes of starting a conversation that might move us in the right direction.

First, recognizing the sexual subjectivity of children should highlight the mutual codependence of children and adults. Children should not be constructed as lower in the hierarchy of cognition or as in the process of becoming adult. Both of these positions render children illegitimate as social subjects. Recognition takes children seriously as valid and socially legitimate subjects entitled to sexual agency. Discussions on children's sexuality should not be confined to the boundaries of the private sphere or solely be an issue of familial prerogative. Instead, broader cultural conversations should help create social institutions that are extra-familial with the goal of promoting the sexual citizenship of children.

This proposed change would make agency a *cultural* endeavor and not dependent upon parental consent. We argue that this shift is crucial for two reasons. As scholarship on sexual abuse has shown, the sexual exploitation of children is far more common within the confines of the family than in the streets or at the hands of a stranger—as is so often represented in the news media and television shows (Sternheimer 2006; Kincaid 1998). More than this, as the work of feminist scholar Valerie Lehr (2008) highlights, the home can be a homophobic and violent place for queer children and youth, where coming out can result in verbal harassment, physical abuse, and in the most extreme cases homelessness (ibid.). Given this, we argue, the private sphere should not and cannot be the only space for promoting the sexual agency of children. Nor should the corollary of this claim be the restoration of expert authority. As we have shown in our analysis of the three case studies, adult expertise offers no guaranteed safeguard for a child's self-expression.

Second, we need to conceptually uncouple children's sexual agency from that of adults: children's sexuality should not be constructed as a mirror to or prefix of adult sexuality. This strategy encourages the perception that a sexual child is a "sexualized child"—prematurely adult and, therefore, deprived of an essential (and essentialized) quality, innocence. In equal turn, the goal should not be to liberate the child entirely from social engagement as a sexual citizen (Evans 1991). The underlying assumption in both discourses, one that has been addressed repeatedly in our history, is that the sexual subjectivity of children is generated by some outside stimulus. Although the outcome is negative in the former and positive in the latter, both rely upon and reproduce a vision of childhood sexuality through the perception and expectation of adulthood.

There is a circularity perpetuated by the insistence on the adult-defined and centered model here that can be uncoupled only by the acknowledgment of the existence and legitimacy of children's sexual subjectivity. Recognition must go beyond this simple assertion. To render this dimension of humanity coherent, it must be possible to listen to and acknowledge evidence of this without fear and anxiety. Undertaking the reflexive engagement we propose would require a deconstruction of all the terms that have come to define and delimit the sexuality of children. If we neglect this step, we may fall back into a model that recognizes a few and marginalizes many. Confining acceptable sexuality to an uncritical adult vision of "healthy sexuality" keeps sexual agency out of reach.[4]

Third, we need to take sexual difference and multiplicity seriously. A culture that supports the sexual agency of children must acknowledge

a multiplicity of *sexualities* and sexual expressions. Sexuality is shaped at the nexus of personal biography and our relation to social norms—thus it is constructed within a sociological context. It is never simply our own nor is it only a reflection of dominant culture—it is an amalgamation of culture, biography, and experience (Weeks 2003). The intertwining of race, class, gender (including transgender), sexuality, disability, religion, desire, and experience shape complex negotiations involved in the formation of sexualities as they are experienced and perceived. For this reason, among those already enumerated, we should especially avoid cultural parameters that produce a singular vision. The shape of children's sexuality cannot be known, defined, or supposed in advance. Recognizing children as capable of sexual agency requires that we get more comfortable with ambiguity. Being at ease with the agentically sexual child would allow us to actively engage with the realities of its experience in the contemporary Anglophone West.[5]

The final paradigm shift would require that we stop using the protection of children to legitimate surveillance and social control more broadly. As we have illustrated throughout this history, discourses on childhood sexuality were rarely about children themselves. Instead, childhood sexuality and the desire to bring it under control provided an avenue for addressing other cultural anxieties (e.g., racial purity, affirming the institution of marriage, and constructing more rigid gender boundaries). Consequently, discourses on childhood sexuality served to legitimate social interventions that obliterated the agency inherent in the bodies and pleasures of children themselves. In equal part, protecting children's sexuality from harmful influences has been used in the service of social concerns that extend far beyond the bodies or subjectivities of children.[6] The work of Steven Angelides (2008, 2004) illuminates the unfortunate continuation of this trend in our contemporary culture. Childhood sexuality should not be the ground upon which both the normative and the deviant get produced and reproduced.

Changing our cultural conceptions of childhood sexuality will not be easy. However, continuing down the same road is both untenable and unjust. Ecologist and legal theorist Christopher Stone (1996) argues that prior to any extension of citizenship to a new social group there is an expressed conviction that such a change is unacceptably destabilizing at both an individual and social level. Yet, Stone argues, these ideological assumptions should not deter us in our attempts to refashion and revision society. If we review the history of women's rights, gay and lesbian rights, and civil rights more broadly, we see evidence of the

success of such a transformation. The election of Barack Obama to the Presidency of the United States, the naming of Cem Ozdemir, the son of Turkish immigrants, to the head of the Green Party in Germany also speak to ongoing possibilities of social change. Although challenging to visualize, we believe that a model of social recognition can help us move toward a more socially just cultural framework that recognizes both children and adults as sexual subjects and sexual citizens. This would not do away with the complex challenges that children face in their sexual lives, but it could create a more collaborative and democratic context for conversations about the means by which to achieve this end.

NOTES

Introduction: Back to the Future

1. For a comprehensive discussion of the definition of sexualization and its limitations please see Egan and Hawkes 2009a, 2008a, 2008c.
2. Levin and Kilbourne's message is incredibly popular and deeply resonant for many Americans; they have delivered lectures at numerous parenting groups, been interviewed in newspapers across the United States, and have even appeared on the popular American television show *Today* with advice for parents on how to steer their daughters away from becoming a "grade school Lolita" (June 8, 2008; http://today.msnbc.msn.com/id/26037851/; http://www.jeankilbourne.com/news.html).
3. In addition to her book she has also written a handbook entitled *Detoxing Childhood*, and offers full-day workshops, CD roms, and other materials for parents and teachers (www.suepalmer.com.uk).
4. Jean Kilbourne, Diane Levin, Sue Palmer are on the political left as well as feminists, and Prime Minister Rudd is from the liberal Labor Party. There is also a long-standing conservative movement against sexualization (Egan and Hawkes 2008a, 2008b).
5. Henson's photographs raised such a cultural uproar that his exhibition was closed and he was charged with child pornography, a charge that was later dropped.
6. It is important to note that most authors who write on sexualization make a point of distinguishing sexualization from "healthy sexuality." For example, the APA Task Force (2007, 5) defines health sexuality as promoting "intimacy, bonding and shared pleasure and involves mutual respect between consenting partners" (see also Oppliger 2008; Durham 2008; Rush and LaNauze 2006a, 2006b). However, it is our contention that the scope and extent of sexualization within the materials discussed belies these assertions. Sexualization within the literature is so ubiquitous that, to borrow Jill Kilbourne's metaphor, it creates "a toxic environment" that acts like "poisoned air" in the lives of girls (Kilbourne in Cabrera [accessed May 24, 2008]). It saturates the media, the Internet, and many commodities and is reproduced in the home, school, and in the self (i.e., self-exploitation). Assumed to be pathological in both process and outcome, sexualization functions as an endpoint from which all girls should be properly protected (Egan and Hawkes 2008a, 2008b).
7. We want to be clear that we are not interested in doing away with the protection of children nor are we forwarding a liberationist treatise on why children should have sex. We address this issue more fully in the conclusion.
8. Moreover, we would argue that being a parent with small children occasions particular pressures and anxieties that could mediate against a measured response.

9. It is important to note that this is not an exhaustive account of this history of ideas, rather it is an attempt to remedy an absence and shed light on these historical understandings and ideological links in order to think more reflexively about childhood sexuality in the future.
10. For exceptions see Rousseau 2008 and Jackson 1982. It is also important to note that although there has been little done in the area of social theoretical exploration, the examination of childhood sexuality has had a long-standing place in the arts and in literature.
11. Previous studies into the history of sexuality and youth have tended to focus on adolescents or more narrow and localized topics such as masturbation phobias, sex education, and more recently child sexual abuse (see Romesberg 2008; Schneider 2008; Luker 2007, 1997; Darby 2005; Laqueur 2003; Irvine 2002).
12. The exception to this rule is found in our chapter on psychoanalysis. Our choice to examine the work of Sigmund Freud was driven by two motivations. First, it is impossible to fully grasp how the sexual child was conceptualized during this period without attending to the work of Freud. Second, as philosopher Arnold Davidson (1987) argues in his writing on psychoanalytic discourse,

    > Since psychoanalysis is so completely intertwined with the name of Sigmund Freud, it is natural to object that writing its history without his name would not be to write its history at all … And this is not merely because Freud was the originator of psychoanalysis but primarily because the central concepts, claims, and problems of psychoanalysis have not received deeper specification beyond their congealment in his texts. (256)

    Compelled by Davidson's argument we felt that it would be impossible to compose this history of ideas without a critical deconstruction of Freudian psychoanalysis.
13. This deficiency is an unfortunate trend that continues today due to difficulty in garnering permission from ethics review boards to conduct this type of research. The forthcoming research of Kerry Robinson on the perceptions of children (age three and higher) on sexuality in Australia is groundbreaking in this regard and will provide a map for future research. The longitudinal research on adolescent sexuality by Sue Scott and Stevi Jackson in the United Kingdom and Debra Tollman in the United States further reveals why listening to youth is so important.
14. Moreover, we are not exploring the history of sexual education for children or how adults introduced the topic of sexuality into the lives of children.
15. As we illustrate across the book, the conceptualization of race, in the contemporary use of the term, is strikingly missing. As a result, the child within these materials is unclear, however, given the time period within which these materials were written as well as the cultural location of their production, one must assume they are focusing their attention on white children.
16. There are some shared features between this project and that of sexual hygiene. However, there are also notable differences as will become evident.

One Constructing the Modern Sexual Child

1. As we demonstrate in the next chapter, the themes of innocence and corruption occupy a central place within the construction of the sexual child in the social purity movement. Moreover, many of these themes reappear across the different epochs and different discourses that we discuss throughout this history of ideas.
2. The concept of civilization is used in these arguments to exemplify the positive potential of human endeavors, especially as they derive from the "enlightened" state.
3. What is important to note is that although it is clear that the child is loved and an object of affection, there is little evidence here of what would become a common construction of childhood within the nineteenth century—of the sentimentalization of childhood.

4. Locke, however, attracted wealthy patronage and received a critical as well as a classical education at Westminster and then at Christ College, Oxford.
5. The concern over the child's peer pressure is a common and recurring theme in the reform movements discussed in chapters two, three, and six.
6. Medical texts of the time were full of stories of children who died because of misguided treatment. See, for details, Ryerson 1961 (302–323); Spree 1992 (317–335); and Benzaquen 2004 (13–25). Suspicion of mothers and their abilities as pedagogues in the lives of their children is a reoccurring concern we discuss in chapters three, five, and six.
7. Rousseau and Condillac were friends as well as intellectual colleagues.
8. A concern shared, as we illuminate, in the work of Sigmund Freud in chapter five.
9. In all of these eighteenth-century writers, and additionally in the works of physicians of the day, the practice of swaddling infants was condemned both on physical and moral grounds.
10. "The earliest education is most important and it undoubtedly is woman's work. If the author of nature had meant to assign it to men he would have given them milk to feed the child"; http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext04/emile10.txt.
11. Rousseau (1938) evokes the contemporary preoccupation with wild children and says that if the adult child distinction was not there—if humans were born fully grown and developed, such a "child-man would be a perfect idiot, an automaton, a statue without motion and almost without feeling" (28).
12. James Nelson (1756), a London apothecary, condemned the carelessness of parenthood at the same time as he affirmed the moral importance of the child (9). In his "Essay on the Government of Children," Nelson warns against the sexual seduction of girl children and the importance of parental surveillance and control.
13. Laqueur 2003; Darby 2003, 2005; Stengers and Neck 2001; Stolberg 2000, 2003; Singy, 2004; Hamowy 1977.
14. This conclusion, however, is strikingly different from the Social Purity reformers discussed in chapter two who believed rational will and moral suasion were the best tools to control autoeroticism.
15. For more on this professional instability, see Crozier 2001 (417).
16. In 1845 this focus on social behavior was illustrated in a child's book, *Struwwelpeter,* that comprised gruesomely illustrated accounts of the terrible consequences of childish disobedience to adult authority. Each cautionary tale was correlated with the misuse of the body—cleanliness; personal hygiene; gluttony, and an early recognition of what in 1879 was to be identified by the German pediatrician Lindner as "pleasure sucking" (Gillis 1996, 57).
17. Although some of our sources are originally published in German or French, they were all translated quickly into English and traversed many editions in their second language.
18. Historian of science, Elof Carlson (2001), points out that while Deslandes was a supporter of clitoridectomy for girls who masturbated, he opposed castration for boy offenders (28).
19. For comments on the professional medical status of Kahn, see Rosenman 2003 (33–35).
20. As with birth control advice, the involvement of doctors with women's reproductive capacity was accepted reluctantly and was eventually expressed in terms of their responsibility for the maintenance of moral standards as well as maternal health (Hawkes 1991).
21. Though the original was in French, this text was translated and published in German and in English at the time and after Lallemand's death in 1853.
22. In these examples the child is more often than not male, though female infants and children are recognized to be equally susceptible.
23. Before Pasteur's isolation of microbes as causes of infection in 1861, the theory of irritation prevailed in which the source of disease was an abnormal agitation of the cells in a local area that would, in turn, lead to functional abnormalities in other systems of the body. Hence, a tight foreskin or clitoral prepuce would not only "cause" masturbation but also wide range of other mental and physical pathologies. Since this whole process operated at a

somatic rather than conscious level, the only cure for the compulsion was to either remove the source or render the irritated area so painful to touch that it would break the habit.

24. "There are nurses and nursery maids who understand quite well how to quiet screaming children by playing with and sucking their genitals" (Vecki 1899, 166).
25. This characterization is reminiscent of those of the Early Church Fathers who advocated celibacy as the only means by which to combat the desires of the flesh. The difference here is that this is not about sin but disease.
26. Secondary accounts offer examples of the length such constraints went in sometimes difficult to read accounts. (Hamowy 1977, 241; Moussaieff Masson 1986, 80).
27. In this respect, there is a recall of early Christian depictions of "all flesh as grass," developed in most detail by Ambrose and Jerome in the fourth century CE (Hawkes 2004). The solution then was to practice celibacy in an extreme form that all human touch, especially that of women, must be avoided at all costs. Even smell and taste were considered directly responsible for inflaming the desires of the flesh. But the Latin Fathers made no mention of children in proposing these ascetic regimes—this was a regime for adult men and women.

Two The Sexual Child and the Social Purity Movement

1. For more on the contradictory ways in which innocence was constructed within Victorian literature see James Kincaid 1992.
2. The potential for rational guidance harkens back to the ideals of Enlightenment discussed in chapter one and thus are a radical departure from physicians writing during masturbation phobia. However, the desire to place infantile sexuality under rational constraint is a reoccurring theme throughout this history of ideas.
3. Middle-class women were not the only women involved in the movement; they along with other doctors comprised its primary membership.
4. For more on social purity activists and their work on the abolition of prostitution and venereal disease in the Anglophone West see Darby 2005; Brown and Barrett 2002; Hall 2001; Morgan 2000; Bartley 1999; Mason 1994; Porter and Hall 1995; Freedman 1982; Pivar 1974.
5. Given our substantive interest in the discursive construction of the sexual child, it is beyond the scope of this analysis to provide a holistic account of the purity movement in all of its complexity. For an excellent summary of the work of the purity movement see Mort 2000; Hunt 1999; Porter and Hall 1995; Pivar 1974; Boyer 1968.
6. The dominion of the mind over the body echoes the emphasis placed on this relationship by pedagogues in the eighteenth century, and most especially in Rousseau's *Emile*.
7. As Jacques Donzelot (1997) reminds us the form that this intervention took varied widely; however, working-class women were often subject to far more intense scrutiny than their upper middle-class counterparts.
8. Purity reform, like sexual hygiene, sexology, and Freudian psychoanalysis, was deeply concerned about the influence and potential of the modern condition in general, and with urbanization in particular.
9. Although the creation of such pamphlets and manuscripts extended far beyond the social purity movement, purity activists produced a significant number of texts on the topic (Pivar 1974).
10. Within purity literature, the conception "naughty" play was related to and distinct from masturbation. For Hopkins "sexual play" among boys and girls spoke more profoundly to the idea of ignorance than innocence because of its relational and social quality. As such, "filthy play" involved more volition and conscious thought. For more on Ellice Hopkins' role in the purity movement see Morgan 2000. This theme of the characterization of sex play is addressed again in chapter six.

11. Howe's text was unique among the purity materials on childhood under study; however, racist conceptions of the "savage" were commonplace in the "solutions" offered by social purity and later still by sexual hygiene reformers in their attempts to rescue the "wayward" and "dejected" prostitute in the colonies (Stoller 1995). We contend that the absence of "race" in purity literature produced by white Anglophone activists speaks to the persistent racialization of the concept of sexual innocence itself. Enlightened sexual innocence is often constructed as a characteristic and quality to be protected in white middle or upper middle-class children in Anglophone culture and used to reinforce both class and racial boundaries (Egan and Hawkes 2008a; Cross 2004; Kincaid 1998; Walkerdine 1998).

Three Sexual Hygiene and the Habituation of Childhood Sexuality

1. Within this chapter we use the terms social hygiene and sexual hygiene interchangeably.
2. It is important to note that hygienists were familiar with and at times drew on Freudian psychoanalysis and sexology in their writings, albeit in a much diluted and often distorted manner.
3. Sexual hygiene, like social purity, was concerned with and campaigned for causes that extend far beyond the domain of childhood. For a more holistic account of the movement in the Anglophone and its efforts to reform adult sexuality, see Gordon 2007; Gerodetti 2007; Ordoner 2003; Brown and Barrett 2002; Robinson 2002; Mort 2000; Hunt 1999; Warne 1999; Luker 1998; Simmons 1993.
4. Equally important, this chapter is not concerned with the sexual education curriculum generated by sexual hygienist, rather we are focused on the ideas hygienists used to construct the sexual child and legitimate their expertise in the construction of sex training. For excellent work on the history of sex education, see Luker 2007; Hall 2004; Lord 2003; Irvine 2002; Moran 1996; Rury 1987; Imber 1982.
5. Dysgenic populations were those with perceived with low mental capacities, physical strength and poor moral reasoning. Hygienists were particularly concerned with these groups because they viewed they as more likely to reproduce and thus weaken the race. It was believed that such a weakening had occurred in many soldiers and lead to the collapse of the British regime in the Anglo Boer wars.
6. Jean-Baptiste Pierre Antoine de Monet, Chevalier de la Marck who is most commonly referred to as Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, was an eighteenth-century naturalist who forwarded the idea that evolution could be shaped by natural law. To this end, he theorized that the habituation of particular characteristics, either positive or negative, would become acquired in the individual and thus reproduced in future generations.
7. Given the focus of this book, we do not have the space to provide a full summary of the eugenic movement in the Anglophone West. Suffice it to say here that the movement was multidisciplinary and encompassed a range of depths of commitment to its principles. Exponents included Fabian Socialists like Beatrice and Sidney Webb; George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, and Olive Schriener; Sexologists Havelock Ellis and August Forel; leading members of the medical profession who were also deeply religious, like Mary Scharlieb and James Marchant; social reformers and activists like Margaret Sanger; psychologists such as G. Stanley Hall, as well as practicing scientists and geneticists like Karl Pearson and Marie Stopes.
8. Within the national contexts of racism and Jim Crow laws in the United States, Australia's Immigration Restriction Act (1901), and the British colonial project this is a striking absence.

9. The social hygiene movement is situated within a much broader public concern with the hygienic and the preoccupation with prevention. As historian Anthony Wohl (1983) highlights, the end of the nineteenth century saw an increasing focus on the potential of cleanliness and prevention (98). Moreover, various institutions produced scientific study on the benefits of various forms of hygiene ranging from clean water, food, and clothing to rational potential of mental hygiene and even the hygienic potential of arithmetic.
10. The sources do not indicate who "Mrs. Street" was other than a delegate to the conference.
11. Childhood studies scholar Gillian Brown (2003) notes that "when identified with ancient humanity the strange and wild absorptions of boys acquire a progressive function"; however, it is only "by going away" that boyhood gains a valid purpose (26).
12. As we have illustrated thus far, legitimating entry into the domain of the sexual child through claims of expertise is a reoccurring theme within this history of ideas.
13. Moreover, this conception of the child helped forward the presumption that poor adults were beyond aid and thus only an endpoint to legislate (i.e., sterilization, antimiscegenation laws, and the quarantining of poor women accused of prostitution) (Hall 1916; Luker 1998).

Four Sexology and the New Normality

1. Though there were differences in the motivation for engaging with sexual behavior, there were obvious points of shared commitment between sexual hygiene and sexology. Havelock Ellis's book *The Task of Social Hygiene* (1912) is emblematic of such connections.
2. Of course, as Porter and Hall (1995) point out, this did not prevent the work of sexologists being denounced as pornographic by the medical establishment (155–169).
3. Freud experienced similar marginalization, as we show in the next chapter.
4. This ambivalent characterization of civilization is a common theme in the story of the sexual child in modernity.
5. In his review of Krafft-Ebing's work, Oosterhuis (2000) makes similar claims for his subject. "Perversions did not form a wholly distinct class . . . they tended to be considered merely as a variation within a wide range of possibilities" (65).
6. Bloch's positioning on masturbation and the bodily excitability of the child is much closer to the exponents of masturbation phobia.
7. Hirschfeld published this three-volume work to coincide with his opening of the first Institute for Sexual Science in Berlin.
8. Forel possessed the world's largest collection of ants in 1872. It is of interest to compare his passion for ants with that of Kinsey's for gall wasps.
9. This is sometimes spelled as "Auguste."
10. He is so revered in his native Switzerland that his visage appears on a postage stamp and on the one-thousand franc Swiss bank note. He is considered a great patriot and father figure among the Swiss.
11. Forel's work was published in many languages and would reach its seventeenth edition by 1942.
12. We speculate that Moll is here taking issue with the work of his contemporary sexologists.
13. Sandford Bell studied love relationships among 2,500 children and published his account and analysis in the *American Journal of Psychology* in 1902. This study was approvingly referenced by Freud in his *Three Essays on Childhood Sexuality* in 1905 (40).
14. As with many scholastic disagreements, we posit that this criticism was based upon an overinterpretation of one aspect of Freud's theory in the *Three Essays on Sexuality* (1905c). As we show in chapter five, Freud was equally disparaging of Moll.
15. During the undifferentiated period, it may happen that quite normal children exhibit homosexual excitement, whose importance is apt to be greatly overestimated by their relatives and others. During the undifferentiated stage a boy may love one of his teachers or one

of his friends, and yet in later life be perfectly normal; many a woman, again, who loves her husband ardently has earlier, during the undifferentiated period, passionately loved a schoolfellow or a governess. On the other hand, during the undifferentiated stage a boy may exhibit an inclination towards someone of the opposite sex, the governess or the girlfriend of his sister, for instance; conversely, the girl may be attracted by a boy or a young man. This inclination, whether homosexual or heterosexual, often leads to bodily acts, to contact with the beloved person, embraces, and kisses, without the necessary occurrence of any manifestations on the part of the external genital organs, although such manifestations may at times ensue. http://www.cerius.org/ref/book/Moll/chapter_iv.htm.

16. And in this sense he shares a strong affinity with Sigmund Freud's movement away from the seduction theory, as we discuss in the following chapter.
17. We will return in detail with an account of Freud's sexual child in the following chapter.

Five Freud and the Cartography of Infantile Sexuality

1. We use the terms psychoanalysis, psychoanalytic discourse, and Freudian psychoanalysis interchangeably within this chapter.
2. Originally written in 1905, Freud revised *Three Essays* in 1910, 1915, 1920, 1924. His thinking on sexuality was revised until 1933, some six years before his death.
3. Although Freud sought to institutionalize psychoanalytic thinking to ensure its progression after his death, he was also deeply wary of its popularization and the ways in which it was often misinterpreted (Gay 1988).
4. The reception of Freudian psychoanalysis in the Anglophone West was uneven, contested, and complex. Although the recognition and adaptation of his work was far greater in the United States and Britain, debates over the usefulness of his theories for sexual education, child rearing, and the treatment of neurosis also took place in Australia. In all three countries, Freudian psychoanalysis provided a welcomed departure from previous paradigms of hereditary degeneracy in its theories on the origins of neurosis and in its methods for treatment (Damousi 2005; Budd 2001; Garton 1988a, 1988b; Hale 1995; Gay 1988; Jones 1963). The popularization and adaptation of Freudian ideas in the Anglophone West resonated with and contributed to the emergence of scientific parenting in the 1920s and 1930s in all three countries as we will illustrate in chapter six (Damousi 2005; Sterns 2003).
5. Whereas the sexologists we discussed in chapter four focused primarily on conscious and unsolicited recollections, psychoanalysis examined the unconscious.
6. Although Freud (1933) never defines who the "others" are in his essay, given that he was a contemporary of many of the authors we have reviewed thus far, we contend that he is critiquing the ideas promoted by hygiene and sexology.
7. For Freud, the superego is the heir of the Oedipal complex and as a result, children are deficient in this regard until they pass through this process.
8. Freud's construction of the child has a long history in Western culture dating back, at least, to the seventeenth century (James, Jenks, and Prout 1998). Although his supposition on the nature of childhood may, at first, seem to grate against the dominant discourse of Victorian culture, we have shown that the hedonistic child, or as it was termed the by purity reformers—the "corrupt child," already occupied an important place within modern discourses on childhood sexuality—albeit as a figure from which children needed protection.
9. Within this discourse Freud is reengaging all the preoccupations of the child that we discussed thus far from the eighteenth century.
10. A trend that was also found in the writings of his contemporaries in sexual hygiene and sexology.

11. Freud's dismissal of Moll's contribution can be seen in a footnote on the same page in which he states that after reading *The Sexual Child* he feels it "unnecessary to modify" his claims on the dearth of empirical work on the sexual instincts of children. However, as we have shown in the previous chapter, Moll was equally dismissive of Freud. Although Freud, for the most part, admires the work of Havelock Ellis, there are dismissive footnotes about his research in *Three Essays* as well.
12. A position he maintained until 1910 with the emergence of the more psychoanalytically informed projects of Stanley Hall and Helene Hug-Hellmuth.
13. Ironically, as historian Nathan Hale (1995) has shown, it is the obscurity and invisibility of the psyche that ultimately led to the dismissal of Freud's work as "unscientific" in academic psychology.
14. Freud's seduction theory is by far one of his most controversial today and the true meaning of it is a highly contested topic. Some, such as Masson (1998), have argued that Freud's seduction was a description of a symptom of hysteria that he was forced to abandon, while others have argued that it was a theory of causality that was later abandoned (Garcia 1987). Radical feminists such as Andrea Dworkin have argued that the turn away from seduction is evidence of Freud's dismissal of sexual violence against women and his patriarchical turn toward blaming the victim (Dworkin 2006).
15. As Freud (1905c) notes in *Three Essays,* to fully understand the implications of infantile sexuality, clinicians must take both screen memories and repression into account.
16. For more contemporary ruminations on this topic please see Yuill and Derber 2008.
17. It is important to note that Freud turns away from the theory of frustrated libido in his later work on neurosis.
18. Given the manner in which Freud's theories shifted over time, our attempt to coherently organize its themes is done for heuristic purposes.
19. However, the amount that each influence exerts in the course of a child's sexual life is a tension that is seen throughout his work.
20. The sexual object is "the person from whom sexual attraction proceeds"; in other words, it is the person with whom you are attracted (1905c, 1) whereas the sexual aim or goal is "the act towards which the instinct tend" (1). A sexual aim is the type of sexual act a person desires and seeks to partake in.
21. Here we see a connection between Freudian presumptions about the erotic nature of thumb sucking and earlier medical writings on masturbation. Although both view the activity as having an erotic nature, Freud does not view this activity as problematic or pathological.
22. Like Rousseau, Freud (1905c) believed that repeated spanking was dangerous because it could give rise to a "passive instinct to cruelty" such as masochism in childhood and adulthood (59).
23. To this end, pregenital "sexual organization can persist throughout life and can permanently attract a large portion of sexual activity to itself" (Freud 1905c, 65). Untangling the intersection of the sexual and component instincts illuminates how pregenital sexuality underpins certain neurotic symptoms and helps to further clarify the oblique path to adult sexuality (Freud 1913, 81).
24. Freud's emphasis on the primacy of pleasure underlying the child's sexual instinct is far more explicit than the sexologists discussed in chapter four.
25. Freud's coupling of the sexual object and sexual aim in infancy renders visible the unique contribution of Freudian psychoanalysis. This stands in contrast with Albert Moll's discussion of detumescence and contrectation that acknowledges a child's sexual activities and amorous manifestations, though the coalescence of which does not take place until much later.
26. This construction of the sexual child as present and absent is one of the most common themes within this history of ideas.
27. As we illustrate in the next chapter, Freudian child developmentist sought the balance between what they called suppression (good) and repression (bad) of the sexual instinct.

28. Although the sexual hygienists sought to create acceptable gender characteristics in children, the sexual instinct itself was gender neutral and needed to be habituated into a socially acceptable form.
29. Although emphatic about the universal nature of the phallus, Freud (1923) concedes later in the same essay that "unfortunately we can describe this state only as it concerns the male child; the corresponding process in the little girl are not sufficiently known to us" (162). His qualification is nevertheless belied later still in "The Infantile Genital Organization of the Libido: A Supplement to the Theory of Sexuality" when he notes unequivocally that "maleness has come to life, but not femaleness" during the second genital phase (165).The germs of the phallic phase are also evident in "The Predisposition to Obsessional Neurosis," when he states that "a female child is governed by an organ that is essentially male (the clitoris) and the manifestations of this sexuality are in many ways similar to those occurring in boys" (1913, 86).
30. These apparently extreme threats contain more than a little cultural cache given the widespread popularity of Hoffmann's *Struwwelpeter* stories published in 1845, along with professional recommendations for surgical intervention during masturbation phobia. For most recent historical coverage, see Richard Darby 2005.
31. What is interesting to note here is that Freud never defines what he means by castration. In his 1908 essay "On the Sexual Theories of Children" he notes that when children talk about the universality of the penis, they make no mention of the testicles. Circumcision was one "cure" for masturbation, and this is much more closely related, but there is no discussion of it forthcoming in Freud's work.
32. For girls, this period signals the beginning and end of their active sexual aims and foreshadows the "loathing" they will face from men and broader society in the future (Freud 1923, 164). Normal sexual development requires "a final thrust" for girls during puberty to eliminate any remaining "masculine sexuality and promote the vagina, a derivative of the cloaca, to the position of leading erotogenic zone" (1913, 86). Accordingly, in maleness there is "activity and the possession of a penis" whereas "femaleness carries on the object, and passivity" (1923, 165).
33. It is worth remembering how significant and unique Freud's claim of the universal nature of incest in infants was at this time. Not only is incestuous desire universal, it is part of the progression toward normative adulthood.
34. The seeds of Freud's Oedipus complex are found in his discussion of neurosis in 1908 in "'Civilized' Sexual Morality and Modern Nervousness" and a year later in "Family Romances." A more nuanced theory of the Oedipus complex is articulated in his article on psychical impotence, entitled "The Most Prevalent Form of Degradation in Erotic Life" published in 1912. Freud argues that impotence is the result of a strong incestuous "fixation in childhood" and the frustrations emerging from "the incest-barrier" that he argues is "demonstrably present in practically all civilized persons" (53). Because all women are simply a substitute for the child's original love object, the male can never fully progress past this infantile form. However, the universal nature of the Oedipus complex and its relationship to gender and sexuality are realized much later.
35. The Oedipus complex within *Three Essays* only appears as three footnotes in the first and third essay. In "The Sexual Aberrations" he states that analysis has shown "in a few cases that perversions are a residue of development towards the Oedipus complex" (Freud 1905c, 28). However, any mention of the Oedipus complex is absent in the essay on "Infantile Sexuality."
36. In "The Passing of the Oedipus-Complex" Freud (1924) remarks that the Oedipus complex maybe thought of in both a phylogenetic and ontogenic manner and that "one cannot dispute the justice of both of these views" (167). As such one should examine both "the way in which the innate schedule is worked out" and how "accidental noxiae exploit the disposition" (ibid.).
37. While Freud (1926) concedes that the young boy never fully understands "the actual facts of sexual intercourse; he replaces them by other notions derived from his own experience and

feelings" and it is for this reason that he often expresses the wish to have a child with his mother (33).

38. The "introjections" of the father's authority into the ego "forms the kernel of the superego, which takes its severity from the father, perpetuates his prohibition against incest" and thereby ensures "against a reoccurrence of the libidinal object—cathexis" (Freud 1924, 169).
39. Freud (1924) also notes, although the formation of the superego may start with the father, it becomes far more impersonal later.
40. Although some have used the term Electra complex to describe this formation in girls, in "The Psychogenesis of a Case of Homosexuality in a Woman" Freud (1920b) argues against such a move in a footnote. He advocates against the use of the term because, as he contends, there is no "progress or advantage" to be gained from the "term Electra complex" (131).
41. While Freud concedes, in his early psychoanalytic thinking, that the sexual development of girls is "far more shadowy and incomplete" he attempts to rectify this omission between 1925 and 1938 (Freud 1924, 171). His theory of the psychosexual lives of girls became more nuanced and fully formed with the publication of "Some Psychological Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction between the Sexes" in 1925, "Female Sexuality" in 1931, and "Femininity" in his *New Introductory Lectures* in 1933. Pre-Oedipal object choice is at the center of his 1931 and 1933 essays. In "The Passing of the Oedipus Complex" he simple states that "the female sex develops an Oedipus-complex, too, a super-ego and a latency period. May one ascribe to it also a phallic organization and a castration?" (Freud 1924, 171). His answer is that although it may differ from boys, it is still "affirmative" (ibid.). In 1925, Freud (1925) begins to further elaborate the sexual development for girls, but also acknowledges that his findings may not be generalizable, but his age compels him to publish his findings before "its value or lack of value may be decided (174)."
42. Although never overtly acknowledged by Freud, it seems that the architecture of a woman's psychosexual life is constructed during a prolonged period of primary homoeroticism.
43. Freud (1931) argues that even if the mother does not have another child, girls will eventually come to this conclusion on their own.
44. Although the realization that her condition is one shared by all women is slow in coming, once this happens the girl sees her mother in a new light. It is the phallic and omnipotent mother to which a girl is attracted, Freud (1938) informs us, and as such once she discovers "that her mother is castrated it becomes possible to drop her as an object" (156).
45. Freud (1931) notes that "the way to the development of femininity then lies open to the girl, except in so far as she is hampered by the remains of the pre-Oedipus mother-attachment she has passed through" (198).
46. Moreover, a girl must not only renounce but also come to despise her primary libidinal object. Although boys also pass through a negative complex and may seek their father as objects of desire, the strength of this cathexis and its outcome is given far less explanatory centrality in Freud's theories.
47. While Freud (1908a) believed that sublimation was both beneficial and necessary for the individual and the social, overly strict sanctions against sexuality were in equal turn deeply harmful and more likely to produce neurosis or "modern nervousness." As we illustrate in chapter six, the implementation of this idea has a strong place in the child-rearing theories of the interwar years.

Six Developing the Sexual Child

1. The notion that there was an unenlightened past that has been supplanted by an enlightened present has been a recurrent theme in this history of ideas.

2. The details of this process and how it impacts on the development of the sexual child are addressed below.
3. There are some shared features between this project and that of sexual hygiene. However, there are also notable differences as proved below.
4. Here, as Hulbert (2004) reminds us, the success of Taylorism—scientific management of production—was the legitimating framework (36). Following the work of Frederick Taylor in *The Principles of Scientific Management* (1911), this approach recommended the following of precise regimes laid down in steps that were detailed and timed in every aspect of their execution.
5. The mechanistic dynamic of modernization is exemplified in the work of Emmett Holt, whose book remained a stalwart of infant care for decades. Reading his work a century later one is struck by the lack of sentiment, indeed, any emotion, in a work intended as a direct support for mother and child. Holt's (1894) commitment was to technical training, efficacy, and outcome, and the child presented a vehicle for this (6).
6. "Matters once left to the individual, the family or to a local authority were now becoming more and more, matters concerning the state and its institutions" (Gittens 1982, 48).
7. Peter Stearns (2003) argues that the new approach to children dealt with more than health issues while Hulbert (2004) identified the emergence of a "child-rearing science" as involved with the moral and the social (106).
8. We have already encountered this sentiment about mothers in the social purity movement. However, here there is an added obstacle: the emotional attachment between mother and child.
9. We want to again emphasize that although these texts speak of "parents," the language they use indicates that they always had the image of the mother in their mind.
10. See, for example, Zelizer 1985; Clement 1997; Sterns 2003; Sanchez-Eppler 2005.
11. One distinctive feature is that the locus of environmental threat moved from the back alley and the schoolyard to the well-furnished nursery.
12. See also Shields and Koster 1989 (44–55); Hawes 1991 (27); Mechling 1975.
13. Watson 1978.
14. The emphasis on these two concepts is most evident in Freud's earlier work on sublimation and his arguments in *Civilized Sexual Morality and Modern Nervous Illness* (1908).
15. Following the work of Frederick Taylor in *The Principles of Scientific Management* (1911), this approach recommended the following of precise regimes laid down in steps that were detailed and timed in every aspect of their execution. The mechanistic dynamic of modernization is exemplified in the work of Emmett Holt, whose book remained a stalwart of infant care for decades. Reading his work a century later one is struck by the lack of sentiment, indeed, any emotion, in a work intended as a direct support for mother and child. Holt's commitment was to technical training, efficacy, and outcome, and the child presented a vehicle for this (Holt 1894, 6).
16. A term referring to the school of psychology founded by John Watson based on the belief that behaviors can be measured, trained, and changed. Behaviorism was established with the publication of John Watson's classic paper "Psychology as the Behaviorist Views It" (1913); http://psychology.about.com/od/bindex/g/behaviorism.htm (Accessed February 1, 2008).
17. Mothercraft is an instructive term in the context of this discussion. It refers to a concept of mothering as a scientific skill that must be taught and learnt. In the UK in 1925 Dr. Truby King was knighted by King George V as the Mothercraft Movement spread to all corners of the empire including India, Jamaica, Scotland, Australia, South Africa, England, and, of course, New Zealand where it all started.
18. This program closely resembles, at least in its foundational beliefs, the pedagogy of the eighteenth century. Especially notable is the continuity of the negative impacts of maternal emotions.

19. Watson (1978) recommends the child be toilet trained by nine months and to be able to feed itself by eighteen months. At two the child should be able to dress itself and at four prepare its own food (87).
20. We speculate, given his theoretical framing, that the problem with sharing a nude bath is not that of inappropriate *sexual* touching but of excessive physical intimacy between mother and child.
21. For an insightful recent exploration on the connection between heteronormativity and the productive of citizenship in the United States see Romesberg 2008.
22. Watson actually claims that this possibility is greater for women, given the cultural acceptance of closer physical intimacy between girls.
23. Once again the most clearly articulated programs for managing the sexual child are sabotaged by the "corrupt companion."
24. As American historian Sterling Fishman (1982) illustrates, "Hermann Rohleder, a German physician, who had urged that masturbating children should be given corporal punishment in 1899, counseled patience and understanding in 1925" (279).
25. Resistance to talking about sex to their children on the grounds of destroying their innocence is mistaken: "their innocent lambs have been learning about sex—using the term broadly—from the time their wavering footsteps at two yeas took them into the groups of four to six year olds" (Watson 1978, 155).
26. As historians Nathan Hale and Joy Damousi contend, although developmentalists made use of Freudian psychoanalysis, it was in a much diluted form.
27. In this deploying notion, Thom makes clear the continuity between sexual hygiene and developmental child-rearing advice, notwithstanding their distinctive features.
28. The centrality of avoiding associations with fear and sexuality are reflected in the response to the possibility of adult/child seduction. "Dismiss at once any nurse whom you suspect of playing with the child's genital organs for her own gratification or any other purpose. It is by no means infrequently done and its consequences have been disastrous" (Braithwaite 1939, 62). The concept of child sexual abuse is not one that intrudes upon this discourse, despite the recognition that there are adults who will engage in sexual acts with children.
29. As we have illustrated thus far, concern of the "right kind of sexual knowledge" is not the unique province of developmental thinkers in this story. However, unlike purity advocates who sought to train the will or hygienists who attempted to habituate the instinct, development thinkers were committed to restraining the mind.
30. Although Moll Ellis and Freud include references to the reality of sexual exploration between children, the distinctive feature here is that the topic is broached with parents and instructions given in its management.
31. Although developmentalists inspired by Freud do not mention the issue of the "dangerous mother" in the way that followers of Watson did, as we have showed in chapter five, Freud also associated maternal touch with infantile sexuality.
32. A similar curriculum was forwarded by Social Purity and Sexual Hygiene advocates.

Concluding Thoughts and Potentials for Future Thinking

1. Both theoretical approaches shared a background in medical and sometimes also psychiatric training.
2. Molls work drew on that of Max Dessoir (Sulloway 1992, 303), and brought to light, and to life, the reality of complex and consciously experienced love and sexual relationships in the life of the child.
3. Although children's voices have been taken seriously in other fields of policy analysis, their presence is often missing in discussions surrounding their own sexuality (Angelides

2008; Levesque 2008; Macalliar and Males 2004; Mayall 2005; Wilkerson 2005; Levine 2002). Yet, sociologist Berry Mayall (2005) argues that children "see themselves as participants in the structuring of their own lives and the lives of their family and friends" (86). Children understand and can make meaning of their social location, *as children*, a level of reflexivity that is often accorded only to adults (Cote 2006).

4. As we have argued elsewhere, feminist discourses on sexualization have been hampered by falling into this trap (Egan and Hawkes 2008a, 2007). As a result, girls who express sexuality in any way that mirrors popular culture are de facto tainted by the market, and any coupling of childhood and sexuality becomes an expression of stereotypical adult sexuality qua sexualization (2008a).
5. The research on sexual educational curriculum and gender and sexuality in the classroom conducted by Marti Blaise, Sally Gibson, and Kerry Robinson and Cristyn Davies provide powerful examples of how this work is being conceptualized within the education system in Australia (Robinson and Davies 2008; Robinson 2008; Gibson 2007; Blaise 2005).
6. Sodomaphobia in the eighteenth century and homophobia, racism, classism, and sexism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Egan and Hawkes 2007, 2009; Rousseau 2008 Schneider 2008; de Coninck-Smith 2008 Edelman 2004).

This page intentionally left blank

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Acton, William. 1858. *Practical Treatise on Diseases of the Urinary and Generative Organs in Both Sexes: Part I. Non-specific Diseases, Part II. Syphilis*. London: J. B. Lippincott.

———. 1865. *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs in Childhood, Youth, Adult Age, and Advanced Life Considered in Their Physiological, Social, and Moral Relations*. 4th Edition. London: John Churchill and Sons.

Arthur, Richard. 1896. *The Needed Change in the Age of Consent: An Appeal for the Better Protection of Our Girls*. Sydney, NSW: Christian World Press.

———. 1903. *The Choice: A Purity Booklet for Young Men*. Sydney, NSW: William Brooks, Educational Printers.

———. 191/. *The Training of Children in Purity: A Booklet for Parents*. Melbourne: George Robertson.

Balliet, Thomas M. 1928. *Introduction of Sex Education into Public Schools*. New York: American Social Hygiene Association.

Bartholow, Roberts. 1871. *Spermatorrhoea, Its Causes, Symptoms, Results and Treatment*. 3rd Edition. New York: William Wood.

Beale, Lionel. 1877. *Our Morality. On the Moral Question. Chiefly from the Medical Side*. London: J. & A. Churchill; Philadelphia: Presley, Blakiston and Son.

Bell, John, ed. 1839. *The Eclectic Journal of Medicine*. Philadelphia: Haswell, Barrington, and Haswell.

Bell, Sanford. 1902. A Preliminary Study of the Emotion of Love between the Sexes. *American Journal of Psychology* 13, 3 (July): 325–354.

Bigelow, Maurice. 1916. *Sex-Education; A Series of Lectures Concerning Knowledge of Sex in Its Relation to Human Life*. New York: Macmillan.

Blackwell, Elizabeth. 1884. *Counsel to Parents on the Moral Education of Their Children in Relation to Sex*. 7th Edition. London: Hatchards, Piccadilly.

———. 1891. *Christian Duty in Regard to Vice*. London: Moral Reform Union.

———. 1902. *Essays in Medical Sociology*. London: Ernest Bell.

Bloch, Iwan. 1910. *The Sexual Life of Our Time in Its Relations to Modern Civilization*. New York: Allied.

Bossard, James. 1930. Child Welfare and the Modern Mind. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 15, 1: 6–10.

Braithwaite, Edward. 1939. *Parent and Child*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons.

Buffon, Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de. 1792. *Barr's Buffon. Buffon's Natural History: Containing a Theory of the Earth, a General History of Man, of the Brute Creation, and of Vegetables, Minerals,* &c. From the French. With Notes by the Translator. In Ten Volumes. 10 vols. J. S. Barr.

Butler, Josephine. 1879. *Social Purity.* London: Morgan and Scott.

Cadogen, William. 1749. *An Essay upon Nursing and the Management of Children, from Their Birth to Three Years of Age. By a Physician*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Calhoun, G. R. 1858. *Report of the Consulting Surgeon, on Spermatorrhoea or Seminal Weakness, and Other Diseases of the Sexual Organs*. Philadelphia: Howard Association.

Chesser, Eustace. 1927. *Child Health and Character.* London: Scientific Press.

Clothier, Florence. 1938. The Social Development of the Young Child. *Child Development* 9, 3 (September): 285–291.

Condillac, Abbe de. 1754/1930. *Condillac's Treatise on the Sensations,* trans. Geraldine Carr London: Favil Press.

Courtenay, Francis. 1878. *On Spermatorrhoea and Certain Practical Derangements and Debilities of the Generative System: Their Nature, Treatment and Cure.* London: Bailliere, Tindall and Cork.

Darwin, Charles. 1874. *The Descent of Man*. London: J. Murray.

Deslandes, Leopold. 1838. *A Treatise on the Diseases Produced by Onanism Masturbation and Self-pollution and Other Excesses*. Boston: Otis, Broaders.

Douie, Marie. 1935. *How Girls Can Help towards Social Hygiene.* Sydney: Racial Hygiene Association of New South Wales.

Edison Newell. W. 1935. Sex Education as a Community Problem. *Journal of Educational Sociology* 8: 361–70.

Ellis, Havelock. 1912. *The Task of Social Hygiene*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

———. 1927a. *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. Vol. 1: *The Evolution of Modesty; The Phenomena of Sexual Periodicity; Auto-Erotism*; http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/13610 (Accessed January 2009).

———. 1927b. *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. Vol. 3: *Analysis of the Sexual Impulse, Love and Pain, The Sexual Impulse in Women*; http://www.gutenberg.org/files /24571/24571-h/24571-h.htm.

———. 1927c. *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. Vol. 5: *Erotic Symbolism; The Mechanism of Detumescence; The Psychic State in Pregnancy.* http://www.gutenberg.org/files/24571/24571-h/24571-h.htm (Accessed March 10, 2006).

———. 1939. Freud's Influence on the Changed Attitude toward Sex. *American Journal of Sociology* 45, 3: 309–317.

Evans, Elida. 1920. *The Problem of the Nervous Child*. New York: Dodd, Meed.

Forel, August. 1931. *The Sexual Question. A Scientific, Psychological, Hygienic and Sociological Study.* Brooklyn, NY: Physicians and Surgeons.

Foster, William. Trufant. 1914. Agencies, Methods, Materials, and Ideals of Sex Education. *School Review* 22, 4: 256–261.

Frankenburg, Sydney, Mrs. 1933. *Common Sense in the Nursery.* London: Jonathon Cape.

Freud, Sigmund. 1899/2003. Screen Memories. In *The Uncanny,* ed. and trans. David Mclintock, 1–22. New York. Penguin Books.

———. 1905a/2006. Fragments of an Analysis of Hysteria (Dora). In *The Psychology of Love,* ed. and trans. Shaun Whiteside, 11–100. London: Penguin.

———. 1905b/1997. My Views on the Part Played by Sexuality in the Aetiology of the Neuroses. In *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love,* ed. Philip Rieff, 1–9. New York: Touchstone Press.

———. 1905c/2000. *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality,* trans James Strachey. New York: Basic Books.

Freud, Sigmund. 1906. "The Aetiology of Hysteria." *Standard Edition*, trans. James Strachey, 191–221. Vol. 3. New York: W. W. Norton.

———. 1908a. "Civilized" Sexual Morality and Modern Nervousness. In *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love,* ed. Philip Reiff, 10–30. New York: Touchstone Press.

———. 1908b/2006. On the Sexual Theories of Children. In *The Psychology of Love,* trans. Shaun Whiteside, 221–238. London: Penguin.

———. 1910/1997. A Special Type of Object Choice Made by Men. In *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love,* ed. Philip Reiff, 39–47. New York: Touchstone Press.

———. 1912a/1997. The Most Prevalent Form of Degradation in Erotic Life. *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love,* ed. Philip Reiff, 48–59. New York: Touchstone Press.

———. 1912b/1997. Types of Neurotic Nosogenesis. In *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love,* ed. Philip Rieff, 31–38. New York: Touchstone Press.

———. 1913/1997. The Predisposition of Obsessional Neurosis. In *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love,* ed. Philip Reiff, 81–86. New York: Touchstone Press.

———. 1914/1986. On Narcissism: An Introduction. In *Essential Papers on Narcissism*, ed. Andrew Morrison, 17–43. Albany: SUNY Press.

———. 1918a/1997. The Taboo of Virginity. In *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love,* ed. Philip Reiff, 60–76. New York: Touchstone Press.

———. 1918b. *Totem and Taboo: Resemblances between the Psychic Lives of Savages and Neurotics.* New York: Vintage Books.

———. 1919/1997. A Child Is Being Beaten. In *On Freud's "A Child Is Being Beaten"* series. Contemporary Freud: Turning Points and Critical Issues. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press.

———. 1920a/2000. Preface to the Fourth Editor. In *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, xxix–xxxi. New York: Basic Books.

———. 1920b/1997. The Psychogenesis of a Case of Homosexuality in a Woman. In *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love,* ed. Philip Reiff, 123–149. New York: Touchstone Press.

———. 1923/1997. The Infantile Genital Organization of the Libido: A Supplement to the Theory of Sexuality. In *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love,* ed. Philip Reiff, 161–165. New York: Touchstone Press.

———. 1924/1997. The Passing of the Oedipus Complex. In *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love,* ed. Philip Reiff, 166–172. New York: Touchstone Press.

———. 1925/1997. Some Psychological Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction between the Sexes. In *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love,* ed. Philip Reiff, 173–183. New York: Touchstone Press.

———. 1926/2005. The Question of Lay Analysis. In *The Essentials of Psycho-analysis,* trans. James Strachey. London: Random House Press.

———. 1930. *Civilization and Its Discontents.* New York: W. W. Norton.

———. 1931. Female Sexuality. In *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love*, ed. Philip Reiff, 184–201. New York: Touchstone Press.

———. 1933. *New Introductory Lecturers on Psycho–analysis,* trans. James Strachey. New York: W. W. Norton.

———. 1938/1997. Splitting of the Ego in the Defensive Process. In *Sexuality and the Psychology of Love*, ed. Philip Reiff, 210–213. New York: Touchstone Press.

Gallichan, Walter. 1921. *A Textbook of Sex Education for Parents and Teachers.* Boston: Small, Maynard.

Galloway, Thomas W. 1924. *Sex and Social Health* New York: American Hygiene Association.

Gregory, Samuel. 1848/1974. *Facts and Important Information for Young Women on the Subject of Masturbation; With Its Causes, Prevention and Cure.* New York: Arno Press.

Grinstead, Wren J. 1914. Reading for Teachers of Sex Hygiene. *School Review* 22: 249–255.

Gruenberg, Benjamin C. 1918. What Girls Want to Know. *School Review* 26: 750–758.

———. 1948. *High Schools and Sex Education*. Education Publication No. 7. Washington, DC: U.S. Public Health Service.

Hall, Winifield. 1916. *Sexual Education for Sex Problems: Sex Hygiene by the Highest Authority*. Philadelphia: International Bible Houses.

Hirschfeld, Magnus. 1940. *Sexual Pathology. A Study of the Derangements of the Sexual Instinct*. New York: Emerson Books.

Hoffman, Heinrich. 1845/1848. *The English Struwwelpeter*. London: George Routledge and Sons.

Holt, Emmett Luther. 1897. *The Diseases of Infancy and Childhood*. New York: Appleton.

Hopkins, Ellice. 1884. *On the Early Training of Girls and Boys: An Appeal to Working Women*. New York: B. M. Hammett.

Howe, Joseph. H. 1887/1992. *Excessive Venery, Masturbation and Continence. The Aetiology and Treatment of Diseases Resulting from Venereal Excesses, Masturbation and Continence*. New York: Chicago London: E. B. Treat.

Hurlock, Elizabeth. 1943. *Modern Ways with Children*. New York: Whittlesey House.

Itard, Jean. 1801/1972. *The Wild Boy of Aveyron,* trans. Edmund Fawcett, Peter Ayrton, and Joan White London: NLB.

Kahn, Louis. 1870. *Nervous Exhaustion, Its Causes and Cure. Comprising a Series of Eight Lectures on Debility and Disease as Delivered Nightly by Dr Kahn's Museum of Anatomy*. New York: Author.

Kellogg, John Harvey. 1877. *Plain Facts about Sexual Life*. Burlington, IA: I. F. Segner.

Kiernan, James. 1888. Sexual Perversion and the Whitechapel Murders. *Medical Standard* 4: 129–130.

Krafft-Ebing, Richard von. 1965. *Psychopathia Sexualis a Medico-Forensic Study,* trans. Harry E. Wedeck. New York: G. Putnam's Sons.

Lallemand, Francois. 1858. *A Practical Treatise on the Causes, Symptoms and Treatment of Spermatorrhoea*. Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea.

La'Mert, Samuel. 1860. *Self-preservation: A Medical Treatise on the Secret Infirmities of the Generative Organs, Resulting from Solitary Habits, Youthful Excess, or Infection; with Practical Observations on the Premature Failure of Sexual Power*. 47th Edition. London: Author.

Lewis, Robert. 1929. *Romulus, or, The Future of the Child*. London: Kegan, Paul Trench, Trubner; New York: E. P. Dutton.

Lind, W. A. T. 1916. *Sex Irregularities of Children and Youth*. RNB Family Life Series. Sydney: Government Printer.

Locke, John. 1799. *Some Thoughts concerning Education*. J. and R. Tonson. Digitized June 8, 2007. London.

———. 1961. *An Essay concerning Human Understanding,* ed. John Yolton. London: J. M. Dent and Son.

Lovell, Tasmin. H. 1917. *The Child and the Sex Problem from the Psychological Point of View*. Worker's Education Association Pamphlet No. 4. Sydney: Workers Education Association of New South Wales Press.

MacKenzie, Iain, F. 1947. *Social Health and Morals: An Analysis and a Plan*. London: Gollanz Press.

Mather, Cotton, and Ezekiel Cheever. 1828. *Corderius Americanus: An Essay upon the Good Education of Children, &c. &c. Delivered at the Funeral of Ezekiel Cheever, Principal of the Latin School in Boston; Who Died, August, 1708, in the Ninty-Fourth Year of His Age. With an Elegy and an Epitaph*. Boston**:** Dutton & Wentworth.

Meredith , Christabel. 1924. *The Psychology of the Free Child*. London: Constable.

Middlemore, Merrell. 1936. The Uses of Sensuality. In *On the Bringing up of Children,* ed. John Rickman, 57–87. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner.

Moll, Albert. 1912. *The Sexual Life of the Child,* trans. Eden Paul. London: Macmillan.

Morrow, Prince. A. 190/. *A Plea for Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis: Purity Series No. 6*. Sydney, NSW: William Brooks, Educational Printers.

Nelson, James. 1756. *An Essay on the Government of Children, under Three General Heads: viz. Health, Manners and Education*. London: R. and J. Dodsley in Pall Mall.

Olson, Harry. 1913. A Constructive Policy Whereby Social Evil May Be Reduced. An Address Delivered at the Seventh International Purity Congress at Minneapolis, MN. Chicago: Barnard and Miller Press.

O'Shea, Michael. 1920. *First Steps in Child Training.* Chicago: Frederick J. Drake.

Parker, Valerie. 1925. Social Hygiene and the Child. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 121: 46–52.

Parker, William. H. 1881. *The Science of Life, or, Self-preservation. A Medical Treatise on Nervous and Physical Debility, Spermatorrhoea, Impotence and Sterility.* Boston: Peabody Medical Institute.

Parran, Thomas. 1937. *Shadow on the Land: Syphilis*. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock.

Piddington, Marion. 1930. *Eradication of Promiscuity and Venereal Disease: Sex-Training, Sex Education and Parental Metaphylaxis*. Pamphlet issued by the Haberfield Class for Sex-Training. Sydney: Peerless Press.

Racial Hygiene Association of New South Wales. 1899. *Memorandum and Articles of Association*. Published under the Companies Act of 1899: Sydney Governmental Press.

Renz, Carl, and Mildred Renz. 1934. *Big Problems on Little Shoulders*. New York: Macmillan.

Robie, Walter. 1920. *Sex and Life: What the Experienced Should Teach and What the Inexperienced Should Learn*. Boston: Gorham Press.

Robinson, M. E. 1911. The Sex Problem. *Journal of International Ethics* 21: 326–339.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. 1938. *Emile, or On Education*. London: J. M. Dent and Sons.

———. 2007. *Emile, or On Education*. LLC: NuVision.

Sanger, Margaret. 1927. *What Every Boy and Girl Should Know*. New York: Brentano's.

Sharpe, Ella. 1936. Planning for Stability. In *On the Bringing Up of Children,* ed. John Rickman, 1–30. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner.

Solomon, Samuel. 1802. *A Guide to Health; or, Advice to Both Sexes: With an Essay on Certain Disease, Seminal Weakness, and a Destructive Habit of a Private Nature. Also an Address to Parents, Tutors and Guardians of Youth. To Which Are Added Observations on the Uses and Abuses of Cold Bathing.* 52nd Edition London: J. Clarke.

Strain, Frances. 1934. *New Patterns in Sex Teaching: The Normal Sex Interests of Children and Their Guidance from Infancy to Adolescence*. New York, London: D. Appleton-Century.

Struve, Christian. 1802. *A Familiar View of the Domestic Education of Children during the Early Period of Their Lives . Being a Compendium Addressed to All Mothers, Who Are Seriously Concerned for the Welfare of Their Children,* trans. from German. London: Murray and Highly, Fleet Street.

Swaisland, Violet. 193/ *Sex in Life: Youth Women*. Sydney: Racial Hygiene Association of New South Wales.

Thom, Douglas. 1927. *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child.* New York: Appleton.

Unauthored Pamphlet. 1843. *Facts and Important Information from Distinguished Physicians and Other Sources, Showing the Awful Effects of Masturbation on Young Men*. Boston: Redding.

United States Public Health Service. 1927. *Sex Education: A Symposium for Educators*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Van der Veen, Margrieta. 1898. The Conference on Women's Work at the Hague. *Economic Journal* 8, 31: 404–407.

Varley, Henry. 1884. *Private Address to Boys and Youths: On an Important Subject Containing Invaluable Information*. London: Office of the Christian Commonwealth.

Vecki, Victor G. 1899. *The Pathology and Treatment of Sexual Impotence*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders.

Vogel, Alfred. 1869. *A Practical Treatise on the Diseases of Children*, trans. H. Raphael. New York: Appleton.

Walsh, James, and John Foote. 1925. *Safeguarding the Children's Nerves: A Handbook of Mental Hygiene*. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott.

Watson, John. 1978. *The Psychological Care of the Infant and Child*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Weatherall, R.A. 190/. *The Scheme of Work in Sex-Education and Social Biology*. London: British Social Hygiene Council.

Welsh, D. A. 1917. *The Massacre of Innocents: A Lecture*. Sydney : Workers' Educational Association of New South Wales. Workers Educational Association Pamphlet.

White, Douglas. 1934. *An Open Letter to Young Men*. Sydney: Racial Hygiene Association of New South Wales.

White, Ellen Gould Harmon. 1897. *Instruction relating to the principles of healthful living [microform], compiled from the writings of Mrs. Ellen G. White*. Battle Creek, Mich.: Medical Missionary Board.

Wickes, Frances. 1927. *The Inner World of Childhood. A Study in Analytic Psychology*. New York and London: D. Appleton.

Willis, Kenneth. 1926. *What Fathers Should Tell Their Sons*. London: British Social Hygiene Council.

Wittels, Fritz. 1933. *Set the Children Free!,* trans. Eden and Cedar Paul. New York: W.W. Norton.

Wood, Thomas, Marian Lerrigo, and Thurman Rice. 1937. *Sex Education: A Guide for Teachers and Parents*. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons.

Woodward, Samuel B. 1856/1974. *Hints for the Young in Relation to the Health of Body and Mind*. New York: Arno Press .

Zenner, Phillip. 1926. *Sex Education: Education in Sexual Physiology and Hygiene*. New York: D. Appleton.

Secondary Sources

American Psychological Association Task Force. 2007. *Report of the APA Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls*. American Psychological Association; http://www.apa.org/pi/wpo/sexualization.html.

Angelides, Stephen. 2004. Feminism Child Sexual Abuse and the Erasure of Childhood Sexuality. *Gay and Lesbian Quarterly* 10, 2: 141–177.

———. 2008. Sexual Offences against "Children" and the Question of Judicial Gender Bias. Australian Feminist Studies 23, 57: 359–373.

Anderson, Warwick. 2006. *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Aries, Phillipe. 1962. *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*. New York: Vintage Books.

Barker-Benfield, George. 1996. *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bartley, Paula. 1999. *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England 1860–1914*. London: Routledge.

Benzaquén, Adriana. 2004. Childhood, Identity and Human Science in the Enlightenment. *History Workshop Journal* 57: 34–57.

———. 2006a. The Doctor and the Child: Medical Preservation and Management of Children in the Eighteenth Century. In *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century: Age and Identity,* ed. Anja Muller, 13–25. London: Ashgate.

———. 2006b. *Encounters with Wild Children: Temptation and Disappointment in the Study of Human Nature*. Montreal and London: McGill's-Queens University Press.

Blaise, Mindy. 2005. *Playing it Straight! Uncovering Gender Discourses in the Early Childhood Classroom*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Bland, Lucy, and Laura Doan. eds. 1998. *Sexology Uncensored: The Documents of Sexual Science.* Cambridge: Polity.

Bloch, Marc. 1992. *The Historian's Craft,* trans. Peter Putnam Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Boyer, Paul S. 1968. *Purity in Print: The Vice Society Movement and Book Censorship in America*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Brome, Vincent. 1979. *Havelock Ellis, Philosopher of Sex: A Biography*. London: Routledge.

Brown, Alyson. 2004. Mythologies and Panics: Twentieth Century Constructions of Child Prostitution. *Children and Society* 18, 2: 344–354.

Brown, Alyson. 2002. *Knowledge of Evil: Child Prostitution and Child Sexual Abuse in Twentieth-Century England*. London: Willan.

Brown, Alyson, and David Barrett. 2002. *Knowledge of Evil: Child Prostitution and Child Sexual Abuse in Twentieth Century England*. London: Willian.

Brown, Gillian. 2003. Children's Play. In *The American Child: A Cultural Studies Reader,* ed. Carolyn Levander and Carol Singley, 13–39. Cameron, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Budd, Susan. 2001. No Sex, Please—We're British: Sex in British and French Psychoanalysis. In *Sexuality in Psychoanalysis,* ed. Celia Harding, 52–68. London: Routledge.

Burnham, John. C. 1973. The Progressive Era Revolution in American Attitudes toward Sex. *Journal of American History* 59, 4: 885–908.

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble*. New York: Routledge.

———. 2004. *Undoing Gender.* New York: Routledge.

Cable, Mary. 1975. *The Little Darlings: A History of Child-Rearing in America*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Calvert, Karin. 1992. Children in the House. In *The Childhood Studies Reader*, ed. Henry Jenkins, 67–80. New York: New York University Press.

Carlson, Elof. 2001. *The Unfit: A History of a Bad Idea*. Woodbury, NY: Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory Press.

Carter, Kay Codell. 1983. Infantile Hysteria and Infantile Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century German-Language Medical Literature. *Medical History* 27: 186–196.

Chodorow, Nancy. 2000. Foreword. In Sigmund Freud's *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, vii–xix. New York: Basic Books.

Cote, James. 2006. Identity Studies: How Close Are We to Developing a Social Science of Identity?—An Appraisal of the Field. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research* 6, 1: 3–25.

Cox, Roger. 1996. *Shaping Childhood: Themes of Uncertainty in the History of Adult-Child Relationships*. London: Routledge.

Cross, Gary. 2004. *The Cute and the Cool: Wondrous Innocence and Modern American Children's Culture.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crozier, Ivan. 2001. "Rough Winds to Shake the Darling Buds of May": A Note on William Acton's Conception of Childhood Sexuality. *Journal of Family History* 26: 411–420.

Cunningham, Hugh. 1991. *Children of the Poor: Representing Childhood Since the 17th Century*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Damousi, Joy. 2005. *Freud in the Antipodes: A Cultural History of Psychoanalysis in Australia*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

Darby, Richard. 2005. *A Surgical Temptation: The Demonization of the Foreskin and the Rise of Circumcision in Britain*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Darby, Robert. 2003. The Masturbation Taboo and the Rise of Routine Male Circumcision: A Review of the Historiography. *Journal of Social History* 27: 737–757.

Davidson, Arnold I. 1987. How to Do the History of Psychoanalysis: A Reading of Freud's "Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality." *Critical Inquiry* 13, 2: 252–277.

Davin, Anna. 1996. *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London 1870–1914*. London: Rivers Oram Press.

de Coninck-Smith, Ning. 2008. Children's Talk and Parental Fear: Cases of Sexual Misconduct in Danish State Schools 1900–1970. *Journal of Historical Sociology* 21, 2: 513–534.

DeMause, Lloyd. 1974. *The History of Childhood*. London: Souvenir Press.

Donzelot, Jacques. 1997. *The Policing of Families,* trans. Robert Hurley**.** Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Douglas, Mary. 1966. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. New York: Praeger Press.

Driscoll, Catherine. 2006. "The Subject of Consent." Paper presented at the Cultural Studies Association of Australasia Annual Conference.

Durham, Gigi. M. 2008. *The Lolita Effect: The Media Sexualization of Young Girls and What We Can Do About It*. New York: Overlook Press.

Dworkin, Andrea. 2006. *Intercourse 20th Anniversary Edition*. New York: Basic Books.

Edelman, Lee. 2004. *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Egan, Danielle R., and Gail Hawkes. 2007. Producing the Prurient through the Pedagogy of Purity: Childhood Sexuality and the Social Purity Movement. *Journal of Historical Sociology* 20, 4: 443–461.

———. 2008a. Endangered Girls and Incendiary Objects: Unpacking the Discourse on Sexualization. *Sexuality and Culture* 12, 4: 291–311.

———. 2008b. Girls, Sexuality and the Strange Carnalities of Fashion: Deconstructing the Discourse of Corporate Paedophilia. *Australian Feminist Studies* 23, 57: 307–322.

———. 2008c. Imperiled and Perilous: Exploring the History of Childhood Sexuality. *Introduction for Journal of Historical Sociology* 21, 4: 355–367.

———. 2009a. The Problem with Protection: Or, Why We Need to Move towards Recognition and the Sexual Agency of Children. *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies* 23, 3: 389–400.

———. 2009b. Childhood Sexuality, Normalization and the Social Hygiene Movement in the Anglophone West, 1900–1935. *Forthcoming*

Evans, David. T. 1991. *Sexual Citizenship: The Material Construction of Sexualities*. London: Routledge .

Ezell, Margaret. 1983–1984. John Locke's Images of Childhood. Early Eighteenth Century Response to "Some Thought concerning Education." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 17, 2 (Winter): 139–155.

Fishman, Sterling. 1982. The History of Childhood Sexuality. *Journal of Contemporary History* 17, 2: 269–288.

Foucault, Michel. 1982. *The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. New York: Pantheon.

———. 1984. *The History of Sexuality*. Vol. 1: *An Introduction*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Foucault, Michel. 1986. *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*. London: Routledge.

———. 2003. *Abnormal. Lectures at the Collegè de France 1974–75*. New York: Picador.

Freedman, Estelle. B. 1982. Sexuality in Nineteenth Century America: Behavior, Ideology and Politics. *Reviews in American History* 10, 4: 196–215.

Garcia, Emmanuel E. 1987. Freud's Seduction Theory. *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 42: 443–468.

Garton, Stephen. 1988a. Freud and the Psychiatrists: The Australian Debate 1900–1940. In *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society,* ed. Brian Head and James Walter, 170–187. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 1988b. *A Social History of Insanity in New South Wales 1880–1940*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

Gay, Peter. 1969. *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*. Vol. 2: *The Science of Freedom*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

———. 1988. *Freud: A Life for Our Time*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Gerodetti, N. 2006. Eugenic Family Politics and Social Democrats: "Positive Eugenics and Marriage Advice Bureaux." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 19: 217–244.

Gibson, Sally. 2007. The Language of the Right: Sex Education Debates in South Australia. *Sex Education* 7, 3: 239–250.

Gillis, Jonathan. 1996. Bad Habits and Pernicious Results: Thumb Sucking and the Discipline of Late-Nineteenth Century Paediatrics. *Medical History* 40: 55–73.

Gittins, Diana. 1982. *Fair Sex: Family Size and Structure, 1900–39*. London: Hutchinson.

Goldman, Robert and Stephen D. Papson. 2006. *Landscapes of Capital: Representing Time, Space and Globalization in Corporate America. http://it.stlawu.edu/~global/* (Accessed March 28, 2009).

Gordon, Linda. 1998. *Pitied but Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

———. 2002. *The Moral Property of Women: A History of Birth Control Politics in America*. Champaign-Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

———. 2007. *The Moral Property of Women: A History of Birth Control Politics in America*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.

———. 2008. The Perils of Innocence, or What's Wrong with Putting Children First. *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, 3: 331–350.

Gorham, Deborah. 1982. *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Graham, Judith. 2003. *Puritan Family Life: The Diary of Samuel Sewall*. New Haven: UPNE.

Haeberle, Erwin. 1986. http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/MOLL.HTM (Accessed July 2006).

Hale, Nathan, Jr. 1995. *The Rise and Crisis of Psychoanalysis in the United States: Freud and the Americans 1917–1995*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hall, Lesley. 2001. Hauling Down the Double Standard: Feminism, Social Purity and Sexual Science in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain. *Gender and History* 16, 1: 36–56.

———. 2004. Birds, Bees and General Embarrassment. In *Public or Private Education? Lessons from History,* ed. Robert Aldrich, 98–116. London: Woburn Press.

Hamowy, Ronald. 1977. Medicine and Crimination of Sin: "Self-Abuse" in Nineteenth Century America. *Journal of Libertarian Studies* 1, 3: 229–270.

Haraway, Donna. 1991. *Simians, Cyborgs, and Feminism: The Reinvention of Nature*. New York: Routledge.

Hare, Edward. 1962. Masturbatory Insanity: The History of an Idea. *Journal of Mental Science* 108: 1–25.

Hawes, Joseph. 1991. *The Children's Rights Movement in the United States: A History of Advocacy and Protection*. Beverly, MA: Twayne.

Hawkes, Gail. 1995. Responsibility and Irresponsibility: Young Women and Family Planning. *Sociology* 29, 2: 257–273.

———. 2004. *Sex and Pleasure in Western Culture*. Cambridge: Polity.

Hawkes, Gail, and R. Danielle Egan. 2008a. Developing the Sexual Child. *Journal of Historical Sociology*. Special Issue on the History of Sexuality of Childhood and Youth, 21, 4: 443–465.

———. 2008b. Landscapes of Erotophobia: The Sexual(ized) Child in the Postmodern Anglophone West. Introduction for *Sexuality and Culture* 12, 4: 193–203.

———. 2009. Complexities and Continuities: Discourses of Childhood Sexuality 1830–1940. In *Sexuality in the Age of Empire (1820–1920),* ed. Ivan Crozier, vol. 5 of *The Cultural History of Sexuality*, ed. Julie Peakman. Oxford: Berg.

Hendrick, Harry. 2003. *Child Welfare: Historical Dimensions, Contemporary Debates*. Bristol: Policy Press Rivers.

Hill Collins, Patricia. 2005. *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender and the New Racism*. New York: Routledge.

Hodges, Frederick. 2005. The Anti-masturbation Crusade in Antebellum American Medicine. *Journal of Sexual Medicine* 2, 5: 722–723.

Hulbert, Ann. 2004. *Raising America Experts, Parents and a Century of Advice about Children*. New York: Vintage Books.

Hunt, Alan. 1999. *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Imber, Michael. 1982. Toward a Theory of Curriculum Reform: An Analysis of the First Campaign for Sex Education. *Curriculum Inquiry* 12: 339–362.

Irvine, Janice. 2002. *Talk about Sex: The Battles over Sex Education in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jackson, Stevi. 1982. *Sexuality and Childhood*. London: Blackwell.

James, Allison, Chris Jenks, and Alan Prout. 1998. *Theorizing Childhood*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Jenkins, Philip. 2004 *Moral Panic: Changing Concepts of the Child Molester in Modern America*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Jones, Ernest. 1963. *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*. Vols. 1–3, ed. and abrid. Lionel Trilling and Steven Marcus. New York: Doubleday/Anchor Books.

Jordan, Thomas F. 1987. *Victorian Childhood: Themes and Variations*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Kincaid, James. 1992. *Child Loving: The Erotic Child and Victorian Literature*. New York: Routledge.

———. 1998. *Erotic Innocence: The Culture of Child Molesting*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Kinsey, Alfred, William Pomeroy, and Clyde Martin. 1998. *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Kumar, Krishan. 1978. *Prophecy and Progress: The Sociology of Industrial and Post-industrial Society*. London: Penguin.

Laqueur, Thomas. 2003. *A Solitary Vice: A Cultural History of Masturbation*. New York: Zone Books.

Lasch, Christopher. 1977. *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged*. New York: Basic Books.

Lehr, Valerie. 2008. Developing Sexual Agency: Rethinking Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Theories for the Twenty-First Century. *Sexuality and Culture* 12, 4: 204–220.

Levesque, Roger. 2008. Regardless of Frontiers: Adolescents and the Human Right to Information. *Journal of Social Issues* 64, 4: 725–747.

Levin, Diane E., and Jean Kilbourne. 2008. *So Sexy So Soon: The New Sexualized Childhood, and What Parents Can Do to Protect Their Kids*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Levine, Judith. 2002. *Harmful to Minors: The Perils of Protecting Children from Sex*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Levi-Strauss, Claude. 1968. *Tristes Tropiques*. New York: Atheneum.

Lord, Anthony. 2003. Models of Masculinity: Sex Education: The United States Public Health Service, and the YMCA 1919–1924. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Applied Sciences*, 58: 123–152.

Lowe E. Jonathan. 2005. *Locke.* Oxford: Routledge.

Luker, Kristin. 1997. *Dubious Conceptions: The Politics of Teenage Pregnancy.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

———. 1998. Sex, Social Hygiene, and the State: The Double-Edged Sword of Social Reform. *Theory and Society*, 27: 601–634.

———. 2007. *When Sex Goes to School: Warring Views on Sex—and Sex Education—Since the Sixties*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Lyttelton, Edward. 1900. *Training of the Young in Laws of Sex***.** London: Longmans, Green.

Macalliar, Daniel, and Males, Mike. 2004. A Failure of Good Intentions: An Analysis of Juvenile Justice Reform in San Francisco during the 1990's. *Review of Policy Research* 21, 1: 63–82.

Mahood, Linda. 1995. *Policing Gender, Class and Family: Britain, 1850–1940.* London: UCL Press.

Males, Mike. 1992. Adult Liason in the "Epidemic" of "Teenage" Birth, Pregnancy, and Venereal Disease. *Journal of Sex Research* 29, 4: 525–545.

Marr, David, and Josephine Tovey. 2008. Full Frontal Attack; http://www.smh.com.au/news/arts/fullfrontal-attack/2008/05/30/1211654306570.html (Accessed May 31, 2008).

Mason, Diane. 1998. Masturbation, Little Suck-a-Thumb and S*truwwelpeter. Udolpho* (Spring): 24–32.

Mason, Michael. 1994. *The Making of Victorian Sexuality.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Masson, Jeffrey. M. 1998. *The Assault on Truth: Freud's Suppression of the Seduction Theory.* London: Pocket.

Mayall, Berry. 2005. The Social Condition of UK Childhoods: Children's Understanding and Their Implications. In *Children Taken Seriously: In Theory, Policy and Practice,* ed. Jan Manson and Toby Fattore. London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley.

Mayr, Ernst. 1982. *The Growth of Biological Thought: Diversity, Evolution, and Inheritance.* Harvard, MA: Harvard University Press.

McFarlane, Alan. 1977. *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, A Seventeenth-Century Clergyman: An Essay in Historical Anthropology.* New York: W. W. Norton.

Mechling, Jay. 1975. Advice to Historians on Advice to Mothers. *Journal of Social History* 9, 1 (Autumn): 44–63.

Metraux, Rhoda. 1955. Parents and Children: An Analysis of Contemporary German Child-Care and Youth-Guidance Literature. In *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures.* ed. Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Moran, Michael. 1996. "Modernism Gone Mad": Sex Education Comes to Chicago, 1913. *Journal of American History* 83: 481–513.

———. 2000. *Teaching Sex: The Shaping of Adolescence in the 20th Century.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Morgan, Sue. 2000. Faith, Sex and Purity: The Religio-Feminist Theory of Ellice Hopkins. *Women's History Review* 9, 1: 13–34.

Mort, Frank. 2000. *Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England Since 1830*. London: Routledge.

Muller, Anja. ed. 2006. *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century: Age and Identity*. London: Ashgate.

Musgrave, P. W. 1977. Morality and the Medical Department: 1907–1974. *British Journal of Educational Studies* 25: 136–154.

Neuman, Robert. 1975. Masturbation, Madness, and the Modern Concepts of Childhood and Adolescence. *Journal of Social History* 8, 3: 1–27.

Nikkah, Roya. 2009. Teen Magazines Are Sexualising Readers, Says Watchdog; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/culturenews/4990907/Teen-magazines-are-sexualising-readers-says-watchdog.html.

Nottingham, Chris. 1999. *The Pursuit of Serenity: Havelock Ellis and the New Politics*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

O'Malley, Andrew. 2003. *The Making of the Modern Child*. London: Routledge.

Oosterhuis, Harry. 2000. *Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry, and the Making of Sexual Identity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Oppliger, Patrice. 2008. *Girls Gone Skank: The Sexualization of Girls in American Culture*. New York: McFarland.

Ordover, Nancy. 2003. *American Eugenics: Race, Queer Anatomy and the Science of Nationalism* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Palmer, Sue. 2007. *Toxic Childhood: How the Modern World Is Damaging Our Children and What We Can Do about It*. London: Orion.

———. 2009. www.suepalmer.com.uk (Accessed April 15, 2009).

Perkin, Joan. 1989. *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England*. London: Routledge.

Pivar, David. 1974. *Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control, 1868–1900*. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press.

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

Porter, Roy. 1995. *Disease, Medicine and Society in England, 1550*–1860. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Porter, Roy, and Leslie Hall. 1995. *The Facts of Life: The Creation of Sexual Knowledge in Britain, 1650–1950*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Pottishman Weiss, Nancy. 1977. Mother, the Invention of Necessity: Dr Benjamin Spock's Baby and Child Care. *American Quarterly* 29 (Winter): 519–546.

Reiger, Kereen. 1985. *The Disenchantment of the Home: Modernizing the Australian Family*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Robertson, Stephen. 2006. "Boys, of Course, Cannot Be Raped": Age, Homosexuality and the Redefinition of Sexual Violence in New York City, 1880–1955. *Gender and History* 18, 2: 357–379.

Robinson, Kerry. 2008. In the Name of Innocence: A Discursive Exploration of the Moral Panic Associated with Childhood and Sexuality. *Cultural Studies Review* 14, 2: 113–129.

Robinson, Kerry, and Cristyn Davies. 2008. Constructing the Australian Child and Regulating Australian Children's Sexual Knowledge in Schooling 1950's to late 1990's. *Sexuality and Culture* 12, 4: 221–239.

Robinson, Stephen. 2002. Age of Consent Law and the Making of Modern Childhood in New York City, 1886–1921. *Journal of Social History* 35: 781–798.

Romesberg, Don. 2008. The Tightrope of Normalcy: Homosexuality, Developmental Citizenship, and American Adolescence, 1890–1940. *Journal of Historical Sociology* 21, 4: 417–442.

Rose, Nikolas. 1999. *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*. London: Free Associations Books.

Rosenman, Ellen. 2003. *Unauthorized Pleasures: Accounts of Victorian Erotic Experience*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Rousseau, George. 2008. The Kiss of Death and Cabal of Dons: Blackmail and Grooming in Georgian Oxford. *Journal of Historical Sociology* 21, 4: 368–396.

Rousseau, George, ed. 2009. *Children and Sexuality. From the Greeks to the Great War*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rury, John. 1987. We Teach the Girl Repression, the Boy Expression: Sexuality, Sex Equity and Education in Historical Perspective. *Peabody Journal of Education* 64: 44–58.

Rush, Emma, and Andrea LaNauze. 2006a. Corporate Paedophilia: Sexualisation of Children in Australia. Deakin ACT: Australian Institute Working Paper #90.

———. 2006b. Letting Children Be Children: Stopping the Sexualization of Children in Australia. Deakin ACT: Australian Institute Working Paper # 93.

Ryerson, Alice. 1961. Medical Advice on Child-Rearing 1550–1900. *Harvard Educational Review* 31, 3: 302–323.

Sanchez-Eppler, Karen. 2005. *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schneider, Jennifer. 2008. Queer Wordplay: Language and Laughter in the "Boys of Boise" Morals Panic. *Journal of Historical Sociology* 21, 4: 466–487.

Schwartz, Joel. 2000. *Fight Poverty with Virtue: Moral Reform and America's Urban Poor, 1825–2000*. Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press.

Schwartz, Joseph. 1999. *Cassandra's Daughter: A History of Psychoanalysis*. New York: Viking Press.

Shields, Stephanie, and Beth Koster. 1989. Emotional Stereotyping of Parents in Child-Rearing Manuals 1915–1980. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 52, 1 (March): 44–55.

Shorter, Edward. 1975. *The Making of the Modern Family*. London: Fontana.

Simmons, Christina. 1993. African Americans and Sexual Victorianism in the Social Hygiene Movement, 1910–1940. *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 4, 1: 51–75.

Singy, Patrick. 2004. The History of Masturbation: An Essay Review. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 59, 1: 112–121.

Spitz, Rene. 1952. Authority and Masturbation: Some Remarks on a Bibliographical Investigation. *Psychoanalytical Study of the Child* 7: 490–427.

Spree, Reinhard. 1992. Shaping the Child's Personality: Medical Advice on Child-Rearing from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century in Germany. *Social History of Medicine* 5, 2: 316–335.

Stearns, Peter. 2003. *Anxious Parents: A History of Modern Childrearing in America*. New York: NYU Press.

Stengers, Jean, and Anne Van Neck. 2001. *Masturbation: The History of a Great Terror*. New York: Palgrave.

Sternheimer, Karen. 2006. *Kids These Days: Facts and Fictions about Today's Youth*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.

Stolberg, Michael. 2000. An Unmanly Vice: Self Pollution, Anxiety and the Body in the Eighteenth Century. *Social History of Medicine* 13, 1: 1–22.

———. 2003. The Crime of Onan and the Laws of Nature. Religious and Medical Discourses on Masturbation in the Late Seventieth and Early Eighteenth Centuries. *Paedagogica Historica* 39, 6: 701–717.

Stoller, Ann. 1995. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Stoller, Ann. 2002. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Stone, Christopher. 1996. *Should Trees Have Standing? And Other Essays on Laws, Morals and the Environment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stone, Lawrence. 1977. *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800*. London: Harper & Row.

Sturma, M. 1988. Public Health and Sexual Morality: Venereal Disease in World War II. Australia. *Signs* 13: 725–740.

Sulloway, Frank. 1992. *Freud, Biologist of the Mind: Beyond the Psychoanalytic Legend*. Harvard, MA: Harvard University Press.

Swain, Shurlee, Ellen Warne, and Margot Hillel. 2004. Ignorance Is Not Innocence: Sex Education in Australia, 1890–1939. In *Sexual Pegagogies: Sex Education in Britain, Australia, and America, 1879–2000,* ed. Claudia Nelson and Michelle Martin, 33–52. London: Palgrave.

Tobin, Joseph. 2001. Childhood Sexuality after Freud: The Problem of Sex in Early Childhood Education. *Annual of Psychoanalysis* 29: 179–198.

Turner, Brian. 1996. *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory*. London: Sage.

Wagner, D. 1997. *The New Temperance: The American Obsession with Sin and Vice*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Walkerdine, Valerie. 1998. *Daddy's Girl: Young Girl's and Popular Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Walkowitz, Judith. 1992. *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*. Chicago: University of Chicago University Press.

Walters, Ronald G. 2000. *Primers for Prudery: Sexual Advice for Victorian America*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Warne, Ellen. 1999. Sex Education Debates and the Modest Mother in Australia, 1890s to the 1930s. *Women's History Review* 8, 2: 311–327.

Weeks, Jeffrey. 1990. *Sexuality and Its Discontents: Meanings, Myths, and Modern Sexualities*. London: Routledge.

———. 2003. *Sexuality*. London: Routledge.

Wilkinson, Marie. 2005. Virtual Reality: Children as Constituents in Social Welfare and Social Policy Constructions. In *Children Taken Seriously: In Theory, Policy and Practice*, ed. Jan Manson and Toby Fattore. London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley.

Wohl, Anthony. S. 1983. *Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain*. Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press.

Wolff, Larry. 1998. When I Imagine a Child: The Idea of Childhood and the Philosophy of Memory in the Enlightenment. *Eighteenth Century Studies* 31, 4: 377–401.

Wyndham, Diana. 2003. *Eugenics in Australia: Striving for National Fitness*. London: Galton Institute.

Yuill, Richard, and Dean Derber. 2008. Querying the Limits of Queering Boys through the Contested Discourses on Sexuality. *Sexuality and Culture* 12, 4:257–274.

Zelizer, Viviana 1985. *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children*. New York: Basic Books.

INDEX