

The third, and final, part of this book examines the continuing progress of the social sciences in France after 1914. Perhaps the most evident pattern we can observe is the seemingly fragmentary nature of social science research brought about paradoxically by the highly centralized structure of French higher education. Cluster follows upon or confronts cluster. The administrative unity of education seems to have impeded scholarly unity. There developed no significant French counterpart of the German and American scholarly association able to transcend for the most part institutional and factional differences.

Institutionally the social sciences in France seem not to have fared too well. Clark points out that except for history and geography the social sciences have enjoyed only a tenuous existence within the secondary curriculum and are still not available in the *licence-aggregation* sequence; sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists would, after a *licence* in their own field, take the philosophy *aggregation* as their university teaching credential. The ease of association and identification between the social sciences and national culture has also retarded French participation in international academic bodies, participation which might have served to counteract fragmentation through acknowledgement of at least quasi-universalistic standards in the international social science community. However, Clark has made a convincing argument that the structure of French higher education has discouraged this kind of integration at home and abroad.

For anyone interested in history of education, intellectual history, sociology of knowledge, French higher education, structural analysis, history of the social sciences, etc., this book will make fascinating reading. It is well documented and generally well written although sometimes the style is a bit opaque and cumbersome. To have a thorough appreciation of Clark's argument, it is helpful to have a reading knowledge of French, since many passages from letters and other documents quoted in the text or in footnotes are not translated. I must also draw attention to one irregularity which I found most annoying in a book of this scholarly stature: there seemed to be no consistent pattern at all to italicization of French terms. This is primarily the fault of the editor and one would have expected more from Harvard University Press.

In general it is this reviewer's opinion that *Prophets and Patrons* is an excellent book. It reminds one of the importance to social science research of clearly identifying the parameters within which one finds social reality being constructed in other words, to explore the degree to which social reality, in this case a network of competing academic and conceptual clusters, depends on the external imposition of one structural form rather than another. On the other hand, this book has given insufficient attention to the problem of explaining how both the status quo and change arise, as it were, from within the same structural parameters. The dialectic of structure and social reality must not be ignored.

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Lloyd deMause (ed). *The History of Childhood*. New York: Harper & Row, 1974. Pp. xi, 450. \$3.95 (paper)

The History of Childhood, edited by Lloyd deMause, had its beginnings in 1968 when the editor presented to the Association for Applied Psychoanalysis a paper in which he outlined an evolutionary theory of historical change in parent-child relations, and proposed that the Association sponsor a team of historians to research the major stages of child-rearing in the West. Lloyd deMause felt that the central force for change in history was neither technology nor economics but "the 'psychogenic' changes in personality occurring because of successive generations of parent-child interactions." Ten writers, including the editor, participated in this major research project and produced what they consider a pioneer volume, one that points the way to further exploration and research of an area heretofore very much neglected by the historian.

In the first article deMause enlarges on his psychogenic theory, the main thrust of which is that until parents had developed the ability to empathize with their children, overcoming

what he describes as projective and reversal psychological tendencies, they were unable to view the child as a person in his own right, and therefore unable to care for him in accordance with his actual needs. DeMause substantiates his arguments with examples of adult-child relations, touching briefly on the practices of infanticide, abandonment, nursing, swaddling, beating and sexual abuse as they found expression down through the years.

DeMause recognizes that it is impossible, in the scope of this single book, to do justice to any evolutionary psychological theory and thus the writings of the nine contributors which follow the editor's introductory essay are directed toward reconstructing, from the available historical evidence, the child-parent relationships and child-rearing practices of the past two thousand years in the West. The writers each take a segment of the time line and, using a wide range of sources — biographies, diaries, literature, laws, poetry, works of art and histories — present their findings in chronological order. Nor do they confine themselves to one country or one section of the Western World. Beginning with the late Roman and Early Medieval period, researched by Richard Lyman, one is brought to reflect on the plight of children down through the centuries in such countries as Italy, France, Russia, England, and America. The story has not been an easy one to reveal. The sources are scanty and, as the writers admit, much of the history of childhood can never be written because little has been recorded about children of the past. This is especially true of the common folk who, in the words of Richard Lyman, "in early records . . . largely escape us" (p. 76). The result has been that most of the material presented pertains to the children of the middle classes. James Ross, for example, writes of the middle class child in urban Italy in the Fourteenth to early Sixteenth century, and Joseph Illick and Elizabeth Marwick deal with children of the more well-to-do in England, America, and France in the Seventeenth century. What has been brought to light, however, is shocking, to say the least, especially if one is to generalize and conclude that conditions for all children approximated those revealed by the writers.

The evolutionary theory of parent-child relations, despite deMause's statement that such could not be pursued in this single volume, runs like a thread through the whole work and, when a total view is taken of the various contributions, it is difficult to deny that a gradual growth in concern for children and an increased understanding of the needs of children have indeed taken place in our Western society. As Priscilla Robertson stated, ". . . childhood had become both interesting and serious, and the standardized indifference or brutality of earlier centuries were mitigated in the nineteenth by greater understanding" (p. 422).

But questions do arise: Can an evolutionary theory of historical change really displace technology and economics in favour of parent-child relationships? Does not our social structure and thence parental attitudes and practices function against a background of industrial growth and development? It has been said that the Twentieth century belongs to the child. Is this not due largely to improved economic and social conditions and increased means of communication which in turn have brought into being new educational opportunities and influenced people's thinking along new lines? Have the writers been somewhat too ambitious in the title of this book? Can we really say that they have written *The History of Childhood*? Have they been able to touch on the lives of a sufficient number of children, particularly the poorer classes, to allow us to make any generalizations about practices and attitudes towards children in the past? Certainly from the evidence presented, one could agree with deMause's statement that ". . . a very large percentage of the children born prior to the eighteenth century were what would today be termed 'battered children'" (p. 40). But on the other hand, John Walzer's observations, as he dealt with childhood in Eighteenth century America, are equally significant: "Just as there is a long history of child abuse, of child abandonment, of the murder and exposure of children, so there is no doubt a long history of spontaneous love and self-interested concern of children" (p. 363). This latter statement merits serious consideration in any attempt to delineate a psychological theory of historical change.

What the writers have done with their very excellent and extensive documentation and the problems they have raised is to have opened up a whole new field of historical research. They have made their book a veritable gold mine for the graduate students who are seeking new topics to explore, and in an area that is relatively still untouched. *The History of Childhood*

does not always read smoothly; its style is somewhat cumbersome as the writers endeavour to build their scattered findings into a coherent whole. But nevertheless the beginning of a story has been laid, with the child of the past invariably given the spotlight, as one ponders the findings and statements of these historians who have undoubtedly made a significant contribution to the history of childhood. It is to be hoped that they will continue on course, follow through their projected plans, and make their pioneer volume the beginning of a whole new series.

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Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy. *The Rise and Fall of the British Nanny*. London: Arrow Books Ltd., 1974. Pp. 350. \$7.60.

This is a book whose contribution in the final analysis lies not so much with what it has to say, but that it has attempted to say anything at all about that very British institution — the nanny. It is a book which leaves many questions unanswered, indeed even unasked, but the reader remains with the distinct feeling that the Nanny is a legitimate area, not only of social history, but also of educational research. Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy does not apologize for what must amount to a study of a wealthy minority in a population — those influenced by nannies — and rightfully so for this same elite has had major social, political, and economic significance in a society which still remains essentially class conscious. To examine the influence of the nanny on this elite's child-rearing practices, character training, and personality development also seems to have significance.

Using as his data some 250 letters from correspondence based on a sample of 296 nannies, as well as interviews with surviving nannies or their "children," Gathorne-Hardy's research tends toward the imaginative and speculative but is as often psychologically interpretive and incisive. Though he sometimes seems to stretch some points and belabour others, especially in that hazy domain of psycho-sexuality, the author acknowledges "all my conclusions, therefore, are inherently tentative; it is arguable that I am not justified in drawing some at all" (p. 6). If we accept this caveat, we will often be provoked, but never bored, and might even agree with him that "a particular type of individual upbringing, because it causes a certain individual to behave in a certain way, is the cause of more general social behaviour" (p. 6). For those of us who still insist that "class" does exist and that particular values and social conduct can be attributed to particular classes (although often emulated and assimilated by other classes) this is a book that unabashedly looks at class attitudes and given the influence of the upper and middle classes on English history, his assumption does not appear to incongruous.

The author compassionately recreates the worlds of sadistic nannies, loving nannies, frustrated nannies, gin-drinking nannies, and much-beloved nannies. He provides insights into the contributions of nannies to prudery and to pornotopia. He noses his way into the fringes of the Freudian libido and sniffs out nannies whose amatory skills might exceed even those of Miss Xaviera Hollander's. However his stress on the *male* child's response to having been "nannied" often to the exclusion of equal attention to the *female* child's response is bothersome. He attempts to trace that purported Victorian phenomenon of the upper class adult male's preference for sexual encounter with lower class females and relates it to the nursery and the close relations between the nanny and the child. For those interested in the Victorian roots of reverence for the upper class female, his discussion of her romanticization provides a fascinating detour. For those of us who might see economic explanations as equally viable the detour may prove frustrating as it seems general that even in "un-nannied" societies the upper class female was there to wed and her lower class sisters to bed.

Nevertheless, Victorian social history and Victorian literature seem to provide us with sufficient evidence that mothers who employed nannies rarely saw their children as anything but scrubbed, polite, charming, little creatures and children saw their mothers as pure and