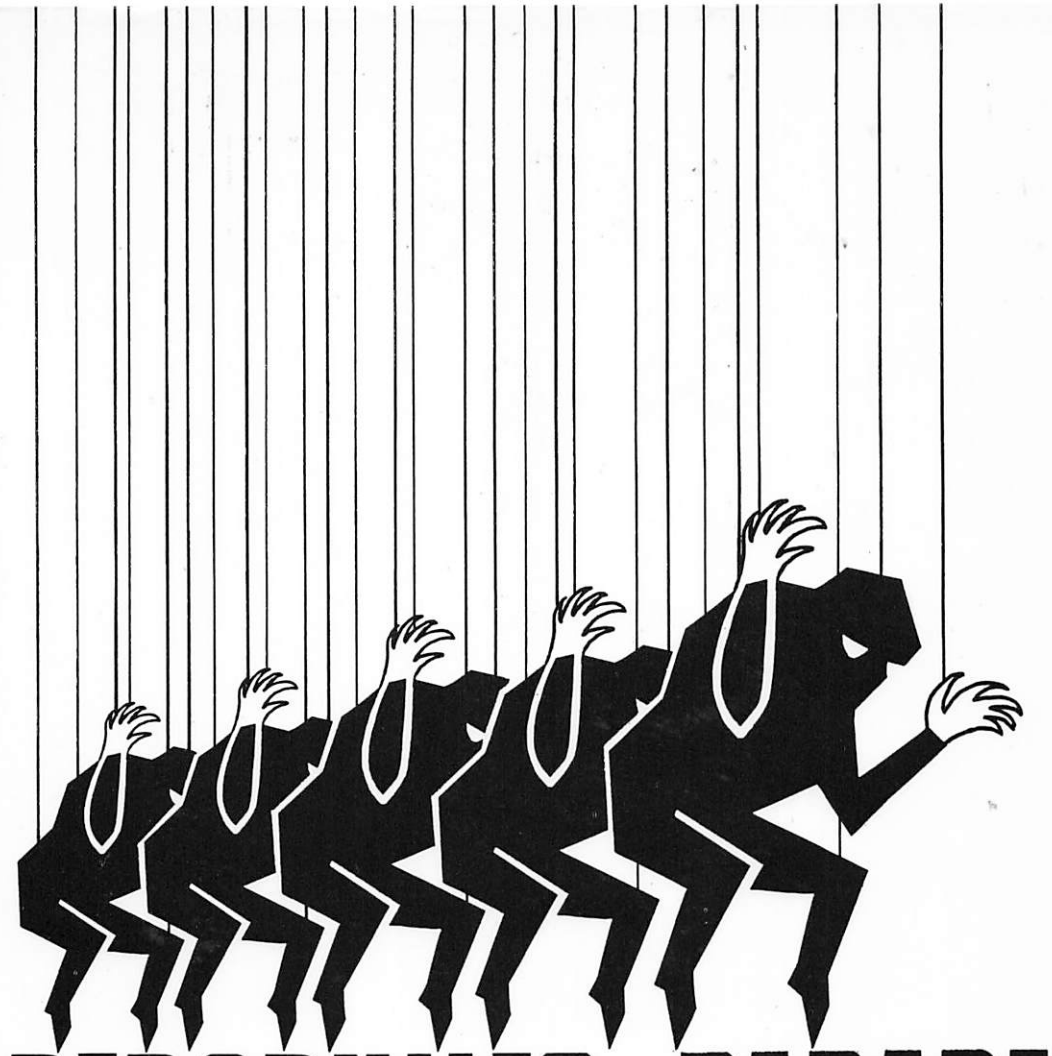

PEDOPHILES ON PARADE

VOLUME 2:
THE POPULAR IMAGERY OF MORAL HYSTERIA

DAVID SONENSCHEIN

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Also by David Sonenschein

Some Homosexual Men: Interviews from 1967

Pedophiles on Parade Vol. 1: The Monster in the Media

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CONTENTS

I. Introduction -- 1

II. Part One: Historical Roots

Chapter 1: Relativism, Innocence, and Evil -- **2**
Chapter 2: The Sexual Child -- **23**
Chapter 3: Child-threatening Figures -- **52**
Chapter 4: Children and Reform Movements -- **75**
Chapter 5: Roots of the Sex Fiend -- **106**

III. Part Two: Pedophilia and Popular Culture

Chapter 6: Images as Spectacles -- **123**
Chapter 7: The Villain as Spectacle -- **139**
Chapter 8: The Victim as Spectacle -- **161**
Chapter 9: The Spectacle as Hyperreality -- **182**
Chapter 10: Criticism and Persistence -- **202**

IV. Afterword -- 226

Notes -- 227
References -- 259
Filmography -- 292
Index -- 294

INTRODUCTION

Fundamental to the 1980s hysteria over youth-adult sex was the use of stereotyped images of the villain, victim, and hero. Stereotypes are mixtures of truth and fantasy, of accurate perception and distorting anxieties. The major error comes in the assertion that they are universally and eternally true, and the error is compounded from farce to tragedy when the caricatures are used to dictate social policy and govern interpersonal relations. Because anxiety (often at pathological levels) is the basis of the imagery, enforcement is usually savage.

To be effective, stereotypes have to be composed of elements socially familiar, and of components used frequently enough so as to appear as divine truth or common sense. It is no surprise, therefore, to find that the images of the 1980s had a long and often honorable history. The clichéd child molester (like the saving hero) has roots in ancient cultures, but the victim concept with which we are familiar is of more recent construction.

Over time the images have maintained considerable consistency, no matter what the issue. This is due to the restricted range of meanings provided by the culture for the specific uses. The intents underlying these images are to dissuade and to punish; to do either, actors who are assigned these characterizations have to be heavily stigmatized.

The effort to do this requires considerable energy and commitment. Significant cultural resources (especially economic and political ones) are mobilized and maintained on a broad scale by individuals and institutions interested in establishing uniform belief and obedience over inquiry and variance. This is made easier and more palatable by configuring issues and actors as entertainment. Social issues are raised and presented—and evaluated—on theatrical terms.

Certain images change in appeal or usefulness, especially those of villainy and victimage. Ideas, like images, also rise and fall in popularity depending on wider cultural contexts of support, criticism, or disinterest. Democracy, a whole larger than the sum of its parts emerging from a conglomeration of self-selected "rights" and "freedoms," is one of these fluctuating human desires. Whether in optimistic ascendance or in nostalgic collapse, consumers of contemporary Western culture can be assured that its realization or disappearance will be amusing, if not profitable.

1

RELATIVISM, INNOCENCE, AND EVIL

Any discussion of "the pedophile" is at the same time a discussion of "the child," pointers to fundamental ideas, intents, and practices surrounding younger people. From the mid-1970s on, the politics of pedophilia were imagined and acted out in a cultural context which insisted upon various historical necessities, destinies that must be met because of an omnipotent divine will, inherent human drives, or unimpeachable administrative decree. Allowing neither doubt nor criticism, it was said that a set of events and conditions—some of which were imaginary, all of which were arbitrary—will inevitably prevail because of their overriding and compelling power.

I

The physical reality of the child has been a constant in human communities. What has varied has been the boundaries between whatever was named as "childhood" and "adulthood." Varying with those have been ideas about the internal content of the youngster and what the future, physically and spiritually, of that creature could be. These notions, long tenets of classical anthropology, had restricted influence on scholarship until 1962, when the English translation of Ariès' *Centuries of Childhood*, was published. American research on the history of childhood continues to grow with many practitioners, most of whom in their careers have had to refer to "the Ariès thesis."

Ariès suggested that, at least at one particular time, the concept of "the child" did not exist. His point was that the kind of child with which we are familiar is a relatively modern concept, a construct which evolved slowly from post-feudal Europe into now familiar forms in the 17th century. While this thesis gave scholars something definite to research, it also defined a point on a political continuum. The position that there were times when the idea of childhood did not exist threatens views which insist on stability, permanence, and universality in cultural categories. Challenging the idea of a fixed and universal childhood resulted in quite a bit of spilled ink—partially because Ariès contested "the family" as well.

Ariès and others demonstrated that the family is a variable social arrangement. Over the last several decades one of many possible forms has been advanced by sectors of American culture as the only "natural" grouping: a small, private, emotionally intense child-oriented heterosexual unit. The family continues to be

reshaped, however, and definitions of what constitutes a family broadened in the late 20th century. Whatever its form, the family is now far less private and subjected to an increasing amount of colonization by the state. Gays and lesbians, particularly as foster parents, received a good deal of harassment during the period with some children removed against their will from their homes.[1] Married couples, when one member is teenaged, could also be subjected to abuse. A sixteen year old male who married an older woman was removed from their home and confined to an institution for "mental evaluation" by court order (Ivy 1988).

About a decade after Ariès' book appeared, some scholars began presenting evidence that qualified or contradicted a few of his contentions. Schorsch (1979) suggests the earliest indication of children's specialness is found in representations of "putti," supernatural infants with symbolic associations to love and death. Freeborn children in ancient Rome had a unique purple bordered costume to distinguish them (Fowler 1896). Preteens of Classical times may have been of little interest beyond their status as domestic servants to their parents, but there were extensive surrogate family relations to educate and care for them, and young males not infrequently were held in high esteem as lovers.[2]

A number of historians documented attention and concern over children from, the 12th century on. Ozmont (1983:144) said medieval theologians held youngsters accountable for their actions when they reached six or seven. This is consistent with cultures in which people may be assigned adult duties, status, and benefits at anywhere from five to eight (Rogoff, *et. al.* 1975). Later in the 16th century, in parts of Europe childhood was extended to about age twelve for females and to about fourteen for males at which time both genders could then marry. However, as late as the 17th century in some parts of France, the transition to adulthood came anywhere from five through eight.[3] Generally, prior to the 18th century there was supposedly little or no "generation gap" because of the close and continual association of young people with adults in most areas of life.

II

American society from its earliest times was a complex pluralist mix, and some of the divisions among its subcultures were sharp. Beals (1985) says 17th century cultural patterns in the Virginia/Maryland region were considerably less stable than the Puritan enclaves in the Chesapeake area; Rutman and Rutman (1979) emphasize that there were "two entirely different types of childhood along the seventeenth century Anglo-American coast." While it certainly was not the only social and religious system in America, Puritanism became a pervasive and long-enduring part of our cultural heritage. There was believed to be little if any difference between thought and deed, and Calvinist politics conflated personal sin with public crime, much as do contemporary fundamentalist groups and therapists; Puritans codified these values into law and punished crimes of belief as well as act. Individualized privacy and freedom were of little consideration in the 17th century, ideas and "rights" yet to develop in modern form.

Some historians believe that Puritans saw nothing very distinctive about childhood. Fleming argued before Ariès that the overall concept of the child

remained rather stable from the early 1600s throughout the 1700s because they were seen "as miniature adults and the same means and experiences were considered as suitable for them as for those older" (1933:59f). Similarly, Stannard (1977:46f) confirms that "seventeenth-century New Englanders...had a view of the nature and capacities of children quite different from that held by twentieth-century parents."

Parents may have been somewhat indulgent with infants, but from about age one or two, parental authority increased in severity. Puritan children in the 1600s were expected to begin behaving like adults when they were six or seven, in line with European traditions. Between ages six and fifteen youngsters could be placed outside the home with other families for apprenticeships or as domestic help. Both males and females served in these positions, usually until they were of marriageable age; apprenticeships could last as much as ten or fifteen years. Until the mid-19th century, American children in general were real workers in households that were active and viable economic units in relatively cohesive communities. They became "adults" early because their labor and membership were useful and necessary for the economic and social institutions of the times. In some cases, apprenticeships could be means of upward mobility, especially for males from poorer families. More often, however, this system (particularly in its later phases as villages became towns, then cities) became a way of controlling "the deviant or the poor...while their masters obtained cheap labor" (Farber 1972:35). For females, being bound out as domestic help let them in for instances of sexual exploitation by their masters or members of their master's family.[4] On the other hand, one can not doubt that there were some delightful instances of class subversive romance as well.

Though Puritan influence remained throughout the 1700s, it was never a universal set of beliefs or practices. Its decline in the late 17th century accompanied the withdrawal of the family from what it perceived to be an increasingly hostile and alien society. Thompson (1986:96) believes patriarchal power began to "retreat" at this time, but it simply shifted its cultural place, voice, and methods of manipulation.

The modern American idea of the child began to form in the mid to late part of the 18th century at about the same time the modern version of the family crystallized, roughly from 1735 to 1830 (Wishy 1968; Degler 1980). This corresponds to a period of increased emotionalism within families, along with a growth of equality and respect between parents and children to the point where American patterns sharply diverged from European styles of relationships. Foreign observers were struck by the overt affection within families and by the independence and insulting aggression of American children (Rapson 1965; Walzer 1974:358).

Part of this new emotionalism resulted in a sentimentalizing of children, one that would reach bizarre proportions in the second half of the 19th century, then again in the 1980s. There was yet a strong ambivalence toward children throughout the 1700s. Mortality rates were still high, and residues of Puritan views of children as inherently evil coupled with a growing distrust of external

society distorted many benevolent impulses to initiate some rather nasty institutions of child care.

Anglo children became increasingly differentiated by age and gender as the 18th century wore on. Parents were somewhat permissive, but there was a strong emphasis on "proper" behavior. In anticipation of 19th century Victorianism, many males in the 1700s were trained in "an arrogant and exaggerated masculine ethos," while many females were brought up to be "coquettish but easily offended" (D. Smith 1980:72). Part of this was due to an elaboration in the late 18th century of a sense of human hierarchy; people, whether by race, gender, class, or age, became assigned more and more to static categories, "spheres," and developmental routes. Youth had always been segregated by religion and race, and non-whites generally received residual resources. Most African-American children in the South began field labor as slaves at about age seven and were kept in that situation for the rest of their lives. Southern states became famous for their laws prohibiting teaching literacy to African and African-American children. Sexual harassment and exploitation of slave youth was common. In 1861, Harriet Jacobs recalled (1988:44) the advances made by her middle-aged master when she was 15:

> He tried his utmost to corrupt the pure principles my grandmother had instilled. He peopled my young mind with unclean images, such as only a vile monster could think of. I turned from him in disgust and hatred.

There also appears a growing material culture for children in the form of toys, furniture, books, and fashionable dress. It is this period that marks the beginnings of children as an economic market. As youngsters moved to the center of family attention, they shifted their role from producers to consumers—at first via their parents, then later on their own. The roles of parents and the concept of adulthood were also changing at this time; changes in adult self-concepts and their perceptions of their world entail changes in notions of children and childhood. By the beginning of the 19th century, the white middle class had cultivated a family content marked by its considerably sharpened desire for achievement, its suppression of sensuality, and its cultivation of a personal need for efficient, omnipotent authority.

At this time, influences on the family were strong, complex, and often contradictory. There was, for example, a good deal of excitement and optimism in the late 18th century over the possibilities of the French and American revolutions. Later however, these were often countered by situations that demanded less idealism (such as economic depression), or called for the suppression and punishment of liberal ideas during periods of anti-democratic reaction. The middle class family of the early 19th century became smaller with fewer children and fewer relatives in residence. The evolution of the idea of "home" itself reaches modern forms at about this time (cf. Rybczynski 1986); ideas of domesticity, comfort, intimacy, and privacy converge to escalate the emotional investment parents were making in their children. People married more than previous generations on the basis of mutual affection, and roles and values shifted as new forms of romantic love began to emerge from moribund courtly love

traditions, adding to the emotional pressure within the home. The household became much more child-oriented with added pressure to raise children "correctly"—as well as subsequent pressure on young people themselves to be "correct."

A significant shift in family structure lessened the responsibilities of the father for having an equal role in child care and nurture, a previously esteemed paternal tradition that had extended at least as far back as the 16th century. By mid-19th century, many fathers were relatively distant, and the middle class wife was now the prime agent of child care. A crucial concept was advanced at this time to reinforce this modification of roles: it was said that "mother's love" was inborn in all females (Degler 1980; Lewis 1989). By the mid-1800s, dolls had become commercially mass-produced and widely advertised. At the turn of the 20th century, scientists were insisting that girls inherently favored dolls. Dolls were used to teach gender skills and roles. "Social scientists...used the existence of doll play, in large part the creation of adults, to prove the existence of the very maternal instinct the girl and her doll had come to symbolize," Motz says (1982:64).

In this period young people again became significant vehicles for aspirations of others. They became reflections not only on themselves, but on their family and society as a whole. Childhood, roughly up to age twelve, was still a fairly serious time in the early 1800s, a time of preparation and training for future social and economic life. The idea that childhood is a valuable period in and of itself, supposedly free from adult cares and values, appears conceptually at this time but was not to reach full expression until later in the century.

Shortly before the Civil War there was a moral urgency to child raising, a reaction to the social and economic unsettledness of the times, due also in part to the many influential religious-based reform movements then in full swing. There was, briefly, a trend toward humane styles of child rearing and education, but the anxieties and pessimism that spread throughout the country as the war approached laid a special emphasis on teaching children what appear now to be rigid ideas of order, obedience, and religiousness. Sex differences were still paramount, and males usually were trained in the administrative ideals of independence, paternalism, and thrift, while females received domestic values of family love, nurturing, and purity. Gradually, youth was more and more distinguished as a kind of being different from or even opposed to adults. Traditional commonalties of transgenerational association and experience were lessened or eliminated. The emotional focus on children increased as they were kept at home for longer periods of time.

Along with this new cult of the child came a cult of domesticity that surrounded the woman as wife and mother. Women and children were more closely identified with each other than they had been before, and as icons of purity and wisdom they were further removed from large segments of daily life beyond the home. This was not a particularly new thought and had been present for some time; Lord Chesterfield said in 1748 that "Women are only children of a larger growth" (Rowbotham 1973:15). But more so than in the past, women and children

were closely identified physically and were looked to as ideals of beauty and cleanliness.[5] They were also seen to be similar emotionally; they were subject to easy distraction and boredom, lacked "rationality" and "discipline," and contained inherent morality and goodness. Both women and children were legally infantialized, economically restricted, and subjected to double standards of sexuality. Women and children became firmly fixed as residual categories: non-males, non-adults. Women could become adults with motherhood, yet they still had to retain the qualities and characteristics of childhood themselves; girlhood was in fact the favored state. Shifts were also going on in perceptions of eroticism. They seemed to turn more toward youthfulness.[6]

After the Civil War, changes came rapidly. Pluralism became more visible, focused upon by a rapidly growing, sensation-oriented news industry. There was a sense of renewal for some after the war, but devastation was widespread. The ideals of Reconstruction collapsed in corruption, one of the longest and most severe depressions in American history occurred (1873-79), industrialization spawned all-consuming trusts, and the extensive personal experience of the criminality of government embittered many. A special fear was added in the late 1800s when great numbers of immigrants settled in cities and towns. There was a movement from blaming economic and social misery on institutions to faulting individual will and racial constitution. Foreigners were promoted by news media as a double edged threat: not only were they seen as racially inferior and economically dangerous, they were also advertised as sexually predatory and particularly dangerous to children. The recent turn to seeing erotic possibilities in youth ran into the much older and massive establishments of religious sexual guilt. A position for a distracting but entertaining scapegoat was opened.

The symbolic load on the child became heavier and more demanding. During this period an elaboration of the ability to "develop" helped bring complex institutional forces outside the family in to watch over and define youth. In defense, the family constricted but, in collaboration, tried to practice the instructions issued by a new group of experts assuming greater control of state agencies.[7] A complex codependency developed from these two movements, and the contest between independent family life versus professional and governmental authority re-emerged with ferocity in the 1970s.

While scholars differ as to the boundaries of childhood, they are more agreed upon the fact that "adolescence" is a very recent concept. Many now think of adolescence simply as another of life's immutable, inevitable, and natural stages. Because of its close association with puberty, adolescence appears to be mandated by biology. It is this association with reproductive ability and sexuality which makes adolescence a particularly troublesome idea and period of life for societies that view sex and youth as problems. For a time there was in the popular media the impression that the age of puberty was dropping and would continue to do so. Males in the early 19th century reached their adult height at about twenty-five but it now occurs at about twenty; females in the early 1800s began menstruation at about age fifteen, whereas now it often begins at about twelve. Such decreases,

however, represent a historically flexible biology, changes that occur largely because of better social environments and nutrition rather than any specific evolutionary trend.[8]

Adolescence as a conceptual invention is tied to the urbanization and industrialization that took place from the mid-18th century on; by the mid-19th century, youth had become a common part of the urban landscape. But researchers have found evidence of cohesive groups aged from 14 into their mid-twenties as far back as the 13th century. Such groups were then often seen as "marauding gangs," a perception similar to those of youth groups in Imperial Rome.[9] Halttunen (1982:26) quotes Edwin Chapin's *Duties of Young Men* (1840) on youth on the loose:

> ...a wild, a chainless, and a dangerous thing—wandering forth, like some terrible principle in nature, not bound into the fixed paths of the planets, or subject to any known law of order threatening to commingle and crush worlds.

Adolescence was an idea accomplished in large measure through the intellectual and political manipulations of individuals and institutions who had appointed themselves to care for and regulate youngsters, particularly youth threatening to reproduce, and to reproduce in large numbers. The adolescent was invented as social and psychological paths to adulthood were multiplying. Nervously granting a period of fluctuation as a midpoint was a way of trying to stabilize and fix the endpoints of a linear scheme. Childhood and adulthood were seen as discrete and homogeneous states, and adolescence allowed for finer distinctions of variations that could be accepted as normal or rejected as deviant. Adolescence became a way of exempting some youth (mostly males) from certain kinds of labor and designating others as military resources (Firestone 1970:81), and for both males and females, a way of coordinating sexual control (Hawes 1985). Initially, adolescents were seen as restive, heedless, and threatening. From about 1880 on through the 1920s, adolescents changed by official definition to being passive, ungainly, and vulnerable (especially emotionally).

The boundaries of childhood, youth, and adulthood have blurred and shifted according to conflicting demands of families, cultural authorities, the economy, and the political requirements of the state. Some youth could marry at anywhere from twelve to sixteen or become a soldier at seventeen or eighteen, but could not vote or execute certain legal documents until eighteen or twenty-one. The status of the adolescent is, like childhood, still in flux. Some social critics have feared for the "end" of both categories (Friedenberg 1959; Postman 1982); others have demanded their destruction (Firestone 1970). There is in progress at the end of the 20th century a very uneasy, clumsy, and costly redefinition of people aged nine to fourteen as to their proper category and capabilities, especially their sexual abilities and options. Like many other manipulations worked out under conditions of uncertainty, this effort does not appear to be geared toward a dispassionate understanding of any real abilities of this age group nor concerned with expanding their social influence, but rather represents attempts at political stabilization, the

soothing of adult anxieties, cultural homogenization, and the securement of behavioral control.

Extensive inquiry into cultural values or objects seems to come only when those elements are perceived to be threatened or disappearing (van den Berg 1964:234). It is true that investigation into areas previously thought to be totally understood and agreed upon indicates shifts in the cultural order and such inquiry is often resisted or punished. The idea of childhood as a fixed entity depended in large measure on the hegemony of a psychology which not only claimed childhood as a natural category but claimed children as its own domain by advertising itself as the most valid source of knowledge on the subject. The rise of the history and sociology of childhood has challenged this by documenting variation and by revealing ideological biases in disciplinary traditions.

Childhood changes have not been linear, nor has one stage necessarily been predictive of the next. Several visions of childhood and childrearing coexist at any given time. Similarly, sexual abilities and interests have not always been reserved for later phases of human life; children have in various times and places been allowed or encouraged to different degrees of sexual enjoyment and responsibility. These categories, even ones felt to be most fundamental, are largely the product of sociohistorical circumstances. Jenks (1982) noted that views of children assumed a commonality of experience ("we were all children once") and a stasis of other associated categories, such as "adulthood." Physical growth gives weight to this naturalist view and covers teleological values with ideas of biological "normalcy" and health. In this view, variation becomes negatively valuated as "deviance" or "unnaturalness."

Thus, what are claimed as objective empirical entities are categories tied to networks of meanings and behaviors. For nearly a century, it has been assumed that ideas such as "homosexuality" or "childhood" were real objects in the world and, more importantly, that they constituted fixed elements in a universal and eternal moral hierarchy. Definitions of each of these entailed implicit definitions of other domains (usually their polar opposites). In fact, these 19th century categories originated not as products of scientific inquiry but as attempts to reinforce personal beliefs, to reinforce newly emerging professional authorities, and to reinforce badly shaken social orders which needed intensely sharpened enemies or heightened crises in order to retain their own place and value as they secured their interests.

Within any given society people do not usually recognize and take into account broader cultural and historical variance. On the other hand, many within their own lifetimes become acutely aware of changes going on around them. Given our society's historical illiteracy, some people react to real and imagined changes in maladaptive and damaging ways. This reaction usually means seeing things as getting worse. This may not be the "maladaptive" part, and may in fact be quite accurate. But the attitude often leads to a heavy investment in symbols and abstractions, energetic and desperate attempts to compensate for or retrieve perceived loss, to base social relations upon imagery rather than interaction, and to anchor disconnected lives with seemingly solid images accompanied by standard,

agreed upon, and rigidly enforced texts that demand severe punishment for violation along with the elimination of criticism and refutation.

Symbols, for these people, are most effective when they are mute. Images, artifacts, or categories of people that have no voice—either because they have been denied voices or because the elements are not real—can be culturally and psychologically functional. These images, animated and dubbed by their makers, are represented as real, active, and vocal entities as long as the appropriate things are said and done. Two of the most important and long-standing uses of children in this regard have been their representations as angels or devils.

III

The idea of inherent innocence can be found in Classical Greece, although it was rather uncommon. In ancient Rome the purple bordered toga of free-born children indicated them to be uncontaminated by the world. Along with the cult of the Virgin, the Franciscans helped maintain a widespread belief in children's innocence throughout the Middle Ages until the 16th century. Worship of the divine mother and infant helped solidify the value of motherhood and, with some exceptions, helped direct emotional and physical affection toward sacred and spiritual realms, away from the secular and the carnal. The period from the 13th through the 15th centuries saw one of the first major sentimental cultures of Western civilization.[10]

There was what Marcus calls a "left-wing" version of innocence coming from some 16th and 17th century Counterreformation advocates who called for, in Marcus's words, "the unfettered gratification of childish impulse," and who saw childhood "as a mandate for anarchist license." This position was amplified by Rabelais who saw in children an instinctual resistance to dominance and control even though "civilizing" forces were then hard at work. The other end of these political ideas of innocence was more reinforcing of established authority. Here the innocent was a saved believer, a simple, trusting, obedient dependent. Intellectual and rational endeavors were denigrated. This "affective piety" was behind most of the child images in art and literature of the Counterreformation (Marcus 1978:58ff).

Through the 16th century, being a "good" child meant, for most Protestants, an obedient child, and this called for authoritarian systems of indoctrination and the strict regulation of gender roles and their contents. With moral reforms gathering influence in the 17th century, "goodness" came to mean "innocent" and "pure" (Schorsch 1979:152), that is, material and sexual disinterest. Stannard (1977:48) cites a 1628 text showing that an idea of children's innocence with explicit antisexual references has been in American culture for quite a while: "A child is a man in a small letter, yet the best copy of Adam before hee tasted of Eve... He is purely happy, because he knowes no evil..."

The idea of innocence did not progressively evolve out of an idea of evil in 17th century America but coexisted with it, existing as a minority view until the next century when it became more widespread. Such conceptions would clearly produce very different childrearing practices and form the basis for other

administrative attitudes toward young people. It was not until the 1700s that the child as inherently innocent—and of divine essence—reappears with any substantial presence. There were two main currents in this development. The earliest can be seen in the Romantic period (1730-1830) writings of Rousseau. The view held innocence to be inherent and potentially everlasting in its possibilities. It was from this time that the modern "cult of the child" began its most earnest development, building on ideas emerging from the French and American revolutions: concerns for humanity as an abstract entity and concerns for individuals in particular, both emphasizing egalitarian relationships. Rousseau's view was progressive and in direct opposition to the Calvinistic doctrine of inherited evil and sin. As did some of William Blake's poetry, he emphasized children's organic naturalness and insisted that the qualities of childhood could be retained and expanded upon as one grew up.

A major break with past theories was seeing childhood as worthy in and of itself, a natural organic state rather than merely a "pre-adult" time. It is here also that ideas of an internal "real self" begin to emerge, helping fix the idea of children's valuable humanness. While emphasizing a stable state, Wordsworth and others enhanced developmental aspects, seeing the child as a natural innocent but with the possibilities of progressive change. His famous line, "The child is the father of the man" (1802), became not only a classic literary expression but a fundamental conception of youth as well, an idea later reinforced by a psychology which took over and claimed the view as one of its profundities. This idea held that people and civilizations can get "better," assuming certain qualities and conditions are held constant and others eliminated. It is the essence of "progress," an idea developed further in the 19th century to justify various imperialistic political and economic adventures, an approach that came to underlie what we know now as social science and political liberalism.

Romanticism also popularized the idea of the physical beauty of children. The innocent was extremely "pretty" and there were many rapturous and sensuous descriptions of such youngsters. It was all the more powerful because it was believed that the child was a direct expression of supernatural powers. This emphasis upon nature and beauty, with their divine authorization, was a part of the Romantic search for essential, primitive qualities and for categorical types. Innocence at this time was directly related to the quest for The Noble Savage, a search for emotional and physical qualities that could form a secure defense against the moral and intellectual challenges of rationalist-oriented elements of the 17th century and against the disfiguring encroachments of urbanization and industrialization. Boas (1966:8, 21) sees the development of this variety of innocence as a part of an "anti-intellectualism which had been steadily growing since the sixteenth-century." The idea came at a time when empirical and experimental science was making significant advances against theocratic control of traditional knowledge. This entailed placing expert theoretical knowledge against "common sense" systems of logic and knowing, including an assumption by males of bodily and reproductive knowledge that previously had been managed by women. As a counterreaction, there was an investment in a concept of innocence

that expressed intuitive intelligence. Strains of this persisted into the late 19th century in works such as those by Horatio Alger. Alger's boys were optimistic and energetic. Given sincere adult friendship, children (boys) blossomed and grew, giving back to society more than they had received. They were also good looking. Despite (or, for some, because of) layers of poverty and urban grime and a gruff masculinism, there existed attractive faces, energy and strength, and well formed limbs. Moon sees this as an expression of homoeroticism (1987:94), but Alger's admirations are also part of a widespread 19th century perception of youth's beauty in general and the reconfiguring of youth's erotic potential in particular.

The darker side of this organic nature was the belief that children, like women who were being infantalized, were susceptible to "passions." Because of this vulnerability to "strong impressions," 19th century young people were seen as easy to manipulate, especially by outsiders and lessers. This continues as one of the assumptions of the theory that children can not consent to anything involving strong passions, especially pleasure. Much of this became basic to a psychology which saw the child as especially liable to trauma and its supposed everlasting damages, and a view of the child as inherently knowing right from wrong.

There were several important aspects to adding this symbolic weight upon children. One was the increased social and political use of children as a moral indicator. Children's words and actions were taken to have a final imperative quality. Further, these values, because they were "natural" and from God, were thought to be universal, with all people at all times subject to their strictures. In the context of the social and economic shifts of the 19th century, this became a powerful anchor for ideological stability and a potent weapon against pluralism and competition. As such, the child as accuser became wide-spread, a resurgence of the role they often played in medieval and early modern witch hunts. Brain (1970:168) observed that "in times of social tension children seem to [adults] an excellent medium through which to attack evils—they are so innocent that they are able to detect evil and speak the truth about it."

Secondly, this moral position, particularly when taken as prophecy, added onto the child the burden of being the hope of the future, both as individuals and as barometers of civilization in the abstract. Thirdly, and even more so as the future came to be less and less promising, the child became a locus for "nostalgic regret," an acute projection of a sense of loss that became more important in later periods. Finally, their proximity to deities made children mystical, sacred beings. The child became synonymous with innocence and purity, one impossible without the other. Any deviation, exception, or violation to this was considered "unnatural," "blasphemous," or "obscene," superstitions encoded as criminal law.

The accusing moral child became a redeeming figure, a savior with supernatural powers. In 19th century poetry and fiction children, through innocence, trust, and simple presence, demand and receive correct decisions from the adult world. Children shared this role with women and slaves in the 19th century, and it was most effective narratively if they were dying, for the suffering and death of an innocent victim carried more power. During the height of the

1980s abuse hysteria, Kübler-Ross published *On Children and Death* in which she linked the inspirations she had received from dying children ("they were the wisest of teachers") to her belief that children were being snatched, brutally exploited, then killed at increasingly frenzied rates, stating that 50,000 children a year disappear a year "without a trace."[11] The prophet-savior child emerged as a quasi-New Age/neo-Christian deity in Fox's vision (1988:188-198), emphasizing youth as the hope of civilization.

At the beginnings of the 1800s, the child was used increasingly to express the social order's need for stability. As dissatisfaction with the outside world became acute, the child was offered up as a bulwark against the present and as a hope for the future. Thus the second major strand of the idea of innocence. Whereas the first optimistically saw innocence as inherent and possible beyond the childhood years, the second strand developing later was more pessimistic. Innocence was still there, but it was fragile and brief. Innocence was a stage.

The child as a representation of loss became enlarged and elaborated into full nostalgia. It was already there in Wordsworth's "Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood" (1807), and in some of Blake's writings which combined an enjoyment of the child in the here and now with the "lost youth" motif that was to become more important later in the century (Pattison 1978:62). Optimism in the 18th century swung to pessimism in the next such that for many by the middle of the 19th century the child "had become closely associated with pathos; and once the symbol became pathetic, it became the convenient vehicle for the expression of regret and withdrawal" (Coveney 1957:148).

The emphasis on beginnings was at the same time a representation of that which had ended and was gone. The child became a living monument in the abstract, an artifact of life as it was imagined to have been. The child, paraded as the hope of the future, is really the possibility of a past. This helped to emotionally drive a number of reform movements from the late 18th century on. The simultaneous embodiment of the child as both living hope and past disappointment urges a protective restorative. The severe 19th century social and economic changes, dislocations, and denials (especially proofs of biological evolution) demanded some sort of grounding for those feeling set adrift, just as Judianne Densen-Gerber felt was needed in the 1970s and 1980s.

This monumentalism of the child as it appeared it the 18th and 19th centuries was coincidental with a rising romantic interest in ruins which dwelt on the ravages of time, forgotten grandeur, and fallen civilizations represented by images of moldering and empty palaces overrun by weeds and vermin. The child itself became a ruin, as it was in the 1980s with the emphasis on bodily damage and life-long trauma and decline. This form of nostalgia has taken a couple of forms, such as the self-pitying viewing of ruins, or the fearful and hysterical celebration of disaster which became an elaborated genre of film in the 1970s as the child abuse obsession began building.[12]

Serious sentimentalizing of children began to appear about 1850, and by the late 1800s the celebration and sacrifice was in full bloom. Whereas early

Victorians had held concepts of childhood's maturity and wisdom (or at least its possibilities), those later intensified, elaborated, and institutionalized the "childishness" of children.[13] In the 1880s there was a significant increase in children's fantasy literature. The late 19th century was a period of energetic myth-making in American culture, and the rise and elaboration of children's fantastic tales was related to historical needs for ideological reinforcement. Fairy tales are useful in times of separation between children and adults and help mark off adult authority and power as well as define areas of powerlessness in the those to whom the tales are directed. Most of the tales were marked by explicit violence and cruelty, the purpose of which was "to keep the child away from a too-near maturity" (van den Berg 1964:78; Wishy 1968:5). It was done simply by the instillation of fear. Correspondingly, children were seen as less and less ready for outside life, a product of the growing emphasis on the fragility of inner life and the destructiveness of the external modern world. For their own good, women and children were kept in a "cocoon of loving understanding" (Avery 1975:146f).

In this view, the "natural" disposition of childhood was one of happiness. The loss of this happiness signaled the loss of innocence and purity, and with the freight of social representation the child carried, the search for signs of unhappy children became intensive, then frantic. The search was driven, firstly, by adults' need to confirm their own fearful perceptions of the social and economic world, and secondly, once found the unhappy child could be, via adult power, restored to its "natural" state which would coincidentally restore the psyche, body, and social order of the adult. Sexuality was seen at the least as a state of lost innocence, and at the worst as a sign of dangerous sociopathy. Sex and children were separated with desperate severity. The idea of a happy sexual child became unimaginable, unspeakable, and unforgivable. As its representations began to appear in 19th century drawings and photographs, the sexual child became one of the most frightening and subversive images the culture was to know for over a century.

The doll-like quality of children and women grew throughout the 19th century, but as Avery knew, "inevitably if you have radiant innocence...you must have some sort of shadow to show up the radiance."[14] This shadow was largely the specter of the outside world, though (thanks to a new science, psychology) some of it was the growing fearful awareness of an unknown and uncontrolled interior world. These anxieties helped develop an important and extremely useful subimage: the innocent child under threat.

In the early part of the 18th century, it was recognized that there were faults in children, but correctable if the child learned "appropriate" moral values. Children could benefit from experience and they were permitted a freer hand at life. It was felt that their "inherent" tendency toward goodness and morality would win out in any case of conflict. But from about 1830, there was increasing fear that society promoted irresistible temptations that would deflect children from proper development. Particularly after the Civil War, the idea of susceptible children in danger became the first of two types in this later variety of pessimistic innocence. It also was about this time in the first part of the 19th century that extensive reform movements emerged in earnest, and the concern to save children formed the basis

for most of them. The pastoral image of the "country boy" gained popularity as an ideal of natural organic innocence, one that was threatened by his move to the artificial city or by the city spreading into the countryside. Coupled with the relatively new concept of "development," there began to appear a new urgency in literature aimed at parents and even in the small but growing body of writings that were aimed specifically at youngsters themselves.[15]

By the middle of the 19th century, the sentimental novel was at its height. The emphasis via a Christian morality was on the home, family, and marital relations in middle class anglo rural traditions, on purity and passivity for females, and on domestic and filial love rather than passionate sensuality and sexual pleasure. These novels also began in more graphic detail to draw upon the drama of threats to individuals and society for use as titillating story elements, though they were advertised as being solely for the education of the readers.

The sentimental novel was also widely popular during one of the country's greater religious revival periods (1820 through 1860), and many writers (nearly all women) used the genre to try to counter the influences on readers (nearly all women) of such pernicious ideas as liberalism, anarchism, atheism, and Christian sectarianism. In the urgency to secure the place and role of women a tried and true method of restriction was used, the tactic of praise and flattery. Davis remarked that in the early part of the 19th century, Americans "accepted the Romantic belief that morality could be secured only by the sanctification of women" (1963). Much of this can in fact be seen in Christian policies back to the 12th and 13th centuries (LeGates 1976). What appeared from the 18th century on was a substantial deposit of sentimental and sacred values in the personhood of the female, and an increased sensational, melodramatic dramatization of a threat to those values. Many observers feel that in addition to this policy being based on the ambitions of a male patriarchy, it was male fears of women's sexualities and of their own sexualities that drove such regulatory campaigns (Cominos 1972; Christ 1977). Because they were seen as identical to women, the objects of these interests included children as well.

Some images of the innocent child in a troubled earthly context were present in the 17th century, and a more overt morbidity began to be associated with the image of children in latter parts of the 19th century, a despondency that saw the child with less and less of a chance in the inevitable conflict that comes from living in the world. There came to be a fatality about innocence, a melancholy sense of it as something that could not be retained despite the best of efforts. Wordsworth and Blake moved in parts of their work to mobilize emotions less on the images of innocence than on its doomed nature. It was a manipulation of children (and adults) that increased as the 19th century wore on and has reappeared at various times in parts of the current century as well, the most recent being the "missing children" and sex abuse discourses that began in the mid-1970s.

The second conceptual strand of this variety of innocence was further developed by shifting the emphasis from the dangers of the world to spotlighting the child as a victim already. It was a shift that assumed that the threats were real,

pervasive, that children were helpless and vulnerable, and that the effects were traumatic and irreversible. By late 19th century, regret for childhood took on an "obsessive emotional quality" (Coveney 1957:241).

If, as Pattison suggested (1978:110), children were used to show the "essential imperfection" of the world, then the more a child is shown to suffer, the greater will be the propagandistic impact. Journalists have long realized that images of suffering children convey tragedy and instigate indignance. Historically, this use resulted in two dialectically opposite but necessarily related sets of images dating from the early 19th century onwards: the hyper-sentimentalized and insipidly sweet child, and a world full of danger and death. The result was the near-perfect image of the ultimate victim against the ultimate villain. For many adults the attribution of helplessness to women and children directly paralleled the transference of key aspects of cultural power from them to those who held themselves to be their natural protectors. Moving easily from an association with obliviousness, innocence became an synonym for incompetence.

IV

The belief that children are inherently evil has been a common, often official idea for quite some time. It has varied in details, levels of intensity, and scope of application, but the idea has found many advocates and has justified many policies regulating both young people and adults. One of the earliest commentators was Philo of Alexandria (30 BCE-45 CE) who labeled some children "demonic" because they "draw away from paternal virtue" and "become zealous emulators of material depravity."

Some of the most interesting and severe examples of seeing evil in children appear in the anti-witchcraft inquisitions that raged from the mid-15th century to the mid-18th. Many children served as witnesses against adults. Their testimonies, often coached, were accepted because the children were believed to be inherently innocent, because it was believed they could not lie about such matters, because they told such consistent tales, and because it was believed that children could intuitively recognize evil.

But it was also believed that there were children who knowingly served the will of witches or were themselves witches. A text from 1629, *New Treatise on Seduced Child Witches*, expressed considerable fear that child witches were increasing in number and power. Children became witches because they were seduced by their parents, because of their own inherent tendency to sinfulness (a "predisposition"), or because they had become possessed and bewitched. In a number of cases, adults accused of witchcraft confessed that they became witches when they themselves were children, prefiguring the "abused becomes an abuser" formula seen four hundred years later.

Many children, from 3 to 17, were arrested, confined, intensely questioned, and tortured; confessions and the implication of others were demanded.[16] A number of boys and girls confessed to having sex with the devil (Midelfort 1972:144, 157; Murray 1962:184), or with incubi or succubi.[17] Toward the end of the century some children began confessing that they had been involved in sexual

orgies that were part of the witch's sabat (Seth 1969:17f). For punishment, children were beaten, imprisoned, or executed.[18] There was considerable debate in the late 16th century as to whether child witches should be executed or not. Many felt that witches below the age of seven should be dealt with mercifully. Others argued that the torture and execution of child witches was justified because they could not be cured (Masters 1962:68; 69, note 6).

Following Paulian tradition, John Calvin saw sin as an inherent hereditary condition. Calvin (1960:251) must take significant credit for connecting sexualities to ideas of corruption, disease, infection, depravity, perversion, impurity, and sin. Thanks to Calvin, seeing children as depraved was a fundamental part of 17th century Puritan culture, and was found in varying degrees in other Christian systems. In 1569, Caspar Huberinus said children were filled with "filth and viciousness" (Strauss 1978:97). A Puritan text from 1621 affirmed that a young child was "altogether inclined to evil" (Illick 1974:311). For those going to the "New World," there were constant dire warnings of degeneration and depravity throughout the whole trip; the repetitious sermons by John Winthrop and John Cotton in 1630 rang with belief in the certainty of human surrender before the "carnal lures" (Sacvan Bercovitch's phrase, 1978:3f) that would trigger children's predisposition to fall. In his 1721 book of sermons, Benjamin Wadsworth said children were "filthy, guilty, odious [and] abominable," and were "slaves to their own Lust" (Fleming 1933:96f). In one of his famous sermons, Cotton Mather told his congregation that children "go astray as soon as they are born. They no sooner step than they stray, they no sooner lisp than they ly" (Stannard 1977:50).

But people could not tolerate themselves for long if there was no loophole, and the theocratic culture conveniently offered three solutions to its self-generated problem, succinctly outlined in a letter written by George Whitefield in the 1700s:

> The grand end of every Christian institution for forming tender young minds should be to convince them of their natural depravity, of the means of recovering out of it, and of the necessity of preparing for the enjoyment of the Supreme Being in a future state. (Sangster 1963:26)

Surrounded and controlled by adults who felt human society to be made up of "miserable, hard-hearted senseless, sottish creatures, sleeping on the brink of hell" (Fleming 1933:55, quoting a contemporary text), yet who saw themselves as loving and nurturing, children were cozily nestled in a Christian culture of depravity, discipline, and death.

Extraordinarily fearful, most parents began rigorously pressing religious beliefs on children at about age seven or eight. Youngsters were constantly watched and interrogated as to the state of their "spiritual health." Age fourteen was seen to be the end of a time for which sin could be forgiven. At this age, the public display of religious conversion was deemed necessary for individual salvation and proper community membership. This was done at regular services, and during special revivals that cultivated heightened expressions of unconditional and submissive belief. Most conversions occurred at about the age of puberty, but many were in fact preteen. A number of marriages also took place at this point for

females aged 12 to 14, a tradition continued throughout the 18th century and into the 19th. Quoting from *Letters of an English Traveller* (1829), Fleming (1933) says "an English visitor indicates the continuance of the emotional appeal to children and shows no matter what the circumstances, children were not spared in the efforts that were put forth to secure appropriate convictions."

There was an urgency in the demand for the salvation of children. In the revivals, children reacted by weeping, fainting, yelling, screaming, and with spasms referred to as "tremblings and agitations" (Fleming 1933:129ff). Because of this, children were continually infected by "visions, nightmares, deep depressions, and abnormal fears" (Sangster 1963:150). Young females were the most vulnerable to these campaigns; contemporary observers noted that for every boy that was converted, three girls were so turned in these revivals.

James Janeway, in *A Token for Children* (1671), advised children to "get thyself into the chamber...and fall upon thy knees, and weep and mourn, and tell Christ thou art afraid that he doth not love thee..." (Grylls 1978:26). Sangster, sympathetic to the religious indoctrination of children, said many 18th century children "spent their years of infancy weeping over this sinful condition, urged to it by relatives and friends." This brought many children to "morbid depths...despair and even suicide," but despite this, Sangster optimistically said, many children benefited by being brought to "a relationship with God that no other method could."[19] This intensely accusatory search for one's sinful self, coupled with society's surveillance and family accusations, cultivated in youth "a fear synonymous with terror." No matter, says Sangster; it was "unavoidable."

Parental discipline in this religious group was "fierce," an approach already a century old. There was a value on benevolence and love and it was said the way to show this, for the benefit of all, was to take the child and break its will. The "tough love" fad of the mid-twentieth century had a history of over three hundred years. A stubborn "willfulness" showed itself early in the child's life and threatened to corrupt it. Parents continued this "divine right" of authority over their children well into the 18th century. Middle and upper class use of corporeal punishment decreased in the 19th century because caretaker responsibility for the child shifted to women, and because of a more sentimental view of children that arose at that time.

Many Puritan ideas were still in force throughout the 19th century, but the idea of inherent, all-pervasive, and unerasable sin began to be questioned, and it seems to have more or less disappeared as an influential social force shortly before the Civil War.[20] It changed not because of any particular dissatisfaction with the morality of such a view, but because other associated ideas changed, such as conceptions of heaven and hell, a shift in the characterization of the deity from sociopathic to benign, and the replacement of the sinning child by the fallen woman as prostitute and the *femme fatale*. The language remained somewhat the same in secular contexts, however, as many disobedient or masturbating children in this period were often diagnosed with "evil tendencies" (Wishy 1968:21).

Throughout the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, ideas of death were used extensively in the indoctrination of children. In times when the idea of inherent

sin predominated, death was used to cultivate a child's "spiritual health." Death was presented to the child as a warning, a punishment for sin, and gave urgency to the call for conversion and repentance.

"Death mattered more to the Evangelical than life," says Sangster; "the last duty of [children] was to desire death" (1963:153). As a fetus, children were represented as death itself. Cotton Mather, in his *Elizabeth in Her Holy Retirement, An Essay to Prepare a Pious Woman for Her Lying-in* (1710), offered this bit of bedside comfort in the face of high birth mortality rates: "Your death has entered into you, you may have conceived that which determines about nine months more at the most for you to live in the world" (Schulz 1985). Children were repeatedly told that they were approaching death and ought to behave accordingly. In 1673 Samuel Wakeman complained that children "bear and behave themselves as if imagining their hot blood, lusty bodies, activity, beauty, would last alwayes."[21]

Death and eternal suffering could be brought about by the sins of others as well. On this basis, the community as a whole had a duty to monitor the morality of its members. Cotten Mather in 1695 spoke of children's "Phrensies of Ungodliness" that might bring down the deity's wrath on parents, condemning them to hell. Given the homicidal nature of their deity, the punishment would also affect the entire community. It is here that we have one of the earlier American examples of personal deviance, real or supposed, being looked upon by ruling elders as a signal of impending doom to civilization. Childhood was an extremely dangerous time individually and socially. Parents were thus worried for both these reasons—the disobedience of their children and the casual connection to the end of their society—and strong discipline was used to keep Puritan children from "lusts, passions, pleasure, vanity, and sin" (Sangster 1963:72). And, it should be mentioned, adults were just as equally anxious to avoid being accused of being bad parents who had misraised their children and thus condemned them to hell. The adult community used children to demonstrate and validate its own supposed competence, authority, and morality.

In the 19th century, as a part of the idea of innocence, death was offered as a reward instead of punishment. Avery (1965:223) calls it the "slaughtering of innocents," and says writers in the last half of the 19th century "became so enamoured...of the dying child that they could not let it drop. They carried it over to the secular story and lovingly they explored all its possibilities" (p. 222). Avery's use of the words "enamoured" and "lovingly" is instructive in indicating the sort of emotional and physical intensity that was involved in this explicit imagery, a devotion that today could be described as "pornographic." The depiction of the suffering and dying child continued throughout the rest of the century, and its use was little disguised by any pretext other than voyeurism. Coveney (1957:149) best expresses the feeling one gets from reading of these doomed children:

> It is as if so many placed on the image of children the weight of their own disquiet and dissatisfaction, their impulse to withdraw, and in extremity their own wish for death. ... It is a remarkable phenomenon

> when a society takes a child (with all its potential significance as a symbol of fertility and growth) and creates a literary image, not only of fragility, but of life extinguished, of life that is better extinguished, of life...rejected, negated at its very root.

In the early 1700s, the Calvinist doctrine of inherent depravity was in retreat. It was at this time that the "mischievous" child begins to emerge with some popularity. Females had significant pressure on them to subdue and discontinue playfulness, but males were encouraged. In ante-bellum America there was an increase in the depiction of a type of "bad boy" in literature, but it was benign and tolerant, if not outrightly encouraging. While girls remained domestic and virtuous, boys became "bad" in a context of individualism and independence (Fiedler 1971a, 1971b; Walzer 1974). There was a direct equation of these sorts of males with rural and "natural" environments, especially as America moved into the stressful urbanization and industrialization in the latter 19th century. There were indeed stories of good children, such as the softer but no less masculine "gentle boy" of the late 19th century (Moon 1987), though some "good" boys were represented as effeminate or foppish. Tom Sawyer became the basis for a commonly supported young male role.

The antiseptic, totally innocent 19th century child, Fielder's "monster of virtue," is also a figure that invites and actually predefines the opposite kind of monster, the totally evil child. Later in the century, the naughty child, especially the romanticized lower class urchin, became less cute when they seemed to become more numerous and more vicious. The explicit and familiar type of evil child began to appear in America from the 1940s on, though precursors exist (cf. Kuhn 1982). Henry James' *Turn of the Screw* (1898) is usually seen as an example, as well as "corrupt" children in the stories of Zola, Kafka, Steven Crane ("Angel-child"), Faulkner ("The Hamlet"), or Paul Bowles ("Pages From Cold Point"). The 1940s saw the term "teenager" appear, a phrase trying to precisely name what came to be seen as a completely new and troublesome phenomenon, the 1950s juvenile delinquent. The term "teenager" became associated with disobedience, premature and uncontrolled sexuality, and violence, problematic qualities that had long been associated with youth (Perrett 1973:348ff).

The 1950s has been seen as a turning point in the representation of evil children, and March's *The Bad Seed* is taken as the departure.[22] The book was in some ways a development of the psychokiller genre, but it formed the basis for the demonic child appearing over the next four decades. Many negative themes were represented by these children: failure or uselessness of reason or intellectual activity, aggressive individualism, collapse of normalcy and civility, failure of empathy and commitment, and the pervasiveness of evil, especially into the ordinary and everyday (cf. Darby 1987:274ff).

Things remained fairly quiet until the 1970s when a substantial and vigorous increase in evil child representations appeared, becoming a mainstay in late 20th century horror texts.[23] By 1977, it was certainly true that, in the words of Lee Simmons of Franklin Spier, Inc. (the agency that promoted John Saul's 1977 book), "the national mood is right for 'bad seed' stories." An ad by the agency

featured "a pretty little girl...frenziely destroying her doll while a voice-over intoned, 'Innocence dies so easily...evil lives again...and again'" (Walters 1977). Children continued to be recommended as villains because "they have almost no moral standards...or inhibitions about removing a source of considerable pain. For them, punishment is the only real deterrent" (Jones 1987:249).

Social observers were alarmed. Canby (1977) and psychiatrist James Gordon (1977) saw the demonic child as a reflection of adults' fear of children, fear of losing control over children, and a prophecy of a bleak future Others saw allegories of sexual emergence (Chase-Marshall 1977), or as evidence of social and moral collapse. Given the sterile nature of most American representations that Canby and others complained about, the evil child offered a chance to depict all of the excluded, and up to that point, unspeakable characteristics of self and society that could not be articulated elsewhere. The evil child, long absent from American life, returned via fiction to threaten and excite society once again. Able to speak at length about the unspeakable, Ebon (1978) was especially vehement. For him, the child was macabre, repellent, a "cauldron" of relationships based on fear and hatred, filled with blatant savagery, "destructive, demeaning, socially improper...," psychopathic, deranged, depraved, brutal, abusive, criminal, and aberrant.

The evil child is usually a possessed child, dominated by an external force and forced to commit acts that shock, repel, and disgust, acts they would not "naturally" perform. The evil force may vacate the child after exorcism or psychotherapy, or the child may be damaged forever, doomed to repeat and spread the malignity—the "abused become abuser" motif. In Garton's horror story (1988), sex between a Sunday School teacher and a nine year old bring out (or implant) the evil in the youngster who blackmails the teacher into murdering the boy's mother and grandmother.

One variation of this can be found in genre occult novels wherein children exercise demonic powers granted to them by an evil deity or a pedophile. Büssing (1987) presents the dramatic effectiveness of this by depicting a child doing the evil but seeming to be engaged only in innocent play, as when performing voodoo curses with dolls and teddy bears. This can be continued into adulthood with the same grotesque veneer of innocence. One enjoyable example is the novel of incest-instigated evil, *Big Gurl* (Metzger and Scott 1989), the imagery and writing of which is connected to visual styles of "alternative" cartoons and splatter films of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.

A small subgenre and exception to this is the figure of the inherently evil child, though here too the child is but a vehicle for a larger and eternal cosmic force. Caldwell advocated a thesis of "born evil" in *Wicked Angel.* She felt there was a "blasphemous adoration of The Children" by parents and liberals who spoke only of "environments" (1965:59, 72). A boy in the novel is seen as a "psychopath" by a psychiatrist who believes evil children are due to mutated genes or are evolutionary "throwbacks." Over twenty years later, author-psychologist Jonathan Kellerman also posits a genetic evil among children. The book's hero believes that "A single quantum leap had taken evil from the water to land. From shark to rapist, eel to throat-slasher, poison slug to skull-crusher, with bloodlust at

the core of the helix."[24] Containing this primordial DNA are those creatures "with no conscience, no morals, and, quite often, no desire to change" (p. 89). This includes pedophiles by definition, but also includes some preteens and adolescents as well. These individuals are "simply evil," they have been and will be, and they need to be removed from society, particularly those who present the certainty of "establishing an anti-social career." However, "democracy" says otherwise, and Kellerman's hero reluctantly agrees (p. 90).

In the 1980s, the evil child almost disappeared, smothered by the period's victimized innocent. It was not until the end of the decade, as social shock focused on kids who kill, that the evil child reappeared, first in the news, then in fiction and film. *The Paperboy* (1994), featuring a murderous 12 year old (he looks 15) was seen by some critics as the first evil child film in nearly two decades, though *The Good Son* had appeared a year earlier.

But in the 1980's landscape of weeping innocents there was a shadowy figure of another frightening child, glimpsed only in the background,, but strongly felt. In a period obsessed with threats to children, few dared to look closely at this threatening, sexual child.

2

THE SEXUAL CHILD

I

Leslie Fiedler remarked some time ago that fiction's elimination of childhood sex is a deliberate cultural choice, unreflective of reality (1971b:486). If the figure of the evil child has been only superficially explored, the sexual child, despite sporadic and striking appearances in popular culture, has been almost entirely ignored (as in Eiss 1994).

Largely because of a cultural onus against sexualities not validated by marriage, pathology, violence, or farce, testimonies of children's sexualities are usually indirect, expressions marginal to more accepted subjects. Adding to this elusiveness is the fact that almost all accessible accounts come from the memories of adults. Memory in general and sexual memory in particular tend to be distorted by chronological distance and personal selectivities, bound by cultural inventories of images and themes.[1] Further, memories may be simply fabricated, particularly those cultivated in hypnotic and therapeutic sessions.

Our culture has severely limited ways of speaking about children's sexualities, and definitions of those desires determine content in a complex interaction with context. Testimonies in sexual abuse trials, for example, are famous for their exacting and exciting examination of specific acts. Detail may be exaggerated with a genital focus, and because of their forensic approach, the broader context of sensual, emotional, and social factors is erased. When involving consensual relations, these testimonies purposely suppress power negotiations and agreements as well as the more mundane everyday elements of on-going relationships. Strenuous efforts to divorce any sort of sexual representation and expression from any "redeeming" interpersonal or social context are part of the definitional elements of the term "pornography." What is usually referred to as "kiddie porn" can be an artifact of an encounter or relationship very different from that imagined by enraged and disturbed adults.

Accounts by young individuals themselves are scattered and discouraged. Alien and antagonistic to adult culture, even the very idea of "an account" as required by scientific or literary criteria may be foreign to youth's social relations and forms of expression. Searches for these stories are taken as demands for confessions of guilt. Lanning of the FBI testified at the Third Annual Conference on Sexual Victimization of Children in 1984 that not only do perverts collect films

and photos, but "Especially treasured are tape recordings and handwritten descriptions by children of their sex acts and what they enjoy from an adult."[2]

II

The sparse history of the sexual child we have now is really a history of adults' perceptions and anxieties. We know little of actual behavior and even less of affect among sexually active juveniles. The age at which youngsters are seen as sexual or sexually able has varied from culture to culture and historically within cultures. Some views have depended on simple physical activity, while others have connected children's sexual capabilities to ideologies of marriage and reproduction. The phrase "immature," for example, refers less to mental life or behavior than to ideas of reproductive abilities and their place in heterosexual marriage. Across a variety of cultures, it appears that ages 5-8 and 11-13 are clusters at which many if not most societies have deemed young people as sexual beings (Rogoff, *et. al.* 1975), though definitions of "sexual" may vary.

In Western cultures dominated by religious ideologies, the historical approach to and evaluation of children's sexual interest has been prohibitionary and punitive. Some of this has roots in classical Greek culture. Aristotle, speaking of early adolescent males, but also of youth generally, said that "it is the sexual by which they show the absence of self-control" (*Rhetoric*, II:12). Early on, the sexual child was, for some, a very dangerous child.

During the German Reformation, Protestant and Catholic schools did what they could to deny or postpone non-adult sexualities. In the context of the religious culture of the time, sex was not only despicable in itself but stood as a symbol for other negative attitudes and behaviors. It was felt that if sex was eliminated, or at least severely restrained, a better person could be built and an after-life in heaven made more possible. Jean Gerson (Chancellor of the University of Paris) argued in the 15th century for a view of children as evil and as aggressively sexual. Strauss felt that Gerson "was fixated on the apparently irrepressible sexual drives of adolescent boys," since he spent a good deal of effort expounding on their exciting dangers. Writings of the period contain much fewer references to females but a 15th century pedagogic text worries that girls' bodies "boil with heat" (1978:55f).

By the 16th century, a few educators began recognizing that sexual deprivation may cause physical and mental damage, but sex remained restricted to specific circumstances. Sex was not to be attempted or encouraged "at inappropriate ages, that is to say in childhood or, worse, in old age," wrote an educator in 1519 (pp. 103f). Children's masturbation was overlooked until the next century when it became stigmatized and punished. The 16th century saw more stringent restrictions on anything that might induce "prurient fantasy." Nudity and mixed bathing was to be avoided; children were to remain clothed for fear that their nakedness might stimulate adults.

Children were given directives through schools, then a religious institution. Strauss quotes a catechism response from the 1544 texts of Huberinus, in which a child lists the sins against the sixth commandment:

> All carnal, impure, and unchaste thoughts and wicked desires such as seeking illicit stimulation and excitements, making lewd gestures and provocative talk, singing indecent songs, telling ribald jokes, reading salacious stories or gazing at voluptuous pictures for the purpose of exciting oneself to corrupt lusts and thence to unchastity.

Strauss observed that "It would be strange if these suggestive allusions had failed to arouse sexual thoughts in children" (p. 104). Three hundred years later in Europe the concern was still present. Late 19th century priests were advised not to ask youngsters about masturbation for they believed children could not do it. On the other hand, some priests were disciplined for "pointing out to children those parts of the body which they must not touch, and for posing questions...of 'an undoubtedly licentious character...likely to overexcite the imagination of very young children and of developing unhealthy ideas in their minds'" (Zeldin 1970:20, from an 1879 court case).

The sexual child continued to be an object of unease and excitement for moral custodians into the 18th century when society increased the use of the image to ground social and individual anxieties. As concepts and responsibilities of parental roles changed throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, eagerly helped by the new experts and a theatrically-oriented news industry, the sexual child became an object of disgust and veneration, of hatred and idolatry, and of punishment and profit.

One of the objects of devotion for 18th century Romanticism was the "child of nature," the unaffected uncorrupted child or child-like adult. This meant women and children had to be closely protected so as to preserve their "natural" dispositions, resulting in a near-religious fascination with youth and physical superiority expressed as beauty, strength, health, and vitality. It is in this context that one can look for the foundations of what came to be known as "Lolitaism." In this view, sheltered innocence hides a "natural" reservoir of pure instinctive passion, a bubbling cauldron of "unsophistication" and "wild frankness" (Fairchild 1961:394f). Images of this sort can be found in American society from the early part of the 19th century on. Reynolds describes *tableau vivants* in which people posed before audiences in various sorts of scenes either on stage or at private parties. These, especially the commercial varieties, frequently offered "peekaboo glimpses of the girl next door" that mixed innocence with prurience (Reynolds 1988:214ff). It continued into the next century; Banta says the image of the American Girl is one that combines innocence with overt hints of eroticism, but early silent film teenage actresses emphasized the total innocent (1987:1; Kobal 1985).

There are several forces that converge at this time to construct a homogenized idea of women's and children's sexuality. The major element was the emphasis on "innocence," part of a larger bifurcation of body against mind. The separation supported a xenophobic emphasis on seduction and a paranoid fear of sexual expressions. The idea of innocence became in its most explicit forms a fear of sexual awareness (Cominos 1972:159). The subjects of intensive surveillance, women and children who showed any sign of sexual knowledge, interest, or

activity were treated as diseased and dangerous. The assumed closeness to nature for both children and women was a closeness to a Hobbesian jungle. "Nature" represented the unrestrained (or unexplained), and Anglo Christian civilization was believed to be the sole embodiment of morality and progress. Without chastity and abstinence, the only alternative was unbridled, orgiastic sensual dissipation, stopped only by a horrible but richly deserved death. The poem by Christina Rossetti, "Goblin Market" (1862), is a story of how two young sisters are destroyed by sensuously and slavishly indulging in a banquet of fruit, urged on them by seducing demon-like goblins.

In both fact and fiction, the total innocent was counter-weighted by the promise of becoming a sexual beast if triggered. Speaking of the "maturity of precocious experience" for a seduced heroine in his novel, Lippard said her sexual experience was "a blight on her soul forever. The crime had not only stained her person with dishonor, but, like the sickening warmth of the hot-house, it had forced the flower of her soul into sudden and unnatural maturity" (1845:I:124). Brace assured his readers that females were more susceptible to "sexual vice," and if their "lower nature" became "awakened" before "the maturity of reason," she was moved "beyond all human possibility of cleansing" (1872:115). This demonic showed through in the characters of the *femme fatale* and some versions of Lolita. In a number of 19th century novels there appears an innocent child-like heroine who turns out to be insane and/or sexually threatening and violating. Baudelaire, as usual, was more to the point: "the daughter, with infantile wantonness, will dream in her cradle that she sells herself for a million" (1977:22).

There are two strains to this. One is the seductive, predatory, and dangerous child. Golden cites a scene from Aristophanes' *Wasps* in which a girl kissing her father uses her tongue to search for the money he hides in his mouth. Golden seriously refers to this as "kiddie porn:" "there is no mistaking the ribald image of the little girl French-kissing her old man."[3] Some see prototypes in the 18th century, as Charlton does when he says one of the girls painted by Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805) is "unpleasantly sensual."[4] In *Self Portrait With His Family* by Franz von Lenbach (1903), there is a striking depiction of his daughter leering at the viewer.[5] An illustration by Charles Dana Gibson (Banta 1987:627, figure 14.33) has a girl with a doll in her hand, representing domestic life, but she has a slight demonic expression and has reins tied to a boy who plays a horse on his hands and knees, his head bowed. Henry James' *Watch and Ward* has the hero viewing the 12 year old he is adopting with both interest and suspicion: "in spite of her childish innocence...there was something undeniably vulgar." The girl is a "precocious, potential woman," and as he puts his arm around her waist, "An irresistible sense of her childish sweetness, of her tender feminine promise, stole softly into his pulses." He kisses her, and then characterizes her more fearfully (or hopefully) by referring again to her "germ of womanhood" (1979:32ff).

The other demonic branch is the adult female who effects childlike qualities as a seductive technique, though it is clear that the "innocence" is but a facade. Williams (1985) notes the popularity of a mid-19th century French actress

"Rachel" who was able to characterize "demur...virginal purity" on the outside and a malign, degenerative fatal force within. Such characterizations emphasized moral and physical degeneration, and were highly popular in mid- through late 19th century theater.

The very phrase "sexual child" has been for many a contradiction in terms. There have been occasional attempts at fusion but they have been eventually overridden by stronger, more reactionary anxieties in religion, science, and law. Youngsters may be granted permission for sex with peers, more grudgingly at some times than others, but the allowed peer-to-peer sex maintains broader traditional views of the social organization and meaning of age and gender, and still allows control of youthful sexualities; most states in fact criminalize peer sex among minors.

More often, youth's erotic aspirations were redirected into acceptable forms: religion and maternal affection for girls, and for boys, military, business, or sports. By the mid- to late 19th century, these areas housed the culture's most sacred ideals; those excluded were subjected to heightened stigma, and Wilson argues the exclusion resulted in equally exaggerated sexual interests—the famous "perversions" of 19th century sexologists.[6] One of these was the sexual child, and another was the adult in sexual interaction with children. The Lolita and Humbert images were of necessity born at the same time, products of a historically located cultural context, and they serve as only one configuration out of many possibilities for youth-adult relationships.

The duality of the innocent sexual demon has been maintained to the present day. There are varieties, some emphasizing innocence, some "naturalness," some uninhibited sexual enjoyment. The 19th century "cult of the little girl" elevated real or imagined innocence to near-divine dimensions. The "cult" in its English versions was not so much an eruption of pedophilia as some have suggested, but a part of a broader so-called Oxford Movement beginning in the 1830s.[7] It was a secular and spiritual movement, essentially conservative, emphasizing awe, devotion, ritual, symbolism, and sentimentality. It is striking for its emotional texts, many of them joyfully sensual even though the Movement stressed a theatrically romantic celibacy.[8] The emphasis was upon intense, overtly affectionate friendships among adults and youth of a wide age range. Many such friendships among women of the period were connected to this broader view of relationships rather than to lesbian attraction only.

A renewed phase of the Movement began in the latter part of the century, and was influential in the cultures of Europe (especially Germany), England, and America. It is in this later period that more explicit sexual references appear, some positive and celebratory, and others darker and more demonic. This period into the 1900's included some representations of sexual innocence (as in Oskar Kokoschka's "Dreaming Youth"), but most turned to views of a purposefully sexual young female. Artists especially produced such figures: George Minne, Ferdinand Hodler, and the "Fabricated Photographs" of poet Peter Altenberg; Egon Schiele was prosecuted for some of his work. The turn was explained

variously as a flight from the *femme fatale* or a reaction to the 1870-1880's "voluptuous woman." The "child-woman" could be either an adolescent or prepubescent female (the "*femme fragile*," Borowitz 1974), or an adult female who was "primal" or sexually uninhibited (Timms 1990). These conceptions, taken as reality, persisted into the 20th century, subsumed by medicine, psychiatry, and social work.

III

American representations of children's sexualities have generally tended toward the poles of purity and vulnerability, or predation. The "jailbait" figure that appeared so much in popular song after World War II was an expression about young teens sexually attracted to each other or the more problematic relationship of young teens and older lovers. The songs were largely from the male point of view when his heart's desire was a younger girl, the sorrow of that unrequited love, and the threat of prison (cf. Huffman and Huffman 1987). It was a relatively new and independent partial voicing for youth in a disapproving adult context.

Erotic visuals of children have appeared sporadically from the late 19th century on. Surrealists in the early part of the 20th century, such as Hans Bellmer and Dorthea Tanning, would sometimes use images of preteen females in their work as part of the surrealist aesthetic of subversion and liberation. Though not a surrealist, Balthus is well known for his paintings featuring young females. Photographs of sexual children (or sensual photographs of children) have had a more stormy career. Some appeared in the late 19th century, then largely disappeared until the mid-1960s.

Late in the 1980s and early 1990s some photographers proclaiming "artistic" intents produced studies of youngsters that aroused both violence and admiration. In 1985, a set of four photos by documentary photographer Alan Pogue were removed from exhibition in Austin, Texas after complaints over his "attempt to push perversion on the public." "The Inevitable Comparison" shows a two year old boy comparing his penis to that of an adult male. A sensational and silly television report ("The thin line between child pornography and fine art," KXAN-TV) caused an examination of the work by the police; no charges were filed but some officers were overheard wishing they had an excuse to "get into his darkroom," suspecting another "hidden chamber" of exciting sexual horrors.[9]

The work of Robert Maplethorpe was censored, and in 1990 Jock Sturges' material was seized by the FBI, both events receiving wide publicity. The seizure of not only the photos and art work of Alice Simms but of her children as well also received a good deal of press in mid-1988. Sally Mann's photobook of young women (1988) encountered no real difficulty though she was investigated for child sexual abuse. Some reviewers (Levin 1988) were at pains to distinguish her work from material that would "titillate Humberts" (and label admirers as Humberts as well), a sign that individuals still had considerable trouble with the admiration of youth's sensuality without resorting to a scapegoat. Woodward (1992:36) uneasily remarked in his review of Mann's *Immediate Family* (1992) that the photographs

"seem to accelerate [the kids'] maturity by relying on the knowingness of the viewer." In the late 1980s the idea was advanced that as long as the photographer and viewer were not pedophiles or had "succumbed" to a lust for children (as Cohen says Carroll/Dodgson did not), then the visuals, like the children, remained innocent and the viewer not subject to arrest and treatment.[10] Marilyn Lennon's photos of a 12 year old female caused her to be investigated, the police being afraid that the photos could be sold "to arouse pedophiles."[11]

Several observers have pointed to a distinction between pedophilia *in* popular culture (that is, traditional images of the pedophile and adult-youth sex), and the pedophilia *of* popular culture, specifically, the eroticization of youth by the conventional world itself, whether through school cheerleaders, athletes, or advertisements, interests excessively denied and vigorously scapegoated. In an earlier period, Andelin recommended "childlikeness" as a tactic to keep sexual interest energized in marriage; the wife was encouraged to dress in girls' clothes and seductively act as a child.[12] Expressions of this sort were less overt from the late 1970s into the mid-1990s, with one interesting exception.

In the early through mid-1990s, styles reappeared that emphasized the little girl look for females. The 1991 fashions were rather subdued (Anonymous 1991b), but the 1993 wave stressed more childlike appearances and teens were advised to dress accordingly (Anonymous 1993k). A model of the first variety, the "waif look," 19 year old Kate Moss was referred to on ABC's *A Current Affair* (November 3, 1993) as "still a child" and a "child woman;" it was feared she was a role model for teenaged women. For the second variety, a trade publication observed that "Lolita's the most popular girl in town this season, and she's inspiring a bevy of baby-doll looks."[13] Psychological advisor Leslie Pam said a male who is attracted to the baby-doll look "wants a girl who won't question his authority...He's Mister Power!" (Anonymous 1995a). A third variety, the "slut look," continued to appear here and there, sometimes defensively: designer of schoolgirl styles Christian Roth explained that his girls are "kinda slutty...but not sleazy" (*Fashion Television*, VH1, July 29, 1994). This may be a rather fine distinction, but an important one. The "slut look" went in two main directions: adults dressing as child sluts, and youth dressing as adult sluts. Cartoonist Paul Corio saw "the kinderwhore look" as a stylistic highlight of 1994 (*Entertainment Weekly*, December 30, 1994, pp. 2-3). In 1993 Overbeck complained, "Today's high-school girls have long dressed like street-corner pros; but since when did elementary school become a Frederick's of Hollywood showroom?"[14]

Another issue became attached to the prepubertal styles: slimness. In early 1994, a group called Boycott Anorexic Marketing was formed to eliminate use of "ultra-thin" models like "superwaif" Kate Moss and Kristen McMenamy. The group, joined by the National Organization for Women, claimed that the ads encouraged severe dieting. The impetus for the campaigns came from a support group on eating disorders, but a concern with "Lolitaism" was present in the protests. The use of McMenamy (her nickname was "Skeleton") in Diet Sprite ads was derided because she looked like a teenage boy to many of the women. Calvin Klein ads with Moss were criticized because she supposedly looked too young and

vulnerable in an ad campaign that had an "overtly sexual tone" to it.[15] The 1960s and early 1970s had featured a "schoolgirl" look in young adult fashion, and in the late 1970s Calvin Klein became the best known of companies using preteen or young teen models that scandalized some adults (Sonenschein 1984).

In August, 1995, Calvin Klein issued a series of ads for, broadcast and print media, the purpose of which was to show "the idea of amateurism and media awareness—and the strength of personality and self-knowledge of young people today. What these [models] show is that they know how to act, how to control a situation, and how to respond in their own way." For some, however, all they saw were bejeaned young males and females in "suggestive poses with their underwear showing" (Goldman 1995). They called the ads "kiddie porn" and were fearful that the ads might "appeal to pedophiles." The television ads in particular evoked a good deal of fright, some seeing them staged as a "kiddie porn" session in which an older, gravely-voiced man unseen behind the camera manipulates the poses of the young models, supposedly the "kiddie porn formula."[16]

The New York District Attorney and FBI vowed to investigate the ages of the models for possible prosecution (some were supposedly 14-16). Patrick Trueman, director of governmental affairs for the American Family Association, urged a federal investigation; Trueman, formerly chief of the child exploitation and obscenity section of the Department of Justice (1988-1993) said Klein had been exploiting children for years (*Dateline NBC*, "Me and my Calvins," September 12, 1995). Donald Wildmon of that group wanted media who carried the ads prosecuted as well (Sloan and DeCoursey 1995) using the infamous *Knox* decision, under which images of clothed underage individuals could be prosecuted as pornography. The advertising establishment was also outraged. Klein went "beyond gratuitousness, beyond titillation, beyond vulgarity to the very core of our moral sensibilities. ... it is bad enough to glorify and fan the flames of adolescent sexuality. But to portray children as sex toys parading before adults is the line that cannot be crossed," wrote advertising journalist Bob Garfield (1995). Others used similar clichés: "The heart of the campaign is coercion and exposure and fear and anxiety on the part of the models. The ads convey dominance of an adult over a child and they convey possible sexual abuse. The young person demonstrates a reluctance, an intimidation, a sense of feeling coerced," said advertising consultant Carol Moog (DeCoursey 1995). As expected, Leo (1995) was excited by the "creepy pictures," and characterized the youth in the ads as examples of "the bombed-out and hopelessly numb." In an excellent document of cultural translation, Dowd (1995) recast Klein's words of explanation to show how he supposedly really meant only to encourage teen sex, cared only about sales, and delighted in violating social norms.

One male model was asked by a *Dateline* reporter if he resented "being trolled as an object for pedophiles." The young man, like other members of the target market (14 to 19), were unconcerned by the banal images and amused by the reaction; many said they themselves would appear in such ads (Anonymous 1995b) as they continued to buy the product.

A Cable News Network report (September 7, 1995) claimed Klein had "misread the popular culture." More accurately, if Klein "misread" anything, it was a political culture which had encoded its meanings into laws significantly increasing penalties regarding sex and youth. One journalist did suggest that aroused viewers were "uncomfortable about [the ads] reminding them how sexualized their 13-year-old has become" (Elliott 1995). While closer to the mark, this observation still denied youth's sexualities and posited the usual outside agitator manipulating innocent children.

The individuals who produced the ads in fact accurately "read" their reference culture and made a series of ads which profoundly offended a portion of the public because, intentionally or not, they satirized the child sex abuse hysteria which had been omnipresent for over a decade. Ideas of innocent youth and the pedophile were portrayed for the melodramatic and superficial stereotypes they were, and those who had invested so deeply in such rigid images were outraged at seeing them cartooned before the entire society. The ads were crucial artifacts of mass culture's attempt to process the information and affect of the abuse panic.[17] Not one critic saw any humor in the ads, so taken were they with their own indignation. MTV tried to spoof the ad at their September, 1995 Music Video Awards show by using behind the camera voices similar to Beavis and Butthead, but they badly missed the point making the humor in the ads more explicit.

There is no question that the ads were provocative; Klein had always been accused of this. The television ads that aroused the most anger were ones that, while still clearly professional productions, simulated a taping session using the "visual vernacular" of amateur photography; indeed, "pornography" is defined less by sex than by the aesthetics of self and sociality (Sonenschein 1969, 1972). The so-called "kiddie porn formula" that excited people so much was merely a variety of aesthetic elements that belong to most everyday snapshots and videos, and to most sex visuals. The ads seemed to peek into a private or secret world, gaining access to indoor intimacy in a paneled rumpus room. Subjects in the ads, like many in snapshots, seemed "unwilling prey of the camera lens" (King 1984:62), the photographer holding a "transcendent power." Like kids in home photos, the naiveté of youth before the evil pedophile or the doting parent begs the gaze of the viewer. The ads, also like amateur pictures, contained enough anonymity and ambiguity so that the viewer needed to supply first a contextualizing narrative for the event and, secondly, to re-place, re-move the viewer into a benign status forgiving of any unintended voyeurism or arousal.

The ads were pulled in early September, and in November, 1995, the Justice Department announced that none of the ads that disturbed many viewers featured underage models.[18] The ads, and other expositions, gave critics occasion to bemoan "each and every cultural vampire pressing the silenced young to his lips, breathing his own shoddy words into their throats," as Sutton dramatically phrased it (1996:27). Soren (1995), while still accepting terms such as "child pornography," did a concise survey of the moment, urging less frenzied reactions by considering the "intent of sexualized child images," that is, if they aspire to "art."

Images of sexual children in film are more properly images of sexual teens. They range from the young teens gathered by D. W. Griffith and others, through the selection of 14 year old Sue Lyon to play the film Lolita, to actresses such as Charlotte Gainsbourg, referred to as a new "Lolita."[19] The French film, *The Lover*, in which a 15 year old woman and a 27 year old man have an affair, was specially edited for U.S. markets because the director didn't want "to lead American audiences down the wrong path."[20] There were some interesting sidelights, such as *The Major and the Minor* (1942), in which Ginger Rogers' character is a grown woman disguised as a 12 year old and as such attracts the romantic attention of the hero;[21] *The Bachelor and the Bobbysoxer* (1947), in which a 17 year old (Shirley Temple) gets a crush on an older man (Cary Grant); and *Susan Slept Here* (1954), in which Debbie Reynolds plays a 17 year old and Dick Powell a 35 year old. The latter two films are typical American characterizations, oblivious to the complexities of post-WWII youth, roles from which youth have spent several decades fleeing in fright, disgust, and rage.

Overt youth sexuality was absent for the most part through the 1930s and 1940s, although an interesting exception is the "exploitation" film, *Child Bride*. The 12-13 year old lead (Shirley Mills) becomes a child bride against her wishes but is rescued before consummation by a teacher/social worker; the slovenly hillbilly husband had killed the girl's father but is himself killed later. The film's criticism against child marriage is that the females are too young to bear children. Typical of these films, the girl is erotically presented in several scenes, and there is a nude swimming scene with shots of her topless.

A major flap came over Graham Greene's review of Shirley Temple's 1936 *Wee Willie Winkie* in which he saw Temple's appeal as "more secret and more adult." He said that in *Captain January* she displayed "searching coquetry," "mature suggestiveness," and a "neat and well-developed rump." Her appearance in *Wee Willie Winkie* raised a "gasp of excited expectation from her antique audience," and her presence, said Greene, was "dimpled depravity."

> It is clever, but it cannot last. Her admirers—middle-aged men and clergymen—respond to her dubious coquetry, to the sight of her well-shaped and desireable little body, packed with enormous vitality, only because the safety curtain of story and dialogue drops between their intelligence and their desire.

This is nicely perceived and well written, powerful enough in fact for Twentieth Century Fox to file a libel suit on behalf of Temple and the studio. The case was decided against Greene; he was fined, and the publishing magazine was financially destroyed.

After World War II came a period of energetic reworking of women's roles and status. Women in film went in two major directions according to Simone de Beauvoir: one was the "full blown" type such as Sophia Loren, and the other was the child-like woman such as Audrey Hepburn and Brigitte Bardot, the latter using some elements of earlier silent film eras adding some new twists, images largely engineered by men (de Beauvoir 1960:8f). There was another type of child-like

woman, played best by Marilyn Monroe, Jane Mansfield, and Mamie van Doren. These were basically continuations of 1920s dumb blond flappers, but in the 1950s a distancing exaggerated women physically and deflated them emotionally and intellectually. These types are actually cousins to the *femme fatale* tradition. While not calculatingly vicious, their obliviousness still spelled trouble for the hero, even if it was the pie-in-the-face variety.

Things were different in the textual world. Nabokov's novel made an incredible impact legally, socially, and psychologically. It was the earliest widely read detailing of the "nymphet," females from nine into the young teens

> who, to certain bewitched travelers, twice or many times older than they, reveal their true nature which is not human, but nymphic (that is, demonic)... Between those age limits, are all girl-children nymphets? Of course not. ... [Nymphets have] certain mysterious characteristics, the fey grace, the elusive, shifty, soul-shattering insidious charm...the slightly feline outline...the little demon among the wholesome children; she stands unrecognized by them and unconscious herself of her fantastic power. ... [With a gap of at least 10 years, there is] a certain contrast that the mind perceives with a gasp of perverse delight.[22]

Humbert sees a duality in every nymphet: "tender dreamy childishness and a kind of eerie vulgarity" (1977:43), a near duplication of James' 1878 text. Lo is sexually forward at the beginning, though as the novel progresses she assumes more characteristics of what would be referred to as the "victim syndrome." In his earlier version (1987:62, 81, 88), the girl is depicted as a victim and captive.

The 1960s and 1970s held the most expanded and overt expression of sexual youth to date.[23] The sexual child in literature is usually either an individual forced to have sex, or one who's sexual behavior and feelings are expressions of evil and occult influences. One variety of this was the 13 year old molested and murdered in Disney's 1965 novel. She came from a working class family and as such her sexual behavior was more suspect. She was more physically mature than others her age and was known to have pursued "older" boys (15 year olds). The police, calling her "precocious," suspect that the girl may have led the man on who killed her and was "a willing victim;" "They start in younger all the time," the cop mutters (1990:121f, 85).

In the mid- and late 1970s the evil child lessened its sexual valence. Büssing (1987:xvi) suggests that horror writers deliberately suppress children's sexualities so that the dramatic threat to innocence can be total. This has certainly been true in the branch of the entertainment world known as "the news," but some fiction writers did use sexual youth as "victimizers," such as the child vampire, Claudia, in Ann Rice's *Interview With The Vampire.* Less often they served as foils to further define villainy. For example, the lead villain in Browne's novel picks up a young girl at a railroad station. Even though he is after sex ("She was much too choice, he'd decided, for anything usual, such as merely hands..."), he gives her opportunities to leave, but she herself provides reasons to spend more time with him.

> She had removed her clothes carefully, folded and hung them with respect. White cotton underpants, as he had hoped. She did not try to

> conceal anything but her shyness. Her heavy healthy hair, straw blond, seemed longer down over her bare shoulders. The longest of it tried to hide her breasts. She said she was fourteen. She was thirteen, just turned. She had never felt anything, only wondered. ... Almost as soon as he touched her, she was frightened by sensation. Within moments she thought she was dying. She came into the pleasure he gave her that fresh, that easy. Lipping wet around one of her nipples for a minute was enough to cause her to achieve. (1978:274)

This text is less heavy-handed in its characterization of villainy and more forthright in the depiction of a sexual youngster than works of the 1980s were to be. It was more of a "natural" expression than later expositions which used revamped ideas of the unnatural, the perverted, and the occult.

In Farris's horror novel, the hero gets possessed by a demon. To do this, the demon sends him a spirit manifestation of Polly, a 12 year old friend of the hero. The Polly-spirit tattles to the hero's girlfriend that the hero wants to play with Polly's "mouse," which she shows to the girlfriend by pulling up her ghostly nightgown and displaying "her naiad's lucent belly and a jotting of floss over the flagrant pubes" (1985:29), then shows her "pretty virginal breasts, which trembled like pale fruit on a bough." Drawn to the beckoning Polly-spirit, the hero enters a room and finds her chained to a bed, claiming to have been beaten with a studded belt by a mysterious agency. As he stands transfixed, she shows him the welts by taking off her skirt, revealing white cotton underpants. The hero, Farris tells us, "was not prepared for the rounding maturity, the fullness of her buttocks. 'You can take them off,' Polly said...'so you can see better'" (p. 50). As a reward for giving in to the possession, the demon grants the hero fulfillment of his desire to have intercourse with Polly. In a dream-like sequence, Polly is lying on satin sheets with "her lower lip...caught between her teeth as she pleaded sexual transport. Panting, little nubby chest rising and falling." Insensible, the hero enters her. He looks down at the coupling and sees that "Polly's simple, anointed vulva, pure as porcelain, has a deeply fired rosiness where she enclosed his snake-veined cock. He seemed gross and exaggerated where she was most exquisite." It finally dawns on him that he is having sex with a 12 year old, and he tries to stop himself. Polly, however, grabs his penis and holds him in her until he climaxes. He lies there, "steamed in his shame, still immersed in the child's fenny cunt." Stained by the hero-beast, Polly also lies with drops of his saliva on her "muffin-mounds of breasts."[24]

In the mid-1980s, Ehrenreich, Hess, and Jacobs believed that "The symbolic importance of female chastity is rapidly disappearing" (1986:2). At that time, however, the state was promoting abstinence as official policy, and the child sexual abuse hysteria was obsessed with asexuality. It may be that some had realized that the battle for control over women was being lost, even within their own ranks, and that a new vehicle was needed that would license desired forms of social control. The symbolic importance of chastity was transferred to youth with a vengeance.

By the early 1980s, both the demonic child and the sexual child had been overshadowed by the innocent youngster who was either "at risk" or severely traumatized by sexualities that could only be external in their sources. Situations early in the decade were still somewhat ambivalent. Gutcheon's (1981:154f) heroine realizes force is lacking in nearly all youth-adult sexual relationships and finds it "curious;" she insists, however, that young people are being given a "corrupt" sense of power. Some of the teenage females in Campbell's novel (1987) resist being "saved" from prostitution or orgies even though the context of all adult-youth sex is presented in negative terms.

The sexual child remained problematic for fiction and non-fiction authors. Lewin's novel dealt with the issue of selling babies for adoption rather than sex with adults, but there is a small subplot, perhaps meant to be comic, in which an adult reports three preteens who appear to be having sex. Social workers "intervene," subject them to medical examinations, and, finding no evidence of sexual activity, pronounce them not to be in "danger"—they were just kissing.[25]

Sleeping Dog (Lochte 1985) paired a 14 year old young woman (just turning 15, the safer age) with a frumpy male detective in his 40s. Even though she is attracted to the man, the hero avoids any erotic interaction. The youngster is sexually aware but does not show any sexual feelings. The book in fact issues an anti-sexual message for youth when the heroine is advised to wait until she is 18 to have sex (Lochte 1985:212f; Willeford 1985:176; 156). The pair proved to be popular and Lochte provided a sequel, *Laughing Dog* (1988). There is no hint of any eroticism between the two this time. There is, however, an episode in the novel where a 15 year old pretends to be the ex-wife of a private investigator who had been given drugs. She has sex with him to confuse him, and when he finds out what happened, he is thoroughly mortified; the hero excuses him.

For a long time the age of fifteen seemed to be the American cultural cutting off point for informally granting sexuality to young individuals. For the film, *Puberty Blues*, the ages of the females coming to sexuality was raised from 13 as written originally by the female author to 16. In mid-1987, the television comedy *Married...With Children* first aired drawing considerable criticism. Terry Rakolta began a letter campaign in 1988 to discourage sponsors from advertising on the show which promoted "gratuitous sex and violence." She was surprisingly successful and there was a good deal of publicity over her efforts (Anonymous 1989d). Of particular irritation was the character of 15 year old Kelly (Christina Applegate), displayed as a sexually active young woman. The character flew in the face of a vigorous insistence on teen chastity at the time, but the show continued unaffected.

In one of McBain's "87th Precinct" novels (1989), a man had an affair with his murdered babysitter who was 16. The cops hate him for it, calling it "cradle-snatching." He is seen as only barely above a pedophile "who dug Mary Jane shoes and white cotton panties" (pp. 267ff). The man, however, insists on his true love for her, but the image of her when the affair begins emphasizes the lust in the relationship:

> The smoldering green eyes, the somewhat petulant full-lipped mouth, the volcanic red hair, lava erupting, hot overflowing. The short green skirt revealing long, lovely legs and slender ankles, French-heeled shoes, the short heels exaggerating the curve of the leg and the thrust of her buttocks and breasts, naked beneath the thin cotton shirt, nipples puckering though it was not cold outside. (p. 269)

This is descriptive language usually reserved for adults rather than teens, but here it deflects offense at inappropriate age differences. She was sexually aware and experienced, and was seductive with the older man. Like most figures of dangerous marginality, she dies a horrible death as deserved punishment. A 17 year old female who has an affair with an older man murderously driven by irrational lust in Devon (1990) is killed when the man blows up his car thinking his wife would be in it. The 8 year old "nymphet" of Sanders' *The Case of Lucy Bending* is similarly killed at the end of the book:

> He burst in upon them with a roar caught in his throat. Saw the lumpish man crouched and grunting. Saw the golden girl kneeling between his legs.
>
> ...[He] pointed his revolver. Emptied it into them. Saw them jerk and splatter. (1982:405)

In the late 1980s, some writers brought forth explanations of why children are sexual, particularly in adult-youth relationships. They believed that once tricked into sex, youngsters lose control and try every sort of act (Jennings 1987:747, 763). Vachss has a social worker elaborate. They *have* to save kids or else some of them would never break out of the "cage" of trauma and sexuality, she says. They may do drugs or attempt suicide, or, worse, "surrender" to sexual desires: "If you awaken them too early, they get out of control, and the kids themselves look for sex" (1987:107; 182, 217). Kellerman (1986) depicts a woman who is "hypersexual," the roots of which are said to lie in her past as a victim of abusive incest.[26]

In Brandon's book, the prosecutor hero encounters a 5 year old who "was horribly flirtatious, standing so close I could feel the warmth of her skin, and smiling at me with an expression that would only have been appropriate on the face of an old whore" (1993:89). A psychiatrist says the girl is not in a "phase," nor did she get it from television. The desire is only a cover. The expert says, "She gets no pleasure out of the way she behaves. She's not really trying to seduce you... She'd be terrified if you touched her intimately." The psychiatrist says kids "don't know sex exists until [the molester] exposes them to it. And they hate that part of it. It scares them; it ruins them" (pp. 93ff). Later she claims, "The child hates what was done to him but loves the molester" (p. 230). Once kids have had sex, "they're sexual beings from now on. They're not going to forget what they know. They've been exposed to this world of adult knowledge long before they can handle it," the expert continues. This knowledge "sets them apart from other children. It's very hard for them to fit in at school after that, or find friends their own age. They have this dirty secret they think everyone can see in their faces" (p. 93). The boy couldn't tell anyone of his sex with the man

because that "would reveal to everyone how different he was, what a dirty little boy he was" (p. 234).

A good deal of effort in both fact and fiction went to either explaining away youth's sexual activity or denying it outright. One of O'Brien's subjects told of a sexually assertive 10 year old female who had asked him to have sex. O'Brien retorted, "This is not realistic thinking. Children do not want to have sex" (1986:90)—but she then said if children were "prematurely stimulated" by an adult, they may express "curiosity" and begin "exploration." Another subject said all his relations were with teen boys who "knew what they were getting into and wanted it." O'Brien got even more excited and proclaimed that "Young male teenagers *cannot* read between the lines in order to know what is going to happen, they *do not* enjoy sleeping unclothed with 45-year-old men, and *do not* want sex with them unless coerced, intimidated, or bribed..." (p. 153, emphasis in original). These beliefs were still being expressed as fact over a decade later. On *Investigative Reports* (March 10, 1995), a man who had been imprisoned for having sex with teens said he could always tell if the young men "wanted to do more" than socialize. Therapist Bob Priest was indignant. He said this is how pedophiles "justify" their acts, but "*we* know better. ... A child doesn't know what sex is." Pedophiles say they perceive sexual desire in youngsters but he vehemently (and rather comically) exclaimed, "That is *totally false*!"

IV

At the end of 1980s and into the 1990s, the demonic child reasserted its sexual elements. In *Betrayed By Innocence*, a "mature-for-her-age" minor seduces a man who is then charged with statutory rape. There is an incidental nine year old in Willeford's book who sells her kisses for a penny and charges six cents "for a look" (1987:24ff). She has some of the demonic elements seen three decades earlier, and serves to entangle one of the characters in nasty doings not related to youth-adult sex. There is a dismissive and unconcerned air in the mention of the adults who were having—or not having—sex with her; the character fits very nicely with the kind of social landscapes Willeford was famous for constructing. Former child star Drew

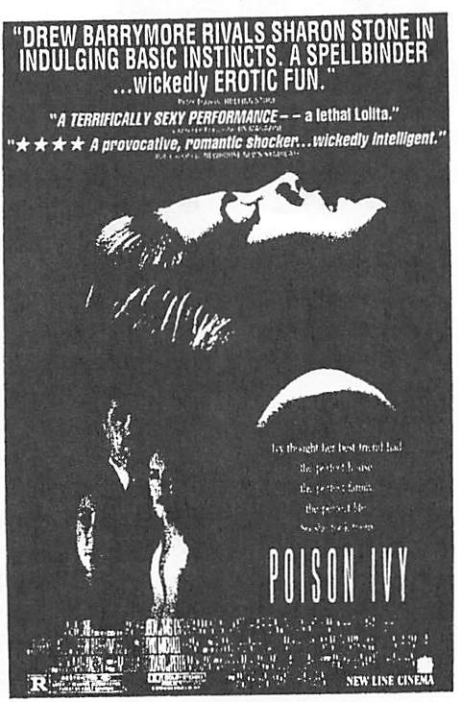

Fig. 2.1:
Newspaper ad for *Poison Ivy* (1992)

Barrymore played what was described in the ads as a "lethal" or "devious" Lolita in the film, *Poison Ivy* (fig. 2.1) though her character, a junior or senior in high school, was older than the usual Lolita.[27]

A very interesting example in the early 1990s was that of Amy Fisher. For the culture's entertainment institutions, it was one of their finest hours. At first, the case was characterized as an instance of "fatal attraction," drawing on the title of a 1987 film in which a woman becomes homicidally obsessed over a man with whom she had had a brief affair. The Fisher case came closely on the heels of a New York homicide with a similar plot, and journalists promoted it as a case of "Teen Attraction." But the emotional and financial lure of her youth and her sexual affairs, plus the availability of viable clichés proved to be irresistible for entertainers, so the case, and Amy Fisher, became internationally known as the "Lethal Lolita." It mattered little that she did not kill anyone; the label was the only way to express the concept and consequences of sexual youth, images based on adult fear, misperception, marketing ambitions, and arousal.

Fisher was characterized as the archetype Demonic Lolita (Henry 1992, Mathews 1992); Eftimiades was sure she shot Joey Buttafuoco's wife "to expel the demons in her soul" (1992:108). The demons were of course sexual. Fisher's famous comment, "I like sex," was the moralist's worst nightmare and the showperson's wet dream come true.[28] After her arrest, Fisher is said to have complained about the lack of sex and hoped the incident will bring her enough money to buy a fast car.[29] The woman was flooded with film offers, and three television movies appeared within a week of each other.[30] Buttafuoco finally pleaded guilty to a charge of statutory rape, and in late 1993 was sentenced to six months in jail, fined $5000, and placed on five years probation, all far less than sentences inflicted on others having consensual sex with teens, especially gay men in affairs with similarly aged males.

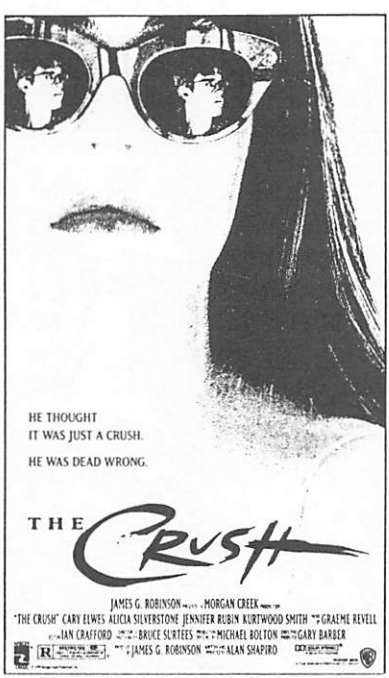

Fig. 2.2:
Newspaper ad for *The Crush* (1993)

The case naturally spread to other media. An episode of the USA network program, *Silk Stalkings* ("Kid stuff," February 27, 1993) featured an almost verbatim replay of the Fisher plot in its opening sequences. *The Crush* (released April, 1993) combined elements of the classic Lolita with female sexual obsession (figs. 2.2 & 2.3).[31]

Fig. 2.3: Classic ad for *Lolita* from a 1962 newspaper

In early 1993, *Saturday Night Live* did an entire show of satirical bits on the Fisher themes. The case came up in the routines of stand-up comedians, sitcoms, talk-show hosts, and even in a music video by Marvin Rosenberg, "The Joey Buttafuoco Song," shown a number of times in mid-1993 on the Comedy Channel: "I wish I never heard of Amy Fisher...I don't care where he took her..." Who *did* care about the case? Producers and journalists who had their own image of consumers. Pete Simmons, senior producer of a tabloid show, *Now It Can Be Told*, was quoted as saying, "...who gives a shit about Amy Fisher? Well, the little beady-eyed unwashed television viewers do" (Bradford 1993:69). While in jail, she continued to be the subject of lurid print and broadcast attention throughout 1993; Buttafuoco appeared off and on in the news and was widely ridiculed.

One interesting bit of character evolution of the demonic Lolita was Little Red Riding Hood. Initially presented as an innocent girl threatened (at bedside) by a drooling wolf but saved by a handsome woodsman, variations merged the tale with contemporary scenarios. Carter's version has Red sleeping with the wolf.[32] Dahl returns Red to a somewhat more traditional situation but with a twist; as the wolf makes his advances,

> The small girl smiles, one eyelid flickers.
> She whips a pistol from her knickers.

She shoots the wolf and makes a coat from his fur.[33]

With the renewed interest in Satanic cults, children were again placed in sexual roles, though ones not native to their minds or bodies. One could now have innocent demonic sexual children. McBain depicted a cult ritual that uses eight year olds, offering some nice contrastive images.

> In a high piping voice, the little boy said, "Behold! My staff is erect!" and lifted his tunic to show his limp little penis.
>
> And the little girl responded, "Behold! My fruit drips nectar!" and raised her tunic to show her small hairless pudendum. (1990:151)

In some of what was called "new horror" or "splatterpunk," the demonic sexual child was used with special impact. Here the emphasis was on explicit descriptions of the disgusting and shocking. One of the earlier examples is a story

by Lannes (1986) which featured a 15 year old who enjoys intercourse with the corpse of her father, with a hint that her tastes are derived from an abusive incest relationship while the father was alive. Shocking to many (as the genre intends), the themes are vintage 18th century Gothic, and the story may have been more upsetting had the age of the female been younger since many consider a fifteen year old neither a child nor sexless.

V

Beginning in the early 1980s, activists raged against youth's sexual activities and enacted laws to restrict and penalize them. Such campaigns were part of broader right wing and populist religious sweeps against pleasure and non-conformity that characterized the years from the mid-1970s into the 1990s.

There were a number of widespread and energetic campaigns, mostly religious but with many secular alliances, to try to control reading materials available to young individuals. New Jersey parents wanted Paterson's *Jacob Have I Loved* (1980) removed from 6th grade classes because, as one parent saw it, the book's heroine, believed to be 13 years old, was "lusting after an older man, the idea of which I find disgusting." The school board decided to keep the Newberry Award winning book in the library but felt that students would need "considerable guidance" when reading it.[34]

In 1981, the Adolescent Family Life bill, popularly known as the "Chastity Bill," was promoted initially by members of the religious and political far right (such as Jeremiah Denton [R-AL] and Orrin Hatch [R-UT]), but liberals (such as Edward Kennedy [D-MA] soon joined in support. An interesting aspect of the bill was to write as law a definition of "promiscuity" as any sex outside of marriage. Ostensibly advertised to curb premarital pregnancy, the bill required notification of the parents of teens seeking birth control information and restricted the mention of abortion as an option. Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population Affairs in the Department of Health and Human Services Marjory Mecklenburg was the most featured spokesperson for this campaign, even though she was said to have been sexually active and pregnant before her own marriage (Anonymous 1983f). Secretary of Health and Human Services Richard Schweiker also decided to notify the parents of individuals under the age of 18 that the youth were seeking contraception information. Issues of confidentiality were overridden in favor of identifying, reporting, and punishing sexually active youth.

Thanks to such activity, the suppression of information was severe. CBS, NBC, and ABC had rejected public service announcements on birth control for youth because, in the words of CBS executive George Schweizer, "contraception is an unacceptable subject for public service announcements." Announcements were shown on the Turner Broadcasting Network to some of its cable outlets in early 1985, however, and in late 1985 after some liberal outcry, NBC allowed a spot to be aired but references to contraception were deleted. Ads for condoms were not aired until late 1991 on the Fox network—but then only if they were presented as an AIDS preventative rather than a contraceptive. In 1992, the Office of Personnel Management removed a section on contraception from a government

child-rearing guide because Curt Smith of that agency felt offended by the idea that youth can be sexually active and worried that pregnancy prevention may only encourage it; "I felt silence would be best," he said (Hilts 1992).

Many such activists appeared during the period and nearly all were given uncritical validation by the news media. Sociologist Ray Short presented evidence at Senate hearings supposedly indicating that individuals who had premarital sex were more likely to have unstable premarital dating relationships, less likely to have "successful" (i.e., long-lasting) marriages, more likely to have extramarital affairs, more likely to contract disease, more likely to become pregnant out of wedlock, more likely to experience guilt or fear, and have lower self-esteem. Short felt the preservation of virginity for both males and females was "a national survival question" (Short 1982, Noble 1982).

Another individual that received a good deal of press was Sol Gordon, 1982 recipient of an award from the American Association of Sex Educators, Counselors, and Therapists. Professor Gordon said that "sex is a health hazard to boys and girls," adding, amazingly, that he couldn't "think of any good reason for teenagers to have sex." Gordon claimed that he was all for access to information on sexualities—but apparently only that which led youth to say No. According to press reports, he said youthful sex will result in "emotional and psychological wreckage" which will inevitably show up later in life (McCormack 1982a, 1982b, 1982c, 1982d). For many in the period, this simple-minded conception of youth sex served as a convenient all-encompassing explanatory device for personal and social problems.

Attempts to humanize existing laws were met with rabid resistance. One of more publicized events came in mid-1981 in Washington, D.C., over a proposed "decriminalization" of sex among youngsters. A City Council committee gave much tedious thought as to who may and may not have sex. The bill would have legalized sex between consenting youth "when one is not significantly older than the other." This translated to allowing those 12 years or older to have sex as long as their partner was not four years older. The bill would also have allowed sex between those under 12 as long as the individuals were not more than two years apart in age. The bill did not legalize adult sexual relations with minors; sex between an 11 year old and a 13 year old was maintained as criminal (Richburg 1981a, 1981b, 1981c, 1981d, 1981e). The proposal inflamed the citizenry. A "compromise" was offered in which sex with any individual 12 years of age or younger would receive a jail term of twenty years, and sex with 13 to 16 year olds would receive a jail term of ten years. As a further "concession," Council member David Clarke was quoted as saying, "we're trying to find a way to ensure juvenile sexual conduct with each other is unlawful...but that they not be subject to incarceration." Finally, at a session where spectators repeatedly screamed "Immorality!," where a Christian author handed out copies of his pamphlet entitled, "The Wrongness of Consensual Nonmarital Sex," and where a crew from the Christian Broadcasting Network was filming for an "in-depth" series on child pornography, the bill was finally stripped of any provisions that would have decriminalized sex for youngsters. A decade later a similar measure was

introduced in the Washington state legislature by James West (R) that would have criminalized sex between individuals under age 18; it was promoted as an AIDS-preventative (Elson 1991). Contemporary sex educators must now advise youth of their legal boundaries and the risks males run of being placed on sex offender rolls should they be convicted under laws designed to apply to pedophiles, here used as another tool to stop young peoples' sexual activity (Craig 1994).

Many others promoted what they felt to be proper and "responsible" conduct. Phyllis Schlafly distributed her 1982 Eagle Form anti-sex pamphlet to junior high school students which cautioned readers, "DON'T associate with companions who believe in and practice 'sexual liberation.' They may be carriers of herpes...", and "DON'T consult with clinics or counselors who falsely told you that sex is O.K. just as long as you use contraceptives. They lied to you!" Private citizen Lucille Janisse felt that a big white button with a large black "NO" on it would help "stem the tide of teenage sexual activity" in the words of a Family Planning agency official; she also distributed pamphlets to teens and preteens with the help of local school officials and journalists (Bentley 1982).

Into the next decade, concerns stayed active, but the cause for alarm became less one of overt moral indignation and more a fear of disease contagion—though these discourses have always been linked. In late 1992, the American Medical Association released its *Guidelines for Adolescent Preventive Services* to combat a perceived "health crisis" among adolescents. For individuals aged 11 through 21, the report recommended screenings, under the guise of a "checkup," for tobacco, alcohol, and drug use, and for sexual activity, encouraging testing for HIV infection. In late 1994, when Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders suggested that information about masturbation be added to sex education courses, she was immediately forced to resign by the Democratic administration amid howls from conservatives and many liberals.[35]

A 1988 survey reached public release in 1992, and stated that although the percentage of sexually active teenage females had dropped since 1971, those teen women who have had sex with more than four partners doubled. The fear was that age at first intercourse was steadily and rapidly getting lower.[36] McCoy cited a 1986 Planned Parenthood survey which supposedly showed that 1% of 12 year old males and 4% of 12 year old females were sexually active, and that the percentage increased with age. She concluded "a worrisome percentage of children aged 14 and under are experimenting with sex."[37] McCoy listed the usual dangers for teens having sex: pregnancy, cervical cancer, and (according to unnamed "mental health experts") "a loss of childhood innocence [that] can disrupt the normal process of gradual self-discovery and social growth." The usual stigmata were also offered as "warning signs:" an ignorance of sex and birth control is one sign, but another is that these "vulnerable" children are "allowed to grow up too fast." They start dating earlier, go to unsupervised parties, experiment with drugs and alcohol, and (a sure sign of sexually active females) spend time with older males. McCoy quoted Charles Wibbelsman, MD, Chief of the teen clinic at San Francisco's Kaiser Permanento Medical Center, who said that it was "unwise" for younger females to see older males. The male "usually intimidates, cajoles, or forces the

girl into having sex. Nor does she enjoy it. I've never once heard a girl this young claim that she enjoyed intercourse." The article's depiction of the sexually active youngster is of an individual who has low self-esteem, is socially isolated, immeshed in turbulent family life, uses sex to "act out," and has "unrealistic dreams."

One of the most problematic relationships in the period involved teen females with older lovers. Like most affairs between teen males and older men, these are not unusual relationships, some being very brief, others quite long-standing (some partners maintain contact long after discontinuing sex); many if not most appear to be mutually desired (Thompson 1995 allows young women to speak of their attraction to older males). Some states allowed marriages for females at 15 (or below) but prohibited non-marital sex; others have held the age of consent to be 15.

One conception of the issue was Trainer's *The Lolita Complex*. The book takes the form of a "report" using a number of "shocking" and "fearful" case histories trying to emulate the assumed seriousness, dignity, and authority of 1950s psychiatry. Presenting a "dark corner shared with the shadows of many sexual deviations," he doesn't want "to condemn, excuse, or sensationalize," only to investigate those "caught within the storm" of "Lolitaism" and "Humberthood" (1966:12, 34). Prefiguring the insistence of Judianne Densen-Gerber, Trainer closed off any attempts at ethical or empirical inquiry by asserting that "the Lolita complex is not a philosophy or a subject for intellectual debate. It is of sex—a sexual problem—and it cannot be presented other than in its grossness" (p. 309). What he wants to warn of is not pedophilia, but the "ever-increasing" "frightening growth of Lolitaism" (pp. 39, 59, 267). His focus is on heterosexual man-girl relationships with the females roughly at puberty (12 through 15), though a few woman-boy relations are reported, one such woman referred to as a "volcano of lust" (p. 103).

"Humberts" are of all sorts, only some of whom are pedophiles in his classification. Most are sexually impotent and socially incompetent with adults. They are attracted to "virginity," and hence to teens. Psychiatrist Milton Okun believed this indicated "latent homosexuality" (pp. 118f, a concept advanced by psychiatrists until the early 1970s). "Humberts" are drawn to school employment just "as homosexuals are attracted to the feminine-apparel industry" (p. 154). While some "Humberts" do kill (appropriate case histories provided for the reader's enjoyment), most do not because they are interested in having sex with the young women and, most sadly for Trainer, frequently fall in love with them.

Trainer recognized happy and mutually desired relations, but labeled them "abnormal" or "unnatural." He gave accounts of men speaking about their emotional involvements with their younger partners, but these are dismissed as merely "the lament of lovers, the mutterings of madmen, the cry of the sick..."; "Humberts" become "addicted" to Lolitaism (pp. 149, 88).

Trainer detailed how young women became involved with older men, ranging from rape to the sexual aggressiveness of the females themselves. The latter is

more often featured since the "Lolita" is by definition a sexually seeking individual (he tells us of a 12 year old who "spun and shuttered to her mature Humbert's rhythm," p. 88). Trainer described one relationship of considerable complexity and duration, one in which life nicely imitated art. After the affair between a 15 year old female (who had already been sexually active for several years) and a 41 year old male began, they read *Lolita* together. Trainer, irritated, said they had a "perverse identification" with the characters, immediately recognizing themselves in the novel. They loved the book, called each other "Humbert" and "Lo," and bought a pair of heart-shaped sunglasses like those worn by Sue Lyon in the film ads. Trainer was bewildered that such relationships happen, and in an unnerving number of instances, that the participants lack guilt and trauma.

But he was absolutely positive the contacts harmed the younger partner. It is hard to tell what actually happened in any adult-youth relationship, and Trainer admitted that "distortion is common" in children's testimonies about sexual contact with adults (p. 74); to add to the uncertainty, he reported an abusive interrogation by a police office of a child (pp. 143f). As did Martin and Haddad, Trainer posed a question for parents to ask themselves that is both dramatic and incriminating: "Has my tender child been fondled by a man who convulses in sexual response to her body? Will the experience someday be recalled in a psychiatrist's office as she reveals the emotional problems which plague her?" (p. 82). Ultimately Trainer felt the consequences were unerasable for the young woman and for society. Though he granted some exceptions, most of the females end up badly: as prostitutes, in therapy, receiving "drastic disciplinary action" (p. 240), in jail, having illegitimate pregnancies and abortions, or being murdered.

Experts reinforced his view that "the seeds of Lolitaism are planted with the shambles of a broken family life" (p. 43). Other influences helping to create sexually active youth are advertisements and sexual messages in the media. Trainer ultimately used patriarchal psychiatry to explain Lolitaism: fatherlessness, a seductive/permissive mother, "Oedipal strivings," and "the not-too-uncommon...rape wish" (p. 233). Additional factors included "the phenomenon of steady dating," and an ominous "search for equality" among girls, a major consequence of which prompted them to "lower themselves to the male standards of sexual looseness" (p. 304).

Trainer and his experts were pessimistic about being able to check the advance of Lolitaism "among the massed and confused of the times" (p. 306). Quoting an unnamed juvenile court caseworker, he wrote, "it marks the beginning of some awful end for us all" (pp. 303, 59). He feared Lolitaism is part of a trend "toward greater freedom, more looseness, more frequency, and more wicked abandon" (p. 300). Psychiatry cannot help because there are too few resources; laws are going toward sexual reform, due in part to "the homosexual lobby," but new laws are not really needed and will not "cool the attraction of Lolitas and Humberts for each other" (p. 307).

Stein (1985) was similarly disturbed by "middle-aged men *routinely* having teenaged girls as their girlfriends." Teens are paired with men in their 30s to 50s,

and an example of "Traci" (16) and "Steve" (44) is given. Stein said that this did not involve "wayward" females being offered candy, nor mistresses and the exchange of money (though flashy gifts were depicted as important). Stein offered the usual banalities to describe and explain the "phenomenon," though he rightfully made fun of psychobabble from psychiatrists Paul Hyman and Robert Stoller. Interestingly, he believed that the relationships were based also on "the elimination of any clear line between the fantasy and the real here in California and in America generally."

In late 1995, the issue again surfaced, bringing concerns over teen pregnancies and sexual youth into the conceptual frames established by the abuse panic. The Alan Guttmacher Institute released a report on a survey of mothers from age 15 to 49; the sections on teen mothers was leaped upon by journalists. The report indicated that about half of mothers aged 15-17 had children fathered by men 20 years of age or older. Observers began referring to this as "sexual abuse" (Steinhauer 1995), and noted that most laws prohibit teens 16 or 17 and under from consenting to sex. The news reports did not mention how many of these young women were legally married, or the extent of age separation, and automatically classed them as victims who were emotionally and economically vulnerable (Shapiro 1995). Most urged the wrath of a "tough criminal justice system that will make adult-male scumbags pay dearly for their sexual fun and exploitative games" (Stinson 1995). By the mid 1990s, those who had sexual interests in teen females were labeled and prosecuted as pedophiles and "sexual predators," though gay men had suffered the same punishment since early in the period.

One of the more interesting appearances of a hysterical reaction to the sexual child is found in newspaper advice columns. The letters may or may not be real, but the topics provide excellent opportunities for the restatement of certain values by a carefully designated advice giver through official media. A 19 year old wrote to Dr. Wallace (1982a) and said his girlfriend was "a very mature 12." The young woman's father threatened the Hispanic boyfriend but the mother approved of the relationship. Wallace replied that "regardless of her maturity and sophistication, she is too young to be seeing you;" he dismissed the racism the young man detected and ignored the mutual relationship and the blessings of the mother.

Later in the period, a letter to "Ann Landers" (1992a) about a young couple closer in age brought a more restrained but still evasive reply. "Frightened in Michigan" said her 15 year old son was in love and sexually involved with a 13 year old young woman. She had not forbidden him to see her, and was realistically afraid to tell the girl's mother for fear of her son being arrested and charged with a sexual crime. "Ann" thought she was right in not separating the two, but only because they would see their parents as the enemy and added, ominously, "once teen-agers start to have sex and think they are in love, they are not going to stop." She did not think the young man was very stable (he threatened suicide if separated) and suggested counseling. "Ann" also felt the son

should be reminded that the girl is underage and he "could be in serious trouble with the law."

An interesting letter to "Dear Abby" was from a man sexually caressed by a 10 year old girl during an airplane flight. "Terrified, I turned on my side and assumed a fetal position," he wrote. He wondered who would have believed his story and how many men have been accused "unjustly" of child molestation, signing himself "Haunted." "Abby" said he should have informed her parents "because she needs counseling before she gets herself—and possibly some other man—in trouble." "Abby" added that any adult "must assume full responsibility" for any sexual relationship, regardless of who initiates it (Van Buren 1988).

A 16 year old wrote that she knew "a lot" of females her age who were involved sexually with their peers in same-sex relations; such relationships were "'in' and very chic." The young woman asked if it was wrong "for girls who like each other to express their feelings sexually;" she was not in such a relationship but added that a friend had suggested it and it was "not because I couldn't be." The columnist completely ignored this remark and assumed the young woman was and should be strictly heterosexual, saying "I do not think it contributes to one's future heterosexual pleasure or competence to have practiced same-gender sex first." The columnist criticized doing anything simply because it is "trendy," but totally denied the possibility of sexual friendships, telling the young woman to refuse her friend's invitations (Winship 1982).

One mother wrote that her daughter's boyfriend (both 14) liked to tie the daughter up. While he treats her "very gently," he does manage to secure her in "some very stringent positions," she said. The young people were open about their "hobby" (as the mother called it) and spent hours inventing new positions. The families of both individuals knew of their interest, and the young man's mother felt "it is just their way of having fun." The daughter's mother, "amazed at how many ways a person can get tied up," let the boy tie her up: "I found it to be a fascinating sensation." "Ann Landers" (1982) was indignant and fearful. With this "precursor to kinky sex," she warned, "your daughter and her boyfriend are going to be into some pretty heavy stuff before long." "Ann" found it strange that the parents knew and that the letter-writer participated. She called for immediate counseling for all concerned.

Advice columns continue to resonate with anxieties over sexual youth, but especially disturbing were sexually assertive young females. "Texas Parents" wrote "Ann Landers" that their son, 13, had been receiving sexual invitations from females his age and going to parties where they wear only togas. They feared for the purity of their son and asked for advice on how to "discourage aggressive girls." "Ann" told them to inform the other parents and to tell their son about the "physical, emotional, social and economic consequences" of sex. She was grateful for the news but was saddened to announce to the world that 13 and 14 year olds can, indeed, have sex.[38] A letter from "Southern California Mom" (Landers 1991a) expressing dismay and shock at the sexual aggressiveness of a young female brought an extraordinary flood of similar mail (Landers 1991b, 1991c). "Hard-line Momma" wrote that she had seen the columns on "sex-crazed girls" but

was unconcerned until another mother played a message left by the letter-writer's 14 year old daughter for the woman's son. "It was sexually explicit and shocking," she wrote. "Hard-line Momma" curtailed her daughter's activities and intended to seek counseling for her. "Ann" readily agreed but suggested both mother and daughter get counseling, implying that the mother had been remiss in attention to her daughter's welfare (Landers 1991d).

Another letter-writer asked Joyce Brothers "what makes a 14 year old girl from a good family sexually promiscuous?" Brothers (1992a) questioned the use of the term "good family," but not the word "promiscuous," implying something self-evident about the word. She replied with the clichés usually applied to sexual youth:

> ...when youngsters are sexually promiscuous, it is because they are desperately searching for affection, or some sign of attention and approval that isn't at home. Promiscuous sex in adolescents is usually a symptom. ... Promiscuous sex doesn't usually bring teens satisfaction or joy. It can be a joyless attempt to escape loneliness and a sense of alienation. Under any circumstances, however, it's extremely dangerous in today's world. The teen you write about needs help before it's too late. Her self-destructive behavior may be a cry for help.

Brothers saw only subversion and pathology at work. To account for another "precocious" child, Brothers was sure she had been "overstimulated," molested, witnessed sexual acts, and/or had seen pornography (1993). She advised the mother of two boys, 12 and 14, to keep away from a 10 year old girl with a bad reputation (1992b), and warned that a sexually aggressive child could be "dangerous" (1993). "Ann Landers" continued to show her indignation. A mother wrote asking advice on how to handle her 11 year old daughter's sex with the daughter's 15 year old boyfriend. "Ann" tells the woman she is out of her mind, and continued:

> To begin with, an 11-year-old should not be dating. Permitting her to go with a 15-year-old boy strikes me as contributing to the delinquency of a minor.
>
> You need some counseling, and so does your daughter. You must learn the basics of responsible parenting, and [the daughter] needs to be taught that acting out sexually before she is a mature woman is morally wrong and dangerous. (1993b)

A 16 year old wrote to a newspaper seeking advice about her 44 year old lover whom she had been seeing since she was 14. He was married, wealthy, well-traveled, and educated; she said they have a good time together and "a wonderful sex life." She knew the relationship wouldn't last but wanted advice on how to prolong it. She didn't want to date boys her own age because they "seem like stupid little kids." The columnist replied,

> Your boyfriend is a sicko. ... The "wonderful sex" had nothing to do with you. Your friend likes to have sex with very young girls. Lots of child molesters are charming, wealthy, and well-educated. They know just what to say to trap their victims.

She advised the letter-writer to tell her parents and contact an abuse or rape counseling center (Crowley 1993). A 13 year old female wrote to "Ann Landers" saying she had a crush on her mother's boyfriend, and they have spent much time together and have been getting more and more affectionate and intimate; she admitted she had been leading him on. Then she learned from her sex education class that he may be "molesting" her. She asked, is it abuse "if I encouraged it and we both like what we are doing?" She didn't want him to get into trouble, saying "He really can't help himself when I tease him and come on strong." "Ann" quickly reassures the girl that she is not at fault; it is the adult's responsibility to keep a "proper perspective" on the relationships. She detailed the legal trouble he could get into, and demanded the girl "Stop it at once." As an afterthought, she threw in, "It could also break your mother's heart" (Landers 1994a).

The early 1990s saw a wider concern over this, but the narratives remained the same as they had been for over a hundred years. Young females appearing to be sexually aggressive were seen to be merely clamoring for attention, "a confused and lonely youngster seeking approval," said UCLA psychologist Gail Elizabeth Wyatt. Negative external influences (peer pressure and "the barrage of explicit images") and a fragmented family were believed to overpower the natural modesty of young women. "Ann Landers" was brought in as an expert, and she pointed to the heart of the matter: "a good many young girls really are out of control. Their hormones are raging and they have not had adequate supervision." Finally, of course, one of the main causes of this "bizarre" behavior was said to be "previous sexual abuse" (Yoffee 1991).

The concerns over the sexual child in this period were quickly taken up by the courts due largely to the persistent advancement of deeply authoritarian views. Early policies continued traditions of evaluation and imagery that placed responsibility for sexual conduct on the younger individual. Children exhibiting signs of sexual interest or activity, real or imagined, were rapidly caught up in systems of investigation, correction, and punishment. Three boys, aged 11, 12, and 13, at the Eastern North Carolina School for the Deaf were discovered having sex together. It was suspected that a homosexual "ring" was in operation so the three were interrogated by investigators from the State Department of Social Services (using anatomically correct dolls), the parents were notified and counseled, one boy was placed in isolation for nearly a year, night supervisors were added to the staff to increase surveillance, and Director Jerry A. Smith accused the school of lacking adequate programs to train the staff to recognize "abnormal sexual behavior." Smith wrote that "the entire student population is at risk."[39]

An important case that received limited notice was that of a 10 year old female and a 12 year old male who were arrested for having sex with each other in Dade County, Florida. The young woman was charged with "lewd and lascivious behavior," and the young man was charged with "sexual battery." Later, charges were dropped against the pair but the male had to agree to undergo counseling.[40] Again in Florida, a 4 year old boy supposedly tried to undress an eight year old neighbor girl with whom he was playing and "kiss her all over her body." The girl

told her mother who called police. The police referred to the incident as "simple battery" but declined to arrest the boy, giving the case to State social workers (Anonymous 1988c). Two seven year old boys were arrested for supposedly raping a five year old girl. Both boys were placed in counseling and faced the possibility of being permanently designated as "predisposed" sexual predators (Anonymous 1992i).

From the publication of the Kinsey studies in the late 1940s to the late 1970s, there was a relatively benign attitude toward juvenile sexual interests and activities. But as the religious and political reaction grew in the 1980s, previous views and laws became the subject of intense dispute. One of the more noted was in 1981 when Judge William Reinecke in Wisconsin gave probation and a work-release sentence to a 24 year old man who had sexual contact with a 5 year old girl. Evaluating evidence at the trail, Reinecke decided that the girl had been the initiator and that the man did not know enough to resist her advances. Because of the girl's previous awareness of sexual activity and conduct, the judge referred to the girl as the "aggressor" and as "an unusually sexually permissive young lady."[41] We cannot know if the judge was correct or not, but for an offended public, the act became an "assault" and the girl a "victim." The judge was the object of a recall campaign supported by popular celebrities such as singer and anti-rape activist Connie Francis. One individual claimed the "a five year old child does not have a concept of the sex act" (Anonymous 1982h), a view of children that was to remain fanatically unshakable throughout the hysteria.

The sexual child has had a habit of reappearing and embarrassing and frustrating the agendas of those who would define and control youth and their sexualities. In the 1920s, nine junior high schoolers were caught "writing notes of a suggestive nature to boys." Officials were certain that "these girls must be having promiscuous sexual relations with the boys" and accused them of such. The girls denied it, so they were subjected to rigorous physical examinations. Their hymens were found to be "intact."[42]

Adults are even more bewildered when groups of sexually active minors are discovered, as was Linedecker (1981) when he cited cases of youngsters forming their own "sex rings." Goldberg and Goldberg (1940) related similar instances and, like contemporary experts, were befuddled by sexual assertiveness. In Vermont in the early 1980s, a group of kids aged 8 to 13, mostly females, formed a "ring" on their own to sell or trade sex to adults. The police, however, trying to bring the case into line with contemporary theory, said they were probably "lured" into the idea by adults. They considered the kids "victims," and parents angrily denied the kids were prostitutes, maintaining that "these are innocent kids." None of the kids were charged although the adults captured by the police were prosecuted for sexual assault and lewd and lascivious conduct. The youth were fed into the therapeutic machine "to help them cope with this traumatic incident," in the words of Lieutenant John Burchard.[43]

Writing of behavioral shifts taking place in World War II, Perrett believed that much of the "staggering rise in juvenile delinquency" of the time was in the form of "vice." Young women, an unknown proportion of whom were around 12

or young teens, frequented places where servicemen gathered, and exchanged sex for money and/or as a part of companionship and general fun. They became known as Victory Girls, Cuddle Bunnies, or (an older term from the 1920s and 30s) Round Heels. Perrett included among his examples (1973:347ff) the conviction of a 17 year old female who was running a "vice ring" composed of some 30 other females ranging in age from 12 to 15 whose customers were largely "middle aged men."

In Germany during World War II, Nazi moral campaigns were inflicted on the country's youth with special concern. One heinous crime was sexual relations with foreigners and prisoners of war. A 15 year old German was confined in a pillory, had her head shaved, paraded through town with a sign reading, "We two sows had relations with prisoners of war," and sentenced to 9 months hard labor.[44] Complaints against women and girls having sex with foreign males increased so much by 1940 that Goebbels ordered a stepped-up punitive campaign. Many of the men, foreign nationals conscripted for labor, were executed. Fraenkel cites reports of "unworthy behavior" in Hitler Youth organizations involving relations with foreigners. Some of this was attributed to a perceived greater sexuality of foreigners and to a "very pronounced sexuality" on the part of "less estimable" females. Prosecutors and judges attributed a basic innocence to the youth by believing that (for the older ones) they were sexually frustrated, or (for the younger) that they had been seduced (pp. 233ff).

Reports of juvenile sex came in such numbers as to suggest that the National Socialist educational system itself was "at risk." Fraenkel related one instance of two females, 13 and 14, who went searching for soldiers to have sex with, and cites a 1942 Munich report on how girls from early teens on "unhesitatingly" had sex with members of the military and Labor Service. After Hitler Youth parades, youth "roamed the darkened streets, went to forbidden films, and allowed themselves to be led astray by corrupt adults" (Fraenkel's words). He cites cases of preteens and young teens engaging in prostitution, group sex, lecturing classmates on contraception, engaging in discussions of who was better at sex (Germans or French), moving in with "some anti-aircraft gunners and [spending] several nights practicing positions," and so on. Several cities issued alarmed reports of increased sex between soldiers and 10 to 14 year olds (pp. 240f).

Fraenkel believed much of this was because youth had an "urge to associate independently, not only outside the organizations prescribed and controlled by the system but in opposition to them." Some of this took the form of gangs, distinguished by symbols and names, many borrowed from American films and music; sometimes male gang members were seen consorting in air raid shelters with preteen and young teen females. Some were Hitler Youth, but many were not and some of the gangs often harassed Hitler Youth patrols. One Frankfurt club of 13 to 20 year olds was known for ostentatious and revealing dress, young women using makeup, lounging in coffee houses, drinking, sex, dancing to banned American Swing (*Swing-Jugend*), and the enjoyment of erotica which was used to add to their group sex and partner swapping by giving them "new ideas" or for sexual enjoyment. Police were "flabbergasted." A local German observed, "12-

year-olds exhibited the precocity of 16-year-olds and many 16-year-olds had the sexual maturity of 21-year-olds."[45]

Testimonies of children's sexualities continued to be drawn out, not in any search for empirical realities, but to serve other interests or institutions. The expressions were distorted by forensic contexts and they continued to pose risks for those declaring themselves. An episode of an exploitation television show entitled "My child is underaged and oversexed" displayed a panel of sexually active young and preteen girls for an indignant and fascinated audience. In a rare and brief exposé of such shows, an anonymous news article related how one of the show's 12 year old performers had been affected by her appearance. She claimed on the show to have had five lovers ranging in age from 14 through 18. At her school, admiring younger students sought her autograph, while others called her a slut, some of the derision resulting in fights. Believing she needed help, the show's staff placed her in counseling; she later said, "I'm not as sexually active as I was" (Anonymous 1994c; *Gordon Elliott Show*, CBS, November 23, 1994). *CNN Headline News* (July, 19, 1997) reported on campaigns to stop teen sex by showing an 11 year old African-American telling what message she took from a Planned Parenthood program: "If I have sex, I won't be able to do the things I want to do."

Through the use of guilt, anxiety, and shame, youth's sexual activities may be regulated internally, but external forces are equally necessary. Fear has long been used to control the sexual child as well as to help manage society in general. The child threatening figures in the next chapter populate one of the culture's most interesting side-shows.

3

CHILD-THREATENING FIGURES

I

Satan has provided a basis for Western villainous images, served as a reference point for social and personal feelings of victimage, and proved the rationale for seeking an ultimate, fundamental, and eternal moral cleansing. Two kinds of devilish practice were used by this Judeochristian deity: terror and violence to frighten, injure, and kill, and sex and seduction to contaminate and corrupt.

About 1200 BCE, Zoroastrianism advanced evil as a separate independent principle, one of the early distinctions between body and mind that has obtained for so long in Western history. The body became associated in 4th century Christianity with the idea of evil itself; sexual feelings and behaviors were evil because they were bodily-centered, the realm of Satan. Ancient Near Eastern demons threatened humans with physical harm, but it was Christianity which instituted the idea that such monsters posed moral dangers as their paramount threat.[1]

As a threat to children, the Devil was seen in the early Middle Ages as a kidnapper and killer, though the acts were more often performed by other beings such as the male incubus and the female succubus. Constructed from Assyrian and Hebrew superstitions, the incubus was a sexual molester who, in the words of Justin Martyr (ca. 160 CE), "defiled women and corrupted boys;" one parish priest insisted he knew of 3 and 4 year olds who had devils as lovers (Masters 1962:67, 70f). They were threats to anyone committed to virginity, and testimonies of victims detailing demonic trickery, seductions, and sinfulness appear from 1100 on, later becoming stables of witchcraft accusations. Many believed that the Devil preferred sex with children, and there were contests to discover the youngest age the Devil desired. Some felt that it was not below age 12 for females or 14 for boys (the end of childhood for many in the 16th century), while others insisted the Devil would lust after those 6 years of age.

Seeing the Devil as a real being has gradually declined over time as evil became a more abstract concept attached to secular issues. For concerns connected to the psychological self, however, Satan remains a handy and real referent.

II

One of the earliest personifications of Satanic evil was the Jew. The image like that of the 1980s child molester, was used for both entertainment and instruction, functioning to buttress secular and ecclesiastical authority against which no contrary images were permitted. One of the primary images was the ugly and grotesque Jew. The description of Svengali encountering the teenage heroine in du Maurier's extremely popular novel displayed the physical Jew with

> his hoarse, rasping, nasal throaty rook's caw, his big yellow teeth baring themselves in a mongrel canine snarl, his heavy upper eyelids drooping over his insolent black eyes... [He took stock] of the different bones in [Trilby's] skeleton with greedy but discriminating approval.[2]

A major characteristic attributed to Jewish life was that it was a conspiracy to enslave humanity using their mysterious power in their secret "rings." Jewishness was said in some of the newly emerging professional ideologies of 19th century science and politics to be an "incompleteness of the social moral process" (Briggs 1985), and with increased urbanization in the 17th century the Jew became identified more and more with social rather than spiritual disorder. Jews were felt to be not only in sleazy urban environments but "everywhere," yet invisible. The myth of "The Wandering Jew" supplied an image of a restless, rootless, randomly aimed vector of an infectious conspiracy.[3]

Jews have long been associated with hypersexuality, seen as sexually exploitative, predatory, and destructive. Tacitus, in his 1st century CE *Histories*, saw Jews as "immoderate in sexual indulgence." Within Christianity, Jews provided a villainous contrast to the associations of Jesus and Mary with virginity, innocence, childhood, and motherhood. The requirement of the Fourth Lateran Council in the early 13th century that Jews wear an identifying badge was motivated specifically to prevent the sexual contamination of Christians.

Jews were linked with East European racial types, and sexuality was one of their most salient traits. Rocker (1937:328f), quoted Otto Hauser's 1924 *Rasse und Kulture*, which provided a scientific basis for this view:

> The Eastern Man is more lascivious than the pure races or than the other mixed races. He makes men and women dance naked on the stage or wrestle with one another. He loves to read about perversions and practices them when he can afford it. He enslaves woman and is enslaved by her. He advocates individualism in the sense that everyone is to do what he pleases [and] violate girls and young boys... [He] advocates in general the freeing of all desire...
>
> The Eastern[er] is vulgar in his sexuality. One cannot be with him half an hour before he begins telling not merely indecent stories, but his own sex experiences and possibly even those of his wife; and the women entertain the listeners with accounts of their menstrual difficulties. His brats bedaub the walls with vulvas and phalluses and make dates for sexual intercourse at public comfort stations.

In the 19th century, the sexual threat to children was again attached to Jews. At that time, prostitution was the overriding sexual metaphor for social malaise and Jews were said to kidnap women for buyers in Europe, England, and the

Middle East. Catholics in late 19th century Europe accused Jews of setting up schools solely as a source of young females and as "breeding grounds" for prostitution and lesbianism (ironically, Catholic clergy were briefly accused in the mid-1930s by the Nazis of molesting their charges; Jenkins 1966:29f). Quite like 20th century sex education critics, conservatives and antisemites in the late 19th century felt that Jews taught "how to" courses in "debauchery" and incest and spread "permissiveness" and "pornography" (Wilson 1982:587). A 1942 Nazi pamphlet, circulating four million copies in 15 languages, said Jews were "morally and mentally lower than any animal. Within this creature there is a fearful chaos of wild uninhibited passions, nameless destructiveness, the most primitive desires, the nakedest vulgarity" (Henry and Hillel 1976:32). Sex crimes were major elements of antisemitic narratives. Defilement was a Jewish imperative, commanded by sacred texts. Readings of the Talmud by antisemites revealed a directive for Jews to use children sexually.[4] When Jews couldn't trick or seduce youngsters with words, money, hypnotism, drugs, alcohol, pictures and books, or "pastries and strong coffee" (Bytwerk 1983:146, 110), they simply grabbed and raped them.

Most notorious is the accusation of Jewish ritual murder of children. The image of the Jew as a kidnapper, child-killer, and cannibal dates at least from 270 BCE, taking more consistent hold from the 4th century on. From the early part of the 13th century through a 19th century resurgence, one of the necessities of Jewish life was thought to be the need to obtain the blood of preadolescent Christians. Authorities believed this blood was needed for rituals, to use in food and bread, or needed to cure their degenerated physical condition.[5]

One of the earliest accusations is from 1144 when Jews were said to have seduced, tortured, and killed a child in Norwich, England (Seiden 1967:148-154). Twelfth century authorities claimed secret Jewish societies were devoted to the kidnapping of Christian children and performing ritual murder (Kunzle 1973:181, plate 6-32). Mass arrests and executions are recorded at the earliest in the "Hugh of Lincoln" case in England in 1255. The stories remained, if not exactly popular, at least useful and entertaining. On the *Oprah Winfrey Show* (May 1, 1989), a woman claimed to have been a participant in ritual abuse and that her Jewish family and others killed infants in blood rituals.[6]

From the 11th century there were "Mary cults" in which the Virgin Mary became the central deity, with Jesus reduced to a naked suckling infant. Through this movement, women were said to be desexualized and a hyperemphasis placed on chastity and virginity.[7] Erotophobia reappears in Christian history and, in addition to readjustments of parental roles and emotions, there may have been some associations of erotic feelings with motherhood and nursing that complicated theological policies (cf. Maccoby 1982; Jordanova 1989:50, 170, note 13). The villainous Jew was used as a contrast to these values.

By the late 14th century the killing of children by Jews was believed to be done simply for the maliciousness of it. Some have seen this as a projection of guilt by adults conscious of the pain they themselves were inflicting on children (Glassman 1975:17; Maccoby 1982:156), in much the same way accusations of

pedophiles gobbling up "unloved" children is a commentary on guilt or uncertainty over childrearing practices and "broken families." By the late 19th century, the idea of victimage became more explicit; donors to a French antisemitic relief fund represented themselves as "victims of Jews." This idea was not originated by 20th century fascists, nor was it limited to the right. A number of 19th and 20th century socialists also urged defenses against Jewish exploitation (cf. Wilson 1982:319ff; 142ff).

In the late Middle Ages, there was a shift from an accusatory system of justice (one based largely or solely on complaints from victims) to an inquisitional system in which the state justified preemptive prosecution in the name of some slogan, such as crimes against "the peace and dignity of the state." It was this change that increased the prosecution of some sexual activities in the Christian West (Hsia 1988:85, 107, 111ff, 154). In Germany's Nuremberg laws (1933-35), marriage and sex between Jews and gentiles were criminalized. Like many other movements, these laws did not come only out of the depraved mind of a tyrant to be imposed on an unsuspecting and innocent society. They were based on changes in German popular and professional ideologies wherein mere accusation became a mandate for immediate and merciless punishment, similar to America in the 1980s and 1990s. It is crucial to recognize that in all of these periods, popular folklore was augmented and institutionalized by the culture's authorities and administrators in theology, law, medicine, and academia, to be disseminated and further validated by its institutions of information and entertainment.

Hitler definitely saw the Jew as a sexual demon: "With satanic joy in his face, the black-haired Jewish youth lurks in wait for the unsuspecting girl whom he defiles with his blood..." (1971:325). He tied Jews to prostitution and the so-called White Slave traffic in Vienna, using some of the "secret shame" imagery seen in the 1980s:

> This contamination of our blood, blindly ignored by hundreds of thousands of our people, is carried on systematically by the Jew today. Systematically these black parasites of the nation defile our unexperienced young blond girls and thereby destroy something which can no longer be replaced in this world. (1971:562)

Defiled Aryan children were damaged forever. They undergo a spiritual and physical transformation, even to the point of becoming Jews themselves (Bytwerk 1983:145). An article from a 1926 issue of *Der Stürmer* described a girl's "dim eyes [that] speak of a murdered soul" (p. 152), a near-exact expression of sentiments heard 60 years later. Another German text from 1935 (p. 145) recalls one cited previously by Jonathan Kellerman about children who have been abused or, to use the equivalent term from the 1930s and 1940s, "defiled:"

> The light in their eyes was gone. Gone too was that indescribable glow of sweetness that every German girl has... They looked dead and empty. Their behavior and bearing were dull and indifferent. Their speech was monotonous... Their souls had become Jewish.

The Nazis said Jews were behind campaigns to allow German children to stay out later at night, the idea being that the kids would get into more trouble and be

more vulnerable to Jewish molesters (p. 126). Julius Streicher and others circulated pamphlets warning of the Jewish sexual threat, and *Der Stürmer* estimated that of all those ruined by Jews, there were hundreds more concealed, or as would be said in the 1980s, "unreported." Children were taught to hate Jews and to believe that, despite their normal appearances or behavior, Jews were inherently criminal and deceitful.[8] Youth were told they were not at fault, and it was strenuously argued that children, Aryan children that is, were unquestionably innocent. Prefiguring 1980s theories of children's instinctive moral sensibilities, a contributor to 20th century fascism, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, wrote that

> very small children, especially girls, frequently have quite a marked instinct for race. It frequently happens that children who have no conception of what "Jew" means, or that there is any such thing in the world, begin to cry as soon as a genuine Jew or Jewess comes near them! (1911:I:537)

The solution advanced by experts and authorities of the day for defilement was castration or death.[9]

A famous precursor of the 1980s panic over missing children occurred in France in the late 1960s, and was well documented by Morin and his colleagues (1971). Rumors of Jewish kidnappings continued to circulate after WWII, and in May, 1969, the French magazine, *Noir et Blanc* reprinted an excerpt from Barlay's 1968 book under the title, "White slaver's tricks." The anecdote was accepted as fact and as current event, precipitating a brief hysteria. Morin noted that expected sources of rationality and critique, namely intellectuals and liberals, totally failed to contest the crisis, a situation repeated in America and Britain in the 1980s.

Early in the century in America, a famous incident involving a Jew and a raped and murdered 13 year old young woman was the Leo Frank affair. Lindemann believes that the prosecution and lynching of Frank was aided by a popular image of Jews as hypersexual, by Southern traditions that saw white women as inherently virtuous, and by a masculine self-image based on heroic honor-bound duty. Charges of sexual violation were associated with a readiness to believe in Jewish guilt, a willingness on the part of individuals and institutions to encourage and exploit the passions of the affairs for specific political purposes, and resentments against authorities for acting slowly or incompetently, or not at all, under inadequate laws. There were also beliefs in international conspiracies, stories of disappearing children, and highly promoted confessions of villains and testimonies of victims.[10]

Other religious and ethnic groups were used for similar purposes. The 19th century Chinese saw Christians as baby stealers and killers. During the Serbian "ethnic cleansing" of the 1990s, Muslims were said to capture and keep young Serbian girls in brothels and to throw Serbian babies to lions in zoos (Anonymous 1992o).

Four or five centuries before the Christian era, there were in ancient Greece demonic types now known as "The Other." The foreigner or outsider became the barbarian, a character that served a number of social, political, and psychological

functions. The barbarian was initially merely inferior, then later dangerous; they were aggressive, hostile, irrational, and inhuman. Tales of foreigners with whom one is at war often include stories of savagery done to children, becoming part of the definition of barbarism.

In the Middle Ages, maintaining a strong continuity with Greek and Roman ideas as well as drawing upon various woodland demons of pagan Europe, there arose another basic representation of a bestial threatening image, the "wild man." This grotesque image was of a man, sometimes of a woman, living in a natural state who struck terror in those who imagined themselves to be civilized. These "wild men" were socially as well as physically monstrous; he was in the wilderness because he has somehow failed in the civilizing process or had defects that rendered him unable to live in "normal" society. The wild man would not recognize authority, and because of his animal affiliations, was constantly hostile and aggressive. He kidnapped and devoured people, especially children. So too would "wild women," but in addition to stealing and eating children, they were said to be quite "lustful" and "immodest" with youngsters (Bernheimer 1952:33ff). Nor were the wild man and woman solitary threats. They were organized in "hordes" which conspired to inflict violence on ordered communities.

The wild man was used to teach children obedience, a function that usually increases the ferocity of threatening images. The threat of abduction, rape, and death was used to secure women and children more firmly to conventional domestic and political structures of medieval life, as well as to elevate male heroism. In tales and dramatizations after the 14th century women and children were often cast in plots that heightened their role as victims. Stories of ravished girls were on one level warnings against the infringements of one male against the property of another, but on another less explicit level the tales emphasized an equally important attitude: "the vice to be castigated is feminine ingratitude for man's help and generosity" (Bernheimer 1952:122f). Towards the end of the 14th century, the sexual themes of the wild man and woman became more pronounced, and their antics and position in society became more metaphorical, relating to changing ideas of love, sex, and gender. These conflicts, and the tales they generated, would continue for several centuries. As usual with these representations, the educational function was coupled with an entertainment role. There arose "wild man cults" in which the hunting and capturing of a wild man was ritually enacted in elaborate dramas. In one variation, the wild man gets tagged with a red balloon by school girls, a "capture by feminine innocence" (p. 53).

By the late 15th century, these qualities had been attached to the newly discovered "Indios" of the "New Worlds," including the Pacific and Far East. From the beginning, heightened lust in both men and women (attested to by their nakedness) and their love of violence (especially war and cannibalism) separated them from the normal and the civilized. Experts of the day profiled the savages' character to prove natives were filled with inherent sin and in desperate need of conversion. On the other hand, there were occasional reports of peaceful and intelligent cultures in the earlier parts of the 16th century, and these were also

inventoried insofar as they signaled the promise of good citizenship, useful labor, and accessible sexualities. By the early 17th century, especially after the destruction of the English colony in Virginia in 1622, a much more hostile characterization of natives appeared. Berkhofer (1978:21) quotes a poem from 1622 by Christopher Brooke in which Native Americans are referred to as "Evill," "antireligious," "errors of nature," "dregs," "garbage," as well as "vermine of an earthly slime" who have been "Father'd by Satan, and the sonnes of hell." Cotton Mather, in his *Humiliations Follow'd With Deliverance* (1690) and *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), was only one of many who delighted in detailing how Native Americans took joy in beating, torturing, and killing children (Pearce 1947). The poem by Brooke ended by urging total slaughter of the natives, "leaving not a Creature."

Much of this attitude was based on a Hobbesian conception of life as a war of all against all. This belief allowed to the self-assumed superior elements of society the "lawful title to subdue or kill" anyone classified as "irrational creatures." More specifically, Christians felt that "by right of nature, we [may] destroy, without being unjust, all that is noxious, both beasts and man" (Ashcraft 1972:151). The view of the native (and of nature) as demonic threat continued until late in the 19th century, or as long as was needed to justify political and economic expansions.[11]

Equally famous as an ethnic monster is the Black. Like the Jew, physical descriptions were exaggerated and distorted. Seen as animal-like as far back as the early 17th century, they were believed by experts to be susceptible to disease because of defective constitutions.[12] This served the cause of segregation very well in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when separation was justified by goals of sanitation.

While some rhetoric pointed toward economic threats, the most common image, going back at least to the early 1660s in explicit American forms (Jordan 1974:44, 71) has been the Black as sexual threat to women and children. The Albany, New York newspaper *Atlas and Argus* for February, 1863 warned that if Blacks were to be freed, there would be "shrieks of violated women—the wailings of mangled children—the groans of tortured and powerless men" resounding throughout the country. The *New York Daily News* published a story of how West Indian Blacks "feasted on the bodies of children," and a 1862 pamphlet by newspaper editor John Van Evrie described how rampaging Blacks in the Haitian Revolution of the 1790s had "marched with spiked infants in their spears" (Wood 1968:27f). The rape of women and girls was taken for granted. The massive genocide of children in Ruwanda in 1994 reinforced this image.

Slotkin (1973:23f) cites an interesting confessional by slave Thomas Powers, published in 1796. In it, Powers said he was "enticed" into a woman's bed when he was a boy and that experience resulted in compulsive sexual activity. He "ravished" a young girl, then returned to his master's house to peaceably play checkers with the children of the house. Slotkin notes that the image here is one of a cunning beast disguised by a familiar and friendly face, a motif with which the 19th and 20th centuries would come to be obsessed.

The essence of the sexual threat was contained in the word "miscegenation," a term devised by two newspapermen in late 1863 in a famous pamphlet that appeared to be an instruction manual on how to have sex with white women—though it was actually meant to discredit Abolitionist Republicans of the day (Wood 1968:53ff). The term covered more than intermarriage or "mixed breed" births. It referred to a variety of sociosexual relationships and roles—all illicit, clandestine, and perverse—between Blacks and whites. Journalists of the day took the pamphlet as fact and referred to miscegenation as "a real, completely organized, living monster [which] rears its horrible head in our midst and threatens to devour society itself."[13] The image brought to mind by this was of a trembling collection of vulnerable women and children, but on a less explicit level was an image, equally as scary, of mongrelized children flooding society, flowing from (unmentionably) seduced or (unspeakably) willing white women. The press frequently published stories of Blacks raping children or seducing them, although much like the 1980s, "in most cases the public never learned what really happened," said Wood (pp. 145ff). Experts of the day advanced as fact that Negroes lacked any sense of asexual romantic love, and were driven only by animal lust. The punishment for this was torture, castration, and death because the crime was said to be "outside of civilization" and not worthy of "dispassionate discussion" (p. 146). William Cooper Brann, publisher of Waco, Texas's *The Iconoclast* in the late 19th century, wrote that "if the South is ever to rid herself of the Negro rape-fiend, she must take a day off and kill every member of the accursed race that declines to leave the country..." Not only is the male Negro a threat to the white male, but "the syphilitic 'yaller' gal corrupts his sons," he said (Carver 1957:43f).

Such images continued into the 20th century. In Dixon's *The Clansmen*, Gus, a "half-child, half animal," rapes a young white virgin for the book's high point:

> Gus stepped closer, with an ugly leer, his flat nose dilated, his sinister bead-eyes wide apart gleaming ape-like, as he laughed,
> "We ain't after money!"
> The girl uttered a cry, long, tremulous, heart-rendering, piteous.
> A single tiger-spring and the black claws of the beast sank into the soft white throat and she was still.[14]

The rapist is caught and lynched, and the book ends with the text, "civilization has been saved, and the South redeemed from shame. The End."

Among the most common ethnic villains, especially during mid to late 19th century anti-immigrant campaigns were Asians, primarily Chinese. They were identified with narcotics, prostitution, and cowardly insidious violence. With the help of the growing news industries, negative images of Asians were firmly set in America by about 1850.

The basis for much of this was provided by Christian missionaries from their travels in late 18th and early 19th century China. That country was full of "gross debaucheries," declared one in 1804, and others reported "orgies of idolatry" in which "girls scarcely twelve years old were given up to the beastly passions of

men. Parents prostituted their daughters; husbands their wives; brothers their sisters...with a diabolical joy" (an 1882 account in Miller 1969:62). Further, because Chinese men were "vile and polluted," young females were in danger of being "lured" by "pictures, songs, and aphrodisiacs" into the "gates of hell" to perform "abominable acts," lamented Samuel Williams in his 1848 book, *The Middle Kingdom*. Similarly, the Reverend R. S. Maclay, in *Life Among the Chinese* (1861), reported "midnight orgies of...bacchanalian revelers" where "lust finds ready access to the precincts of the family, the forum, and the temple" (Miller 1969:63). There were reports of prostitutes as young as four and five (p. 171). Active too were the wives of missionaries who published many lurid accounts of uncleanliness, opium smoking, polygamy, and infanticide in the rapidly growing women's magazines of the mid-19th century. Chinese culture was "an open pool of filth in whose putrid waters the child may dabble his feet," declared Atwell Whitney in 1878 (Wu 1982:32). This sense of threat extended for over a century, but was especially sharp during the early 20th century when narcotics were beginning to be constructed as a personal and social threat. Handlin wrote that many believed "Orientals beguiled little girls to their laundries to commit crimes *too horrible to imagine*" (1963:304, emphasis in the original).

A journalistic exposé-tour of New York City's Chinatown in 1873 revealed the shocking presence of "young white girls" who were "stupid from the opium fumes." Responding to the reporter's inquiry, the Chinese guide replied, "with a horrible leer," that many destitute white girls came to Chinatown and "Chinamen always something to eat [*sic*], and he like young white girl. He! he!" The reporter was concerned that these youth were willing to "sell their souls for the sustenance of their bodies" to Chinese men (Anonymous 1873). The *Workingman's Advocate* in an issue from 1873 cited "debasing habits" and "loathsome diseases" of Asians employed as domestics in this country who were allowed "to wash and dress little white girls," and that beneath Chinese settlements there were catacombs where white girls were held captive for "crimes that cannot be named" (Miller 1969:198), predating by 110 years the idea that subterranean caverns were under the McMartin Preschool. An anonymous journalist (1876) advised parents to "never leave their children with [Chinese domestics], especially little girls." A plea was issued in 1879 to rescue Chinese children from use by conquering soldiers "for practices unhappily too common in the East, but which Lord Coke says 'are not so much to be named among Christians'" (Miller 1969:185). In 1889, two owners of a laundry in Milwaukee were accused of "ravaging" over twenty females, aged nine to thirteen. An indignant mob destroyed the laundry, and the *New York World* reported the testimony in exciting detail under the headline, "Two Mongolian Minotaurs—Shocking Debauchery of Innocents."[15]

D. W. Griffith's film, *Broken Blossoms*, in which a Chinese man is attracted to a twelve year old, depends on the association of Asians, narcotics, and debauchery for much of its horror and eroticism.[16] Among these "squalid alleys" (Burke 1917:6), vagabond sailor Cheng Huan sees Lucy purchased by the prizefighter, "Battling Burrows." He is struck by a "strangely provocative something about the toss of the head and the hang of the little blue skirt as it coyly

kissed her knee;" later he dreams "of a pale, lily-lovely child." Cheng Huan later sees Lucy in an opium den where she had been taken by another girl who "saw in her a possible source of revenue." He touches Lucy gently, and takes her home. She goes willingly because he was the first individual who "had deferred in manner towards her as though she, too, had a right to live." He does not have sex with the girl beyond "long devout kisses" from his "lemon lips" and "soft caresses from his yellow hands." The girl flourishes under his care, but Battling Burrows finds her, takes her back, and beats her to death; "a yellow man and a child. It was...as you might say...so...kind of...well, wasn't it? He bellowed that it was 'unnacherel'" (p. 17; ellipsis in original). Cheng Huan commits suicide over the body of Lucy but before leaving Burrows' room, he had left a snake which kills Burrows.

The same perceptions held for the Japanese, a tradition of denigration intensified for political purposes during various military campaigns in the late 19th and 20th centuries. They were characterized during World War II as especially cruel to women and children. An American propaganda film contained a scene with Japanese soldiers tossing infants in the air and spearing them on their bayonets (Dower 1986:44; 326, note 10). During America's last Asian war, the Viet Cong were characterized as child killers and rampaging sex fiends (Kern 1988:48).

III

Dangers to children have often centered around gender and sexual roles. There have been various threatening images of women throughout pagan and Jewish histories, but Christian tradition has tended much more toward the negative side, contributing to the witchhunts of the 15th through 18th centuries in Europe and America. A number of sanctions were used to reject and punish what Davis called the "grotesque cavorting female" (1975:124-151).

The characteristics of witches are well known enough, but less recognized until the recent resurgence of Satanism in the 1970s and 80s was the witch's threat to children. Sixteenth and 17th century witches were often accused of seducing children, as well as killing and using them for ritual purposes, or of cannibalism.[17] Warning children against witches has served to keep youngsters within the boundaries of culturally authorized spaces and behaviors. Hansel's and Gretel's witch and the witch lurking in the cornfield (*die kornmutter*) are ancestral figures to homicidal pedophiles lurking in shopping malls or video game arcades.

Another child-threatening female made a brief appearance at mid-20th century. At the height of psychiatric theories of development, it appeared also in a period of hypermasculinity created partially by momentum from World War II into Cold War stances, and partially by strong conservative gender ideologies. "Momism" was a special threat in the form of an over-bearing and smothering mother who, if not making her sons homosexual (a major masculine fear of the time), would at least cripple him personally and socially. She did this by a sexual seductiveness that often crossed into various degrees of physical and sexual

contact (Wylie 1942; Sebald 1976). This view of mothers, largely promoted by men, came at a time of obsessive hyperfemininity and maternalism.

The most famous image of the demonic woman is the *femme fatale.* Traced to the Babylonian Lilitu and the Judeochristian Lilith, "La Belle Dame sans merci" (Fass 1974) was a popular image of libertinism in the 18th century. The *femme fatale* reappeared in the 19th century as a seductive and deadly woman, heralding a shift from the image of woman as victim to woman as villain. This continued on through the 20th century in various guises and levels of intensities (e.g., Spillaine 1951), particularly in times of active feminist agitation or of an uncontrolled social and economic presence of women.

From the 4th century on women were seen as tempters and destroyers of men; the intensity of male religious devotion was often fueled by an obsessive and hostile focus on women's bodies.[18] Speaking of Christian hagiographic genres, Warner remarks,

> the sadomasochistic content of the paeans to male and female martyrs is startling...the particular focus on woman's torn and broken flesh reveals the psychological obsession of the religion with sexual sin, and the tortures that pile up one upon the other with pornographic repetitiveness underlies the identification of the woman with the perils of sexual conduct. (1976:71)

Much of this was part of a special late medieval Christian emphasis on sacrifice and martyrdom. It produced many long texts detailing the torture of Jesus and assorted saints which became a glorification of pain and suffering.[19]

In some of Shakespeare's 16th century sonnets, the female is demonic and perverse; his alternative seems to recommend angelic young boys as objects of trust and erotic devotion. The 19th century *femme fatale* arose in a context of relatively new ideas of "perversity" and "decadence," with threats that were felt to be as much social and cultural as personal and individual, arising from concerns over empire, order, religious heresies in the form of freethought and occultism, strains on gender roles, and sexuality (Fass 1974:170ff).

Related to this is the image of the female abortionist. Such women are seen as especially evil and dangerous, combining anxieties of sex and death with social and political absolutism and uneasiness about children (Browder 1988:70). The depiction of such women continued into the 20th century. Solinger describes the prosecution of one women in which the trial and media coverage were "a species of pornography, a cryptoporno show in which, *in the name of the law and public morality, men invoked women's naked bodies, their sex, and their vulnerability in a style that was both contemptuous and erotic*" (1994:199f, emphasis in original). The woman on trial was pathologized by psychiatrists as a failed woman and anti-child. Her associations with supporters was characterized as witch-like, the connections depicted as covens.

The *femme fatale* was usually seen as an adult female but occasionally the images were applied to female preteens, a precursor of mid-20th century evil child figures. The most specific threat came during the White Slave scares of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. One of the major figures of that time was the

procuress. Buying and selling "children" into prostitution was, as a woman's occupation, profoundly disturbing to contemporary observers. Making a nice allusion to late 19th century visions of Oriental decadence, prosecutor Clifford Roe wrote,

> Transactions which involve outrages such as cannot be surpassed in the worst annals of Turkish misrule these women procurers often will perform without the quiver of a lip, or the droop of a eyelash. Richly attired, of fascinating manner, sometimes possessing remnants of former beauty, and withal keen as razors, and sharp as steel traps, these women are the most dangerous creatures extant in the civilized world... They ...typify the "harpies" of olden days for their fingers drip with blood and they tread upon broken hearts. (1911:104, 111)

In the 1980s and 1990s, women again were seen as threats to children. One perception was that women who chose abortion were baby killers. Another was that women who were pregnant endangered and damaged their unborn children by using nicotine, alcohol, illegal drugs, or "unhealthy" food, or who even failed to take proper vitamins (cf. Tsing 1990). But it was the female child care-giver that was the most popular.

From the 17th century on, but especially in late 19th and early 20th century England (and to a lesser extent in Europe and America), it was widely believed that children's nursemaids or nannys initiated their charges into sexual practices, usually masturbation, but also intercourse, oral sex, and various sadomasochistic delights such as restraints and spanking.[20] This belief, along with a few substantiating testimonies (Gathorne-Hardy 1973:100, 158-169), became official medical fact (Chauncey 1982/83:135) and a subject of social concern, aggravated by shifting 19th century socioeconomic arrangements. About half of British domestics were under 15 in 1871, and a number were under 10; most began domestic work at age 12 or 13. There were also young male servants and there is evidence that some upper class females of the household would flirt with and sexually taunt their boy servants.[21] A more recent variation of this appeared after World War II, when women were re-domesticated and child-rearing anxieties were renewed. The Demonic Babysitter became a excellent vehicle for domestic drama and horror genres.[22] In the 1980s the role passed to the preschool worker.

The other major child-threatening image centering around sex and gender has been the homosexual. Boswell said (1980:143) the association of homosexuality with child molesting appears to be "noticeable" by about the fourth century.[23] This association in the West has remained pervasive until very recently, the assumption being that same-sex orientation, as a "perversion," contains all other stigmatized sexual interests, including an attraction to children. Jews and gays were also conflated in the 19th century when medicine and sexology began to try to account for and punish "perversions" (Gilman 1988). German National Socialists targeted homosexuals for extermination because they are "expressive of a disposition opposed to the normal national community. ... That is why [it] merits no mercy."[24]

One of the more interesting ironies of shifting politics in the early 1970s was the appearance of Jews calling for the exclusion and extermination of gays and

lesbians. A few Jewish leaders and congregations were highly visible in the homophobic pogroms led by Anita Bryant, but the extent of Jewish support remains unexplored. While some homosexuals were attempting to place a wreath at a monument to Nazi victims, they were attacked by other holocaust targets who shouted that gays "should all have been exterminated," and they saw themselves as war heroes against gays and lesbians "who were punished for deviation."[25] The 1985 New York Gay Pride parade brought out protesters from the Jewish Moral Committee (Bisticas-Cocoves 1985a), and a New York City Rabbi banned Jews from supporting mayor Mario Cuomo because of his Executive Order prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals (News note, *New York Native*, August, 1985).

Homosexuality became specifically labeled as a threat to youth in the 19th century. Along with his manipulation of the White Slavery issue, British journalist W. T. Stead encouraged the prosecution of male youth prostitution and was instrumental in passing a law that outlawed all homosexual behavior. British prosecutions renewed in 1889-90 when investigations and arrests began with the Cleveland Street affair (Hyde 1976). It was initiated by the police when they noticed a telegraph boy with more disposable income than his job allowed; he was interrogated steadily until he confessed engaging in commercial sex. The episode is noteworthy in that it revealed the primary interests of the authorities, namely, maintaining class lines and surveilling youth; the cries of youth's corruption came later.

Psychiatrist O. Spurgeon English said that because homosexuals lacked proper "impulse control," they will be "more ruthless in the seduction of younger children than the heterosexual individual."[26] Some locales intensified the search for perversion, equating homosexuality with child molesting. Florida published the findings of its Legislative Investigation Committee in 1964 (Katz 1975). The document exhibited specific cases, such as an "athletically built" Little League coach who "seduced" the members of his team into homosexual acts and also had the "services of a willing 13 year old girl for the normal sexual stimulation of the boys, and for his own gratification." The committee also believed they discovered a "ring" of boys who from early teens through early adulthood worked as prostitutes and posed for photos.

Homosexuals, thought by the Committee to be sexually insatiable, had to "recruit" youth using flattery and erotica because they were "addicted to youth." They said the child molester (assumed to be male heterosexual) rarely kills or cripples his female victim and the chance of recovery for the victim is good. The homosexual (assumed to be a child molester), however,

> prefers to reach out for the child at the time of normal sexual awakening and to conduct a psychological preliminary to the physical contact. The homosexual's goal and part of his satisfaction is to "bring over" the young person, to hook him for homosexuality.

They theorized that the abused become abusers, asserting the "person affected by the practicing homosexual is first a victim, then an accomplice, and finally himself a perpetrator of homosexual acts." Youth, "once entangled in the web of homosexuality," can themselves come out as aggressive recruiters of "extremely

young boys. It is this individual who is found to be the leader (although usually with adult advice) of homosexually oriented high school 'secret societies' whose initiation rites run the gamut of homosexual appeals."

Homosexuals "trade photos like some youngsters trade bubble gum baseball cards." Homosexuality is responsible for the spread of disease and prostitution, and there is a "predilection opening pathways to crime and conduct far beyond the veil of rationality." Children must be protected, the Report concluded, in a "war for morality." The activities of the Committee in its nine year war included the extensive use of informants and entrapments resulting in the destruction of careers and imprisonment, permanently classifying large numbers of people as "predisposed" sex criminals.

This view was partly the result of merging scapegoating traditions, sexual anxieties, and professional incompetencies, encouraged by the politics of the period known as "McCarthyism." The 1950s saw an energetic purge of homosexuals along with Communists, often seen to be the same. The FBI gave its files to reporters eager to expose and punish gays and subversives. Much of this information was obtained illegally, and much of it was incorrect and speculative. A good deal of the material had to do with non-political activity, but because homosexual behavior was illegal, journalists found the accusations rich fodder for print and broadcast. The FBI had been collecting information on homosexuals since the late 1930s, and in the 1940s and 1950s actively campaigned to have homosexuals exposed and fired, especially from teaching jobs (Anonymous 1950, Pessen 1993:150). D'Emilio notes (1983:48) that in such contexts, ostensibly liberal civil rights organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union have sometimes supported the state's suppressive policies.

Waldeck (1960) asserted that homosexuals "by the very nature of their vice...belong to a sinister, mysterious and efficient International." The Homintern, as it was referred to in the mid-20th century,[27] was composed of individuals "Welded together by the identity of their forbidden desires, of their strange, sad needs, habits...not to mention their outrageously fatuous vocabulary. The danger to children is extensive. Perhaps worse than sexual seduction, "one can't help wondering what will become of a society whose children and youngsters are constantly exposed to the nauseating ambiguousness of their mannerism, their poses, their jokes."

Russo cited several 1960s popular films or television productions in which gay men or lesbians were depicted as attracted to young people. He mentions a 1975 episode of the series *Marcus Welby, M.D.*, "The Outrage," in which a teacher has sex with a 14 year old student. A campaign initiated by the National Gay Task Force resulted in script alterations meant to "explain the difference between homosexuals and child molesters," and Russo felt gratified that, thanks to gay agitation, "the public was informed that the majority of child molesters in this country are heterosexual males who attack young girls" (1981:223).

By 1970, most (72%) of the public readily believed that homosexuals were liable to try to have sex with children (Levitt and Klassen 1974). The anxiety

persisted throughout the 1970s, a time seeing gay and lesbian demands for acceptance or liberation. Popular articles in the early part of the decade continued to mention homosexuality and the sexual corruption of youth. Boys from broken families were seduced into prostitution "rings" and held captive, threatened with beatings and death if they wanted out (Anonymous 1972, 1973). Some "rings" were formed by "respected members of [the] communities," and, most alarmingly, one man was said to have written a "Bill of Rights" for boys which included the "key" clause, "Every boy has a right to a loving relationship with at least one responsible male adult after whom he can pattern his life."[28]

By and large, these remained part of the discourse against homosexuality rather than pedophilia. Before Lloyd Martin discovered The Pedophile, he insisted in 1976 that most molesters were homosexual and that 70% of all molested children were male (Love 1982). By the late 1970s, there was still resentment against homosexual emergence, although the assertion that homosexuals recruited children was by then looked upon even by most conservatives as a "canard" (Will 1977).

But emotionally intense and politically vicious homophobic campaigns continued, the most publicized being the movement headed by Anita Bryant. The basis of her entire campaign was that homosexuals pose a threat to children. Homosexuals were to be excluded from positions that might be taken as "role models" for children (especially teaching) because they were said to be actively engaged in the sexual quest for children, needing to "convert" them to the gay "lifestyle." Homosexuals "cannot reproduce—so they must recruit. And to freshen their ranks, they must recruit the youth of America," said Bryant (1977:62).

Bryant drew upon professionals who supported her goals and proposed laws: Herbert Hendin (Director of Psychosocial Studies at the Center for Policy Research), Dr. Charles Socarides (psychiatrist), S. I. Hayakawa (academic and U.S. Senator), and Shirley Van Ferney (psychiatric staff member of New Jersey's Medical Center at Princeton) who was quoted as saying, "the gay rights movement sweeping the U.S. is a threat to the nation's children. ... If parents capitulate to the homosexual influences which surround them, society as we know it will be destroyed (Bryant 1977:114f). Dr. Samuel Silverman, Associate Professor of psychiatry at Harvard, was quoted as saying that "a homosexual teacher who flaunts his sexual aberrations publicly is as dangerous to children as one of the religious cultists" (p. 116).

Also used extensively in the campaign were the expert views of the police and popular press, such as Lloyd Martin, and a May, 1977 series in the *Chicago Tribune*. An April 12, 1966 piece in the *Miami Herald* told of two Dade County Sheriff detectives making the rounds of schools and PTAs claiming that "one of the major [homosexual] recruitment systems operates within the schools" (Bryant 1977:119). Tony Raimondo, a Youth Resource Officer said

> People generally presume that...it's a case of a couple of guys living together and not bothering anybody.
>
> That simply is not the case.

> A couple of guys might live together for a while, but eventually one of them is going to get tired of it and go out looking for new kicks. He will go looking for a boy; he will start occupying the bus station rest rooms or whatever, or will become a Boy Scout or Cub Scout leader. (p. 117).

Heroism takes a decided populist turn, tied to parental duty. Most of Bryant's beliefs are a part of "Protestant Primitivism," a tradition that has constructed a "natural law" based on divine instruction. It was quite popular in the 18th century and formed one of the elements of liberal thought, though by the 19th century the view began generating anti-pluralist totalitarian movements founded on paranoid subversion beliefs (cf. Billington 1938). Rousseau gave form to an aspect of this in *Eloise* (1810, Book I:4):

> [Unless people] prescribe bounds to Nature, monsters, giants, pigmies and chimeras of all kinds might be specifically admitted into Nature...we should distinguish between the variety in human nature and that which is essential to it.

This "essential" nature became heterosexual Anglo Christian civilization; anything else was degenerative and perverse. Bryant tried for what was thought to be a new twist that would excuse her from charges of bigotry and hate crimes: she and her crusaders said they "hated the sin but loved the sinner." One could thus damn with all the fervor of revivalists but pose as benign saviors offering a religion of love and forgiveness. The concept is another old one, popular once among the Catharists (exterminated by the Dominicans during the Albigensian Crusades), one rooted in some Manachian doctrines wherein small points of goodness were believed to be imprisoned within larger entities of evil (Young 1966:166). Bryant's crusade came at the end of the anti-cult panic of the 1970s, and came before the more broadly ranged 1980s erotophobic campaigns providing continuity for the hatred, fear, and sexual arousal that came to characterize the child sexual abuse hysteria of the 1980s.

Even as the pedophile was constructed in the 1980s as a more susceptible and acceptable target, Congressman William Dannemeyer continued to hold homosexuals responsible for the destruction of youth. He worried that the psychological establishment will come to believe that "child molesting" is only another variant of human sexuality. He felt that "the majority of the people in America have been courteous and willing to accept homosexuals in their midst" (1989:89, 135f). Trying to defend his position against blanket bigotry, he further asserted (incorrectly, as we have seen) that "No one had ever argued that just being Black or female was immoral" (p. 137), and (also incorrectly) that never in the history of the Christian church have Jews or Christians said that sex is sinful (p. 109). But he remained firm in his holy war: "We must either defeat militant homosexuality or it will defeat us. These people have made it clear: they will give us no third choice" (p. 18).

> Therein lies the dilemma for those religious people who genuinely believe in helping their homosexual brothers and sisters. On the one hand, this pathetic segment of our community [homosexuals, not religious people] is in desperate need of love and understanding. On

> the other hand, they are maddened by the very idea that they are anything but normal and happy. ... So in order to help them, we must first penetrate the rhetorical wall they have built around themselves and then convince them that they are not normal or healthy but actually in need of considerable support. (p. 90)

Soon after Dannemeyer's book appeared, another along much the same lines was published in which Eichel and Muir believed that "pedophiles may have been leaders in the gay movement" (Reisman and Eichel 1990:213). For once in their book, this appears to be close to the actual situation. Research by Friedreich Kröhnke and others has shown that many of the gay activists in 1930s Germany were "pederasts," that is, men interested in teenaged males.[29]

In the 1990s, anti-homosexual campaigns continued and some were successful. One of the most famous was an Oregon campaign led by fundamentalist Christians, as have been most such movements. There was again an association of homosexuality with child molestation, though it was not as much of a main focus as it was in the late 1970s. But the Oregon Citizens Alliance (OCA) did distribute over 2000 copies of a video entitled, "Gay Rights?" which featured 1989 Gay Pride parade footage of NAMBLA's presence, saying this proved that homosexuals are after the nation's children:

> There is recruitment going on. In fact, you can read it in the homosexual manifesto, and it is clear as day, they say, we want your young men. It says it right here. I mean, what am I supposed to say? Okay, you can have 'em?[30]

A nicely insidious television ad produced by OCA showed a social worker telling a 7 year old boy that the state cannot prevent homosexuals from adopting children, and then leads him out to face two men. The boy plaintively asks, "But where's my mommy?" (Richardson 1992b).

The 1990s saw fuller development of a tactic used in the 1978 California Briggs Initiative (Proposition 6) which sought to fire any school employee who was "advocating, soliciting, imposing, encouraging, or promoting of private or public homosexual activity directed at, or likely to come to the attention of, schoolchildren and/or other employees." This meant to eliminate moral or political opinion that was contrary to another political view, and was directed not only at homosexuals but anyone else. Part of the 1990s "Culture War" of the religious right, this was a movement seen in several states not only to eliminate people (though it also did that) but geared to regulating ideas; not noted by Duggan and Hunter (1995:128ff) is that it also tried to restrict scientific research and its dissemination.

IV

A few more child-threatening images must be mentioned because they share characteristics with child molesters. One major and constant image is that of the drug fiend. Much of the energy of anti-drug campaigns, from the late 19th century through the present, has been directed at youth, and more recently preteen children, the supposed target of gangsters, terrorists, perverts, and other demons.

By the time of the first World War, there were established in the popular and professional mind the necessary and inevitable connections among the spread of drugs, gangsterism, sex, violence, and the ruination of children. The display of threats against youth retain a highly consistent core imagery lending it to imaginative (within the bounds of the genre) graphic representation (cf. Silver 1979; Palmer and Horowitz 1982). Police Director Hubert Williams (1986) referred to drug users as "scourges," "bums," disease spreaders, bad drivers, incompetent workers, possessors of low "self-esteem," and part of the world-wide drug "plague" and conspiracy.[31] Conflations of sexualities were common wherein the use of dope destroys sexual boundaries. Referring to a case of glue sniffing by preteens, Dr. Jacob Sokol said heterosexual and homosexual sex between children resulted, as well as sex with the adults who urged the glue on the youngsters.[32]

Political clashes have also generated images of child-threatening monsters. One has been "the terrorist." In the 1980s, it became synonymous with Arabs and Latinos, mostly leftists, although the early 1990s finally saw a public recognition of right-wing terrorism after decades of ignoring such activity. Terrorists represent a threat to children because their acts are irrational and random, allowing reference to "innocent victims;" photos of injured and dead children have been very popular.[33] Some believe terrorists prefer children as victims because of the shock value. Women terrorists are especially demonic, for in order to prove themselves they are "more likely to kill children" (Rivers 1986:19). The figure was nicely cross-utilized with child abuse imagery. Goleman (1986) asserted that terrorists had been abused as children; similarly, since terrorists are child abusers, child abuse was also referred to as terrorism (Wooden 1985b:54). Such threats were popular during the decade and fiction reinforced the imagery (e.g., *Under Seige*, Bark 1986). In Hunter's novel (1989) terrorists (who turn out to be non-political gangsters) kidnap, torture, rape, and kill children of wealthy industrialists.[34]

Communists were a popular target for embodying threats to children; during the 1950s and shortly thereafter they were said to be especially desirous of recruiting youth to their cause. In the early and mid-1950s, Harvey Matusow testified (falsely) to government committees (repeated by an uncritical press) that Communists were active in the Boy Scouts, used sex to lure children, and rewrote Mother Goose texts to indoctrinate the youth of America.[35] During American and British 1950s panics over the content and influence of comic books there were accusations of Communists using them to subvert youth. Associated with communists as "fellow-travelers," liberal teachers were purged for fear of their influence on children.

A child-threatening image now almost entirely forgotten was one that had a great deal of emotional intensity when it was invented: the child-mutilating Hun of World War I. At the beginning of the war in 1914, the London *Times* ran a cartoon of a handless girl raising her bloody stumps in the air representing victims of German aggression in Europe. The picture incited military fervor and raised recruitment, but despite several refutations, the image continued to be believed as fact throughout the war and long after. Another famous image was a 1918 poster,

"Remember Belgium" by Ellsworth Young, which showed the silhouette of a Hun taking away a young female (Rawls 1988:28). Griffiths (1986:26) reproduces a poster of a Hun looming over a boy's ravaged body. Viereck (1930:216) shows an illustration, "The Road to Glory," with a young boy bayoneted in a ditch, surrounded by empty liquor bottles; a raped girl is further along the road at the end of which is a burning city. Another quite popular image was that of a gorilla in a Hun's uniform dragging off a young female.[36]

Miscellaneous images of threats to children have included the police, doctors, social workers, and youth gangs. While there is occasional resurgence of the idea that the police are threats to youngsters insofar as youth have been "saved" from families and pedophiles only to become worse off than before, one other time in which this attitude prevailed has come to light. Paris in 1749-50 saw the spread of a large number of rumors that the police were wearing disguises and abducting youngsters (mostly males) to be sent to French colonies for labor and population boosters (such had actually been the case in France from about 1660 into the early part of the 18th century). There were reports of people seeing witches putting spells on children, of women "debauching" children, and a leprous prince who was in need of children's blood for his cure; the populace was sure he and others like him were real and on the prowl (Farge and Revel 1991).

There was throughout the 1980s a small but energetic anti-circumcision movement, a force that made significant advances toward the decrease of circumcision in the United States, though the issue and movement was generally ignored by the news media. Doctors doing the procedure became villains accused of child abuse. A number of horror stories circulated, the most notable being two incidents at the same Atlanta, Georgia hospital in 1985 where physicians Leroy Moyer and H. Fred Gober were said to have botched their operations, Gober's so severely that the child had to undergo a sex-change operation because the penis was damaged beyond repair. Both settled out of court in a civil suit, both were reprimanded by the State Medical Board, but neither was arrested, tried, or imprisoned for child abuse. They were allowed to continue to perform circumcisions (Anonymous 1987d).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the specter of youth gangs arose again and became a popular subject for entertainment industries. The television movie *Broken Angels* (with Erika Eleniak) was supposed to show young teens lured by gangs and drugs; the 1988 film was released to video five years later. For one Ph.D. (Education) and head of a private youth agency, all the clichés about the pedophile served as excellent vehicles for the expression of fear, stigmatization, and potential salvation of threatened children. Gangs were said to be raping preteens as an initiation rite. "Right now in his city, gang members are looking for young innocent pre-adolescent girls," she said. Children are being seduced into joining by images of glamor and excitement but then threats of violence are used to keep them in the gang. Gangs abducted kids from movie theaters and malls. The abducted children are told that their parents don't love them anymore but the gang does. The process goes from "brain washing," to drugs, to rape by an older

individual, then rape by half a dozen or more gang members, "some of whom are known to have AIDS or other sexually transmitted diseases." Then the cycle begins to repeat: "These innocent children who are being destroyed physically and psychologically, if they do not get help, then become the recruiters to befriend other young pre-adolescents..." The author then mobilized parents to enforce curfew laws, and to demand revelation of the hidden truth of the problem. They were to watch their children for signs of gang membership and trauma (Rodriguez 1992; Kever 1992a). Another expert told "a roomful of teary-eyed women" that gangs are caused by family breakdown and the "bombardment of sexually explicit material" in society (Garcia 1992). A report on National Public Radio (February 16, 1993) spoke of a "pretty 13 year old whose innocent face belies her street experience," meaning as it often has in the past that a younger individual knows more, knows it sooner, and has done it sooner than the shocked adult thinks appropriate. The class-unconscious reporter said the girl can talk of gangs in the same manner that most teens talk about sports, again implying a world-weary and battle-scarred child, as compared to an edenic past where such things never ever happened.

Finally, a significant threat to children has been the religious leader and "cults." The 1980s saw an increase in accusations against Catholic priests and other clergy for youth-adult sex, mostly involving young males; popular estimates were that five to six percent of Catholic priests were pedophiles.[37] Though sporadically apologetic and defensive for taking a critical view, the historical survey by Jenkins (1996) offers important documentation of how the exaggerated image of the molesting clergy was promoted, especially by the news and entertainment institutions. While he correctly attaches much of the media attention to other social and political concerns of the period, the frenzy with which the predatory cleric was advertised was due in no small part to the embarrassing criticism and collapse of the "missing children" issue and the day care and Satanic abuse conspiracies. A new twist with evidence untarnished by criticism and disproof was needed to rehabilitate political theory, economic careers, and professional reputations. It was also a part of the culture's on-going search for new scandal, and the reapplication of the "hiding facade" motif that figured so prominently in past accusations and exposés. Though prefaced by his discomfort with the contaminating language of the period and recognizing the (for him, slight) possibility of mutually desired relations, Jenkins still retains the vocabulary of abuse to characterize all adult-youth sex, and spends some time trying to remove youth-priest relations from "pedophilia" to the less known "ephebophilia" (1996:78ff); like most pro or con of the time, he allows the concept of the pedophile to remain, deserving of severe punishments.

The events appeared to be part of a tidal wave of pedophilia sweeping civilized society but it was not a new concern; there has always been a strong theme in American and European anti-clerical traditions of priests conspiring to deflower maidens. Hilliard quotes an editorial from a British newspaper which

had previously printed a love letter supposedly sent by a monastic brother to a youngster in the choir:

> ...the herding together of men in one building, with the occasional letting in of young girls—some of them morbid, some of them silly and sentimental—and of boys likewise, with soft, sensitive temperaments, cannot fail to produce abominations. (1982:192)

Hilliard reviews a number of scandals at the time involving "priests who were known for their remarkable ability to work with lads and young men. The possibility of moral danger was widely recognized." Catholicism itself was on guard, and a 1922 tract cautioned priests against friendships with women and warned against "undue intimacy with boys" (Hilliard 1982:195). The most famous episode of this sort was featured at Oscar Wilde's trial in 1895. "The priest and the acolyte" was a story attributed to Wilde but appears to have been written by John Bloxam in 1894; it was about a priest in love with a 14 year old young man, told with all the wonderful embroidery of late 19th century sentimentalism (reprinted in Reade 1971:349-360).

From the mid-1960s through the 1970s a number of new religions formed in America, telling us much about the origins of religion and how humans come to be mythologized into divine figures. The religions were referred to as "cults" by older sects and viciously attacked. Vast amounts of polemics were circulated, much of it using the language of mental health such as "perversion," "aberrancy," and so on. More particularly, the anti-cult movements centered on claims that "children" were being abducted and/or seduced into bizarre lifestyles and beliefs. Numerous testimonies and accounts of "brainwashing" circulated, and emotional trauma was held out as evidence of the personal and social destructiveness of the cults. "Deprogramming" became an essential activity to save the children.[38] Most of this was debunked, though not without some effort.[39] Beginning roughly in the mid-1970s, the anti-cult frenzy helped form many of the themes and images, as well as the social and political relations that would be brought to bear against the 1980s pedophile. The entertainment media delighted in the subject, exploiting the cult issue until the market fell off in the early 1980s and images of pedophile conspiracies took their place. Cult scares reemerged later in the decade, reenergized by "ritual abuse" stories, and extended into the 1990s, using Satanic child sexual abuse to escalate their threat and "recovered memories" to validate their claims.[40]

The idea of the "invasion and capture of a person's individuality and free will by a sinister antisocial force" (Shupe 1987:211) has been basic to a long tradition of American paranoia. Just as with all other panics, a body of self-designated experts asserted their ability to differentiate cult members from non-cult members on the basis of physical and psychological signs. Directly associated with this assumption of expertise is the claim to exorcism by the authorities.[41] Some experts wanted court-ordered deprogramming of children, state intervention to rescue members, and psychiatric treatment (Delgado 1980; see also Bates 1978). Patrick said that children are sometimes recruited by "on-the-spot hypnosis," their minds destroyed when they join a cult, ending up as zombies or suicides. The cult

member becomes such a true believer that they are all potential killers. He wanted all cult leaders arrested and felt that liberals were mistakenly defending them under the First Amendment, a provision the cults were using to "overthrow the country."[42] The previous year, Conway and Spiegelman (1978) published *Snapping: America's Epidemic of Sudden Personality Change*, predicting the 1980s would see "Powerful techniques of persuasion, conversion, and mind control" (Spiegelman and Conway 1979b). There was a good market for tales of cult seduction and bondage, commonplace by the end of the 1970s.[43]

Much of the cross-over between the cult scares of the 1970s and the abuse panics of the 1980s can be found in the accounts of the Jim Jones cult. When the Jonestown group was penetrated by politicians and entertainment media, there was a mass suicide in November, 1978 which included 276 children. In his depiction of cult life, Wooden (1981:12ff) said there were reports of hearing children crying in pain from being whipped; he said Jones himself obtained sexual gratification by beating boys. Jones was also said to have raped a 15 year old boy, and had an affair with him over a period of time. Fifteen year old females were supposed to have worked as prostitutes to provide income for the cult. Another disciplinary method for children was to force them to masturbate and/or to have sex with someone they didn't like in front of the assembled cult, according to Wooden.

As part of the Satanic ritual abuse panic in the late 1980s, a Florida group known as The Finders was accused, via the usual extensive media fanfare, of producing child sex pictures and ritual abuse (Nordheimer 1987). Lack of evidence evaporated the case although little or no attention was given this development by journalists. A Christian sect known as The Family (formerly the Children of God) was also accused of sexual abuse, child prostitution, and drug use; their homes and quarters were raided and children seized in several countries. The government in Buenos Aires claimed 268 children there were "enslaved" by the "sex cult," poorly clothed and fed, and used in child erotica. The photo accompanying the newspaper articles (Nash 1993) shows cramped quarters (no worse than a summer camp) but the children appear well cared for; televised clips from supposedly pornographic videos seized there appeared little different from many ordinary parental tapings.

The cult leader as pedophile reappeared in the early 1990s when David Koresh, leader of a group of Branch Davidians, was accused of child sexual abuse. The state used that accusation to rationalize raids by the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) on the Davidian compound in Waco, Texas. The last and final raid, resulting in the death of nearly 20 children, was authorized by U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno on the basis of reports that children were being abused, despite the fact that no one (including FBI Director William Sessions) saw any evidence of any physical or sexual abuse. Officials and journalists played down government responsibility for the children's deaths and rushed to place blame on Koresh himself (Stinson 1993, Martin 1993, *CNN Headline News*, April 22, 1993). The "instant" books by journalists that came after the massacre contained assertions that Koresh had sex with a 12 and 14 year old females (while they were his wives and permissible under his religion).[44]

One of the reasons for multiplying images of threats to children is to justify social action intended, on the surface, to save children, but more deeply meant to justify and institute relations between individuals, groups, and the state that are in line with sectarian political aspirations. The combination of social change and tensions among power entrepreneurs, always especially dynamic and spectacular in the United States, help produce reform movements with amazing mixes of enlightenment and destructiveness.

4

CHILDREN AND REFORM MOVEMENTS

I

One of the earliest purity campaigns affecting youth was the Temperance movement. American arguments against spirits ran from the 1770s through the disastrous 1930s Prohibition, then reemerged as part of the 1980s "War on Drugs."

By the 1830s, the movement had shifted from advocating moderation to demanding total abstinence, an absolute denial of any worth whatsoever of alcohol—and to stigmatization of users and sellers. Alcohol became the prime causal agent and explanation for all social ills, and most experts assumed a direct link between drink and "lewd" or "immoral" behaviors and attitudes (Brown 1940). This campaign was one of the earliest to claim that children, women, and the family were the primary targets of evil, and it was in their name that vigilante groups took action and that laws were passed which significantly increased the authority of the state to enforce particularistic moral positions. Society was flooded with images of insidious drunkards and sellers of drink, weeping and dying children as victims and saviors, and evangelists as heroic crusaders.[1] Children were organized into "Temperance armies," and given religious anti-alcohol instruction in public schools. Temperance movements produced the greatest body of polemics specifically aimed at children (Macleod 1975:108) until the War On Drugs and the sex abuse hysteria of the 1980s.

Experts had touted nicotine as a cure-all until the 18th century; the first anti-smoking movement appeared in the 1830s but faded at mid century.[2] Cigarettes were often referred to as "little white slavers," and smoking seen as a dangerous addiction. Smoking was said to lead to drinking, licentiousness, leprosy, profanity, and the reading of novels, and was seen as a gateway to the use of other drugs such as opium and hashish. By the late 19th century, 14 states had outlawed the sale, manufacture, possession, and advertising of cigarettes, and 26 states outlawed sale of cigarettes to minors (defined variously as 14 to 24). There was a product named "No-To-Bac" that was supposed to help one quit as well as to Just Say No.

A campaign with a more continuous history and higher levels of intensity has been the one against drug enjoyment, ranging from the 19th century through the present. More than anti-alcohol polemics, anti-drug texts feature a self-promoted concern for "children" as victims.[3] I use the term in quotes because the objects of attention have ranged from preteens to college youth but the term "children" is always used. Elementary school students have been emphasized in a disproportionate share of anti-drug visuals and most of the anti-pedophile themes seen thus far have been present in anti-drug campaigns (Silver 1979; Starks 1982; Inciardi 1986:91-104). During the 1930s, the frenzy against marijuana was heightened by the usual collaboration between the state and entertainment industries. One of the leading figures fueling what is acknowledged as the creation of a pseudo-issue was Harry J. Anslinger, U.S. Commissioner of Narcotics.

Like other drugs, marijuana was at first associated with violence and crime, coming from lower class and non-white populations into white communities. Himmelstein reviewed articles from 1890 through 1963, found that 57% of anti-drug pieces in the popular press featured the association of marijuana with violence and that 10% attached elements of "debauchery" to the drug. Like all culturally fabricated issues, the emphasis later changed drastically to "passivity," with a near disappearance of its association with erotic activity; Himmelstein calls the shift after 1963 one from "killer weed" to "drop-out drug" (1983:63, 121ff).

In Anslinger's most famous article, "Marijuana, assassin of youth" (1937), he began by citing a case of a young girl who leapt to her death from a building while under the influence of the plant, a story that became part of anti-drug lore (Gard 1938), and a tale type that found an echo in child sexual abuse folklore.[4] Frenzied murders and "degenerate sex attacks" on children by drug-crazed fiends were often related (Gard 1938; Leach 1939). Like exposure to sex for preteens, marijuana overwhelms the consciousness of youth and they become "slaves." Young girls are driven to promiscuity and prostitution and boys to crime to support their habits (Anslinger and Ousler 1961:187; Brean 1951).

Anslinger first insisted that there was increased use among children, but later, as "juvenile delinquency" became a major concern of the 1950s, he claimed it was "late teens" (Anslinger and Tompkins 1953:166). He felt there was a progression from experimentation to addiction and then to death in gruesome (but entertaining) ways. He was sure youthful users could be spotted by certain signs such as irritability, unreasonableness, and being "hard to handle" (1951b; 1937; Brean 1951); most users were from poor and broken homes, family deteriorization being the major cause (1951a). Dealers spread a "soul-killing poison" through complex international organizations; to stop them represented a "herculean task" for over-worked agents (1951b; 1964). The courts were too lenient and harsher penalties were demanded. Preteens and teens were recruited to prostitution using drugs, often by non-white foreigners such as Chinese. Worse, children recruit others to the drug. Young teens form "marijuana dens" where they smoke the drug, engage

in unmentionable practices, or plot crimes (1951a, 1951b; Gard 1938). Anslinger especially enjoyed associating dope, teens, and inter-racial pairings as "scene[s] of unspeakable sexual depravity."[5]

Connections of drug use to child sexual abuse were made in 1980s fiction and popular fact. One of the heights of anti-drug agitation (1985-86) came immediately on the heels of the height of the child sexual abuse hysteria of 1984-85.[6] An early symbolic link was made by a 1980 *Washington Post* feature article by Janet Cooke, a story of an eight year old addicted to heroin. In a drawing, a sad big-eyed boy looks up as his mother's boy-friend ties him off, and the text reads, "He grabs Jimmy's left arm..., his massive hand tightly encircling the child's small limb. The needle slides into the boy's soft skin..." This is classic stuff, and Cooke won a Pulitzer Prize in April, 1981 for the piece. The fact that a little over a week later she confessed that the character and incident were fabricated should mean in no way that she did not deserve the award. She did exactly what journalists have always done: told a story (however corny) that resonated with the emotions and values of her market, and defined an issue from a particular ideological point of view. She was no different from other journalists spinning out tales of the time, a time like many others in American history in which reason and critical ability offered no entertainment value at all.[7]

Nancy Reagan popularized the slogan "Just Say No" at a California grade school in 1985, and a Just Say No Foundation was instituted the next year. One of the outstanding features of the 1980s campaigns was the extensive involvement of the advertising industry. Over 200 ad agencies were supposed to be aligned with the Partnership for a Drug-Free America (founded 1986), and competed to produce what they felt would be "hard hitting" messages that would destroy drug use, the "single largest informational effort ever launched through U.S. media" (Sloan 1987). Most major corporations, in addition to instituting mandatory drug testing for their employees, joined in a rush to sponsor ads, many of which were distributed through schools. A 1987 Proctor and Gamble company "Just Say No" mass mailing went to over 47 million homes demographically selected for the presence of individuals under age 18.

While aimed at different markets, each carefully researched, the anchor for the advertisements was in all cases preteens and teens. Like most sexual abuse narratives, anti-drug ads were fear-based. One marketing pundit said the anti-drug campaign of the mid to late 1980s was "an indirect rehash of the missing children campaigns," noting that the anti-drug effort "has been a boon for corporations manufacturing drug-testing kits, hospitals offering drug rehabilitation programs, and anti-drug campaigns designed to boost product sales, newspaper circulation, or TV news ratings" (Agnew 1987).

By the late 1980s, anti-drug curricula were firmly in place. Most states required some kind of "substance abuse education" in public schools, partly as a way of satisfying federal requirements for funding eligibility. As dictated by the

government, the rules were simple and explicit.[8] A "no use" position was established as absolute from the beginning. The "responsible use" view is rejected and instructors are cautioned to watch for "camouflaged" versions of this "theory" (*Drug...*, pp. 10f). Nothing must contradict the one directional flow of official facts and instructions, consequently no "open-end decisionmaking" is to be allowed. Discussions of personal experiences are not permitted, and it is "unwise to allow students to counsel others..." (p. 13). To insure obedience to the instructions, personal vulnerabilities are used to instill doctrine:

> Nothing gets the attention of junior high school students like knowing that they may look ridiculous, smell bad, may not be capable of playing sports, may become unattractive, or may not develop physically or sexually. (p. 22)

In addition, children through the third grade are to be instructed on "knowing to avoid strangers" and "knowing one's responsibility to tell appropriate adults about strangers" (p. 15).

A substantial effort of the 1980s anti-drug campaigns used children to stop drug enjoyment among adults. For most kids, the nearest and most familiar adults were their parents. In 1986, a 13 year old reported her parents for marijuana and cocaine use. The parents were arrested, and the girl was removed to a foster home, then confined to a county shelter, then released after a short while. The girl received a "frenzy" of movie offers for her story, with over a dozen companies competing with offers ranging into hundreds of thousands of dollars (Cummings 1986). In September of the same year, a 13 year old boy turned in his parents (Slansky 1989). A short time later a 5 year old girl told her teacher about her mother's drug use; the mother was arrested and the girl placed in a foster home (Anonymous 1986d). A 1988 effort by the Marvel Comics group joined with the National Association for Children of Alcoholics, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, and the Southland Corporation to urge school children to seek help if they felt their parents drank alcohol "too much" (Reed 1988). Several families in San Antonio, Texas reported to me in mid-1992 that teachers were asking students if their parents smoke or drink, or smoke "unusual" cigarettes. As a counter-measure, parents could order a Drug Screening Kit from the Institute for a Drug Free America which included a list of questions parents could ask their children and tape record the responses. Parents could mail the tape (and $25) to the Institute which would analyze the child's answers using "state-of-the-art deception instrumentation" (*Harper's*, vol. 284, #1704-May, 1992, p. 22).

In the late 1980s there was a shift from protecting all kids from drugs to seeing some children as a threat to other children. An ad taken out by the Partnership for a Drug-Free America gives several examples, one of which is a picture of a group of laughing elementary school children with the slogan, "Can you find the drug pusher in this picture?" (*New York Times*, November 9, 1995, p.

C-8). The text says "the frightening thing is, a kid is more likely to be pushed into drugs by some innocent-looking classmate."

Periodically during the late 1980s, accounts circulated of LSD being sold or given to school children in the form of tattoos or stamps of figures such as Superman, Disney characters, and clowns. A leaflet distributed in 1990 by an off-duty San Antonio, Texas policeman listed the tattoos and symptoms ("some are laced with STRYCHNINE"). It warned readers that children could absorb the drug simply by handling the tattoos and have "a 'FATAL TRIP.'" He said, "little children could be given a free 'TATOO' by other children who want to have some fun by cultivating new customers without the child's knowledge" (*sic*).[9]

Singling out the most notorious drug of the 1980s, crack cocaine, Bouza claimed "Sexual child abuse is a routine occurrence in the culture of crack, as men act out violently and women sell their daughters into prostitution in order to raise desperately needed drug funds." Drugs of any kind were seen by him to be responsible for the abuse of children (1992:47ff). He presented for the reader's enjoyment a large number of cases of "childhood drug addicts," most all of whom are in their mid to late teens (pp. 91-123).

These images are used because they are familiar and easily understood from their long historical presence in the culture, and because the use of such images had long ago become institutionalized as ways to express attitudes and acts essential to the ideological maintenance of society (Szasz 1985). Although movements for legalizing drugs, at least marijuana and psychedelics, briefly became more acknowledged in the late 1980s, popular media continued to lump all outlawed drugs together, to uncritically use the phrase "drug-related" whenever proffered by the police as explanations of crime, and continued to assist the punishment of drug users by collapsing them into a single sociopathic character type.

Eventually, as happens with much advertising, many "facts" were exposed as frauds, and the images became farce.[10] The famous image of doing drugs as eggs-in-a-frying pan produced by the Keye/Donna/Pearlstein agency became a camp reference and the poster became a collector's treasure much as did movie ads for *Reefer Madness*.

Another moral hysteria that lasted from the late 1800s into the 1920s used 19th century sexual and gender role anxieties to construct prostitution as an issue, with seduction and degeneration as its dominating theatrical themes (see Halttunen 1982; Nead 1982). This time, however, in what is now referred to as the Great White Slavery Scare, "children" began to figure directly as sexual victims.

The term "white slavery" dates from the late 1870s. By the mid-1880s, the issue was well defined, structured by genre of considerable popular appeal, generating intense passions and irrationality. One of the reasons for this was its promotion by journalists, notably W. T. Stead in England. His most famous work,

The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon, published first in his newspaper the *Pall Mall Gazette*, then in book form (1885), contained his account of a supposed traffic in children and young teen females. In fact, preteen prostitutes were extremely rare, and few were between 13-15; almost all were 16 or over (Walkowitz 1980:17ff). But his case was made especially sensational because Stead, along with Bramwell Booth of the Salvation Army as the self-created "Secret Commission," supposedly "purchased" a thirteen year old female to show how easily it could be done.

The stunt is rather famous though there is considerable doubt that the girl came from any regular traffic in females, and there is evidence that the "purchase" was contrived solely for journalistic exploitation. Stead had already been nicknamed "Barnum" by his cronies, and while he himself felt he had been chosen by God to conduct his campaign, he is generally looked upon as "slightly mad" (Pearson 1972:122, Hyman 1990). A former "procuress," vaguely described as "under the care" of the Salvation Army, was "pressed into service" for the purchase according to a purposefully devised plan (Begbie 1920:II:43). Stead was prosecuted and sentenced for the abduction and assault on the young woman (she was twice subjected to an examination for "purity," once under chloroform), but at the time he was looked upon as a hero by the public.

Another example is Clifford Roe, a prosecutor who earned fame as a savior of fallen women, protector of children, and punisher of evil men. He spent a good deal of time on the lecture circuit, telling his tales. Roe said the "hideous monster" had "corrupted and diseased our boys. It has coiled its slimy tentacles around our girls and strangled purity and innocence" (1911:371). Further, "vice makes war upon the soul, ensnares Sunday school girls, debauches choir boys, blights homes, blasts innocent wives, blinds helpless babies, keeps young men away from church and devours their wages..." (p. 318)

Girls were said to be tricked, seduced, drugged, and kidnapped, torn from happy homes, coerced into a life that would soon (five years was the agreed upon span) end in loathsome diseases and a slow and painful death (Roe 1910:13f, 38f, 55ff). Procurers could "detect the human weaknesses of their victims and wisely work upon them" (Roe 1914:19, with illustrations). All girls are potential victims—those who are "innocent, quiet and modest and those who are more wayward, flirtatious and frivolous" (1910:80). Anticipating the "missing children" campaigns of the late 1970s and 1980s, Roe bemoaned "advertisements in the paper almost constantly inquiring for daughters who have disappeared" (1910:84; 137). One of his books, *The Girl Who Disappeared* (1914), is a kind of docudrama, a rehash of previous themes embedded in a melodramatic story of a young woman seduced into sex slavery (novels of schoolgirls forced into prostitution were not uncommon, e.g., Kaufmann 1910).

Girls were kept through blackmail and force; of the white slavers, Stead (1885:5) said "the shriek of torture is the essence of their delight." Roe gave an

account of a female cocaine addict, found chained to a wall. The disgusted cop on the scene said, "I have been on the force for twenty years, but I never saw such a sight before" (1911:246). In another story, Roe tells us "the hardships that Hilda passed through in the fiendish hands of Jocker and his fellow libertines is not describable here. What this girl, fair and sweet, suffered is best to be imagined."[11]

Most of the "girls" were in their late teens and early twenties, but Roe emphasizes tragic tales of 13 year olds (1910:89), 14 year olds (pp. 85, 88), 15 year olds,[12] and 16 year olds (pp. 88, 97, 104); others are described as a "little girl" or a "young girl" without age specification. Moorehead (1911:27f) speaks of an eighteen year old woman as "a little child." Begbie (1920:II:39, 42) claimed white slavery "destroys the souls and bodies of quite young children."

Because most prostitutes were in their early 20s, historian Connelly (1980:126f) was puzzled by this "persistent tendency to characterize white slaves in juvenile terms, as ruined children or childish victims." He described a 1913 exhibit in New York City by socialist sculptress Abastensia St. Leger Eberle as "a barely pubescent child-woman," bound and being sold by an individual with a large hooked nose, thick lips, and hooded eyes (signs of Jews or East Europeans).[13] Connelly's assessment is that

> the portrayal of the white slave as a child-woman reduced the complexities of urban prostitution to the problem of victimized children, a drastic oversimplification highly effective in terms of melodramatic and sentimental appeal but of little worth as a contribution toward a rational understanding of a serious social problem. (1980:127)

He believed the panic was the result of adults avoiding their own sexualities, children as victims being easier to deal with. And, as I have indicated, certainly much easier than dealing with sexual children and youth; the anti-masturbation and anti-birth control attitudes pervasive at that time were manifestations of that. But more broadly, Connelly fails to see the politics and power relations at work behind the definition of the so-called problem and naively assumes that "rational understanding" is the goal of such struggles in society, even among experts.

White Slavery was believed to be an international network, complete with secret codes (Roe 1910:*passim*; 1911:112). Bell (1911:214) called attention to young teen Chinese females sold as prostitutes, and Zimmermann (1916) gives similar accounts.[14] Roe later had to admit that it is a "dismembered, disjointed" business. He quotes from the New York (Rockefeller) Grand Jury Report of June 29, 1910 (1911:230-236) which found no overall organization, only similar methods of procurement and associations among individuals, especially those in prostitute-pimp relationships. These, like "pedophile rings," are features best explained in terms of sociology or economics rather than by psychiatry or conspiracy theory.

Voyeurism is an essential component of all purity campaigns and was well used in the white slave scare. In the early 1900s there were a number of films and plays produced on the subject. At that time the social context was one of labor unrest, population expansion and migration, perceived threats by foreign arrivals, feminist agitation, birth control and sex education struggles, temperance and anti-drug campaigns, and anxieties over what popular culture was doing to youth and civilization. Films began to appear in the first decade of the 20th century (the best known is *Traffic in Souls*, 1913), with the peak coming almost a decade later. By this date, however, the issue was criticized as spurious and the productions described as pornography. Satire and ridicule appeared shortly thereafter.[15] From the late teens through the mid 1920s the "girl-grabbed/girl-rescued" theme built on white slave imagery, advanced by the FBI and journalism as factual and common. A few films have appeared off and on (*Is Your Daughter Safe?*, 1927; *Prime Cut*, 1972, with a very young looking Sissy Spacek) to keep the motifs alive until circumstances warranted their renewal in the service of similar causes (cf. Clarens 1980:24ff).

Many white slave texts offered detailed "tours" of vice districts and brothels. Roe liked to present "expositions of lust and shame" of urban life:

> Yes, here too are orchestras playing popular strains in cafes. Music boxes and pianos fill the air with rasping, gingling tunes. There are long avenues, streets and alleys lined on either side with saloons, booths, cribs and palaces of shame. People are going in and out banging and swinging the doors. Windows reflecting varied colors and lights are partly open. Within there is dancing and laughter. Shouts and curses are wafted along in the soft night air. Also one will find there the rows and rows of livestock. The hogs wallowing in their filth and drinking till their bellies ache. Sheep and lambs, gentle and unobtrusive are following the belle weather. Like cattle girls are herded for the slaughter, while men like stallions prance about in their drunken revelry. Yet, there is more, there is the market, aye the "Market for Souls," where human beings are sold into "Houses of Bondage." ... The shrieks and moanings of the helpless linger on the ear. Those who are being beaten cry out for help. ... Slave owners and girl traders saunter about smoking black cigars, wearing huge diamonds to bewilder and blind guileless youth. Women in blazing red gowns flit in and out of doors. Debauchery reigns supreme. The night rolls on amid the din, the uproar and the noise, till the grey dawn mellows the darkness and all again is still. (1911:186f)

For a closer look, we are taken on a tour of a "disorderly house:"

> We enter, unannounced, and view the county undertaker carrying out the emaciated form of what once was the pride of a mother's heart... Hilarious laughter in front, and we hasten there. It is the arrival of a new victim, who thinks she has found a lover "at first sight" and is

> going joyfully to the marriage altar; and the ranks reduced but a moment before are again filled and another tragedy is begun.
>
> We hear the pleadings and moans of a childish voice on an upper floor; we climb the stairs and are met at the landing by the madam with a roll of crisp bills, the receipts from the sale of a new white slave to the rich, licentious patron, who pays out large sums of money to procure innocent little girls to debauch and ruin. A look through the transom, as the door is barred, and we view a cruel, heartless, blear-eyed demon gloating over a little fourteen-year-old victim, who is on her knees begging for mercy. Our hand unconsciously seeks the hip pocket, and an itching is on the trigger finger, when a blue-coated policeman, the representative of the law, the paid defender of the oppressed and those in danger of bodily harm, reminds us that the house is protected by the city authorities, and that the police club and the jail await us on any interference. (1911:360)

The priority was given to outside threat, but the subtext, as it was to be during the 1980s, dealt with problematic children and youth. The century's concern with prostitution covered the fear of sexual youth and social decline, and hence the heavy emphasis on the ruination of youth. "Boys and young men living in the tenement houses are tempted, and become addicted to habits of immorality," said Roe (1911:209). Girls are attracted to "the glare and light of the large cities after night," he said, realizing that "in many cases the girls have a restless desire to pull aside the curtain and peep into the labyrinths of sin..."[16] Roe sought the causes leading to "lives of sexual abuse, which can mean nothing but an existence of despair, disease and literal death" (1911:438). He gives these factors, in no particular order, "which encourage social and personal impurity:"

> The promiscuous association in school and college life; the association of boys and girls and men and women in offices and factories, the liquor traffic; increase of travel; increase of club and hotel life; the spread of social diseases; the gathering of our people to the large cities; the popular amusements of today as represented in the average theatre, the cheap show, the nickelodeon, the picture machine, the public dance and the excursion, the amusement garden and parks, the street carnival and fair; using the Sabbath as a day of pleasure rather than for worship and rest; associations of the street, especially during evening hours; stimulation to love of dress through the open display of finery and fashion in women's attire; segregated and officially sanctioned and "regulated" vice areas in most cities, and road-houses in country districts; the difficulty of women once entering upon a life of shame finding employment at anything else; lack of instruction as to the sex life, and failure to fully warn as to the dangers and temptations to be encountered by the boy and girl; obscenity in literature and art; increase in the use of narcotics; failure of our common schools to prepare for life rather than for college or for a profession; the increase of the very poor and the idle rich; insufficient

> pay to girls and women; weakness of law governing marriage and divorce; the general delivery practices of our post-offices, and the commercial spirit which everywhere rules. (1911:438f)

This kind of text, with a mixture of conservative and liberal complaints, is more than the singular threat of the procurer, more than the slave trade. It is daily life itself.

Purity advocates wanted new laws because they felt old ones favored rather than punished the guilty. Rabbi Jacob Nieto prescribed Old Testament justice, not noticing the irony of the imagery:

> ...the only cure for this evil is to compel the men...to become real wanderers, that they may not find a haven of rest in any city of the United States, that they be hounded as they deserve to be, or hanged ... They are dehumanized, they have become bestial, and unfit to live in a community of human beings.[17]

Deities were commonly invoked. Bell (1911:475) offers a text by William Booth, General of the Salvation Army in which he twice, in capital letters, urges the reader, "FOR GOD'S SAKE DO SOMETHING!"[18] The heroic power of the saviors is demonstrated on the battlefield: "While the traffic in girls is being obliterated, the slave traders are scurrying here and there for shelter" (Roe 1911:373), just as 1980s pedophiles were said to be doing. Sociologically, like the 1980s, there was a proliferation of societies and committees to deal with the suppression of vice and the promotion of purity. Roe connected his work to the classic anti-White Slave campaigns of the 1880s, and tied himself to the efforts of Anthony Comstock.

The panic was not without its critics, although many waited until late in the period to make their research and criticisms public—perhaps understandably so, since one of the essential features of a cultural hysteria is the energetic, deliberate silencing and punishing of opposing views and data. Reckless (1933:36, 43f) showed many of Roe's stories and statistics to be exaggerated. More in the midst of the time, however, Billington-Greig (1913) wrote a bitter and thorough critique of the English white slavery frenzy which she called an "epidemic of terrible rumors." That she was a feminist annoyed people such as Roe considerably; she was a "cynical bystander" who disparaged the heroism of police and prosecutors (1914:112, 218).

Billington-Greig did three things. One was to point out the demeaning nature of these stories. The white slave narratives "took for granted that any man could control, govern, and dominate any woman" (1913:429). She also pointed out that it was a slander of men as a species as well. Secondly, she recognized the folkloristic nature of the hysteria by discovering the same story circulating in several locations with minor variations; when she questioned several of the tales, she found the story merely "repeated with emphasis" as if that were its own verification (p. 430). Thirdly, she attempted to verify the stories by contacting

police and newspapers. None could be substantiated and many were outrightly fabricated. Most of those who had been used as "victims" by moral crusaders turned out to be runaways, and most of those, similar to 1980s situations, had been traced and found.[19]

An especially long and vehement moral campaign was the crusade against children's masturbation.[20] Many historians felt that administrators of the social orders of the 18th and most of the 19th centuries believed permissiveness was subverting civilization, and as a result there was a pervasive and brutal denial and repression of sex (e.g., Kern 1975). Pleasures were abhorred, while the body as a source of pain, suffering, disease, and death was focused on, especially when visited upon the enviable and attractive bodies of preteens and teens. In 1977, historian Michel Foucault wrote that contrary to that view of Victorian suppression of sex,

> children's sex is spoken of constantly and in every possible context. One might argue that the purpose...was to precisely prevent children from having a sexuality. But their *effect* was to din it into parents' heads that their children's sex constituted a fundamental problem in terms of their parental educational responsibilities, and to din it into children's heads that their relationship with their own body and their own sex was to be a fundamental problem as far as *they* were concerned; and this had the consequence of sexually exciting the bodies of children while at the same time fixing the parental gaze and vigilance on the peril of infantile sexuality. The result was a sexualising of the infantile body, a sexualising of the bodily relationship between parent and child, a sexualising of the familial domain.[21]

This included not only children but women as well, and contributed to the conceptual establishment of what we see now as "Lolitaism" and child-like women. Female masturbation, especially that of girls, was especially horrific and exciting to overseers of the day:

> One moralist referred to female onanism as a subject "too horrible to contemplate," although he then proceeded to contemplate it at some length. That mixture of indignation and voyeurism was characteristic of much 19th century medical literature. (Kern 1975:100).

It was believed that women who masturbated as girls were "unfit" for marriage, a persistent line of professional and popular thought that still sees children who have sex as becoming psychologically and socially disabled adults. Presaging the "abused-become-abusers" view, pregnant and breast-feeding women were advised not to have sex (or even sexual thoughts), because they would cause "the transmission of libidinous tendencies to the child."[22] The trauma supposedly suffered by all younger participants in adult-youth sex is reminiscent of the "threat

to success" theme found in the anti-masturbation and white slave narratives; "Womanhood and manhood are at stake, our homes are in jeopardy, and the stability of the nation is impaired by the rearing of weak and debauched children," said Roe (1911:372). Experts in the 19th century recommended that females marry and begin reproductive sex at sixteen because if they waited any longer they might have to go to work or, worse, get educated, and this would lead to martial difficulties, sexual dysfunctions, and "defective development of the sexual organs."[23]

There were some speculations that masturbation was an inherited disease, but most believed awareness came to the child through external sources. The discovery could come by accident, such as friction of clothing, or physical exercise such as bicycling, though this was believed to be rare.[24] On the other hand, masturbation in boys was a sign that they were neglecting their responsibility to be physically active and powerful. Youth devoted to idleness, melancholy, or introspection became images wedded to the masturbator (Jordanova 1987:74, Hunter 1990:276f). It was also believed the discovery of masturbation by the child could come through exposure to popular culture, especially novels or other stimulants to the imagination.

Most usually it came through deliberate teaching by peers and adults such as nannys. There was no sex education for children, only insistence on abstinence, only admonitions that, as Foucault pointed out, energized imaginations of both youth and adults. Kern (1975) notes that a 1897 text, *What A Young Girl Ought To Know*, told girls that "you should never handle [the genitals] or allow anyone else." The authors stated that "The little girl who values her modesty... will never allow anyone to talk to her concerning any part of her body in such a way that is not sweet and pure." This is clearly a precursor of the 1980s "good touch - bad touch" and the "ways that make you feel uncomfortable" rhetoric. While acknowledging that "grossly unnatural acts between the old and the very young" occurred, Josephine Young, MD (Roe 1911:433), felt they were usually due to drunkenness; temperance views then dominated medical and reform circles rather than ideas of any wide-spread pedophile conspiracy. Concern over adult-youth sex were subsumed under fears of the masturbating child throughout the 19th century until the middle of the 20th century when images of homosexuals seducing children took over.

Whatever its source, masturbation created unrestrained sexual desires. There were two aspects of this that appalled, disgusted, frightened, and excited adults. One was that the sexual child became an evangelist, a proselytizer, another seducer. In 1844, Dr. Augustus Gardner intoned that "one girl thus corrupted will introduce a moral epidemic into the large [boarding school] family of pubescent, hot-bed brought-up girls" (Barker-Benfield 1976:239). Later in the century, "A Physician" continued promoting the fear. Because females can be extreme in goodness, so too are they extreme in evil. The number of young female

masturbators is "enormous," he said (1876:106), and dangerous because their existence is hidden and ignored. Joining the discourses against the education of females, the author zeros in on boarding schools "wherein [masturbation] is most widely acquired and practiced" (p. 137). Previous to this time, close friendships were encouraged between girls and women, but now the relationships were discouraged and stigmatized. The author said "the same [boarding school] bed often receives the two friends" (p. 107), and went on to warn the reader that "there is no young girl who should not be considered as already addicted to or liable to become addicted to this habit."[25] For most authorities, masturbation was "a contagious vice" and a "national epidemic" (Haller and Haller 1974).

Dr. Young also warned her readers of the sexually subversive child:

> One degenerate girl of seven years was discovered demoralizing six little boys in the kindergarten of her school. ... These children are usually clever in concealing their evil practices, which take place not in the school, but in barns, under sidewalks and in other out-of-the-way places. Groups of children in the suburbs, where parents fancy their children safe, have been found going together to some unused house or barn for evil purposes. This is by no means uncommon and occurs among all classes. (Roe 1911:433)

Secondly, the child becomes a raging sexual beast. Dr. Gardner provided his expert findings:

> [The child is driven to an] utterly uncontrollable frenzy, [an] unnatural appetite which will not be appeased, which defies bars and bolts, the rigors of a bread and water diet, the constraint of fetters and the straight jacket, the threats of punishment, and its actual severe physical castigation, [an] indulgence [which] of itself will, of necessity, destroy the throne of reason, from the overthrow of all nervous power.[26]

In the 19th century an inventory of masturbatory stigmata was built in amazing detail. Profiles by which to spot and capture the child who was sexually abusing itself were exceeded only by the list of enthusiastically performed cures. In reviewing them,[27] it is important to remember that popularly accepted views were backed by professional authorities offering scientific evidence.[28] Here are the signs of the young self-abuser:

Fatuity; stupidity
"Drivelling idiocy"
Defective memory
Shy and retiring manner
"Boldness"
"Unusual sadness;" melancholy; morose self-absorption
Suspiciousness of others
Neglect of personal habits and hygiene
Inability to look others in the eye; "avoids glances of women but steals opportunities to look at them"

Resistance to conversation
Inability to concentrate
Lessening of self-reliance
Avoidance of work
Staying in bed too long; sedentary habits, "languid manners;" indolence; apathy
Aversion to "legitimate pleasures"
Preference for solitude
Close, intense friendships, especially among girls; suspicious friendships
Hypochondriasis; being a "peevish valetudinarian"
Depression
Degenerative neurosis
Slyness
Meanness
Cowardice
Sense of profound shame and/or uselessness
Conceit
Sleeping on the stomach
Preference for soft beds
Desiring flagellation by teachers
Love of dancing
Novel reading
Preference for "licentious" works of stage, art, and text
Sliding on poles or trees
Bicycling
Libidinous dreams
Mischievous disposition
Homosexuality (male or female)
Pederasty
Nymphomania, especially in blondes
Desire for death
Psychosis
Homicidal tendencies
Uncontrollable violence

If an observer was still uncertain, there were graphic lists of the effects of masturbation; Flandrin (1979:190) reports that descriptions of decimated youth were read to school children to produce a fear of masturbation.

Pallid, bloodless complexions
Discolored teeth
Hollow, sunken "half-ghastly eyes;" "dull and spiritless eyes"
Flabby muscles
Thinness of build; hollow-chested; stooping in posture
Stupors
Fatigue
Poor respiration, panting and shortness of breath
Backaches
Stomach cramps

Coughs
Irregular heart beats; palpitations
Asthma
Dizziness; vertigo
Fainting
Watery eyes
Spasms
Loss of vision
Loss of hearing
Loss of feeling
Loss of memory
Loss of appetite
An "unnatural" appetite for certain foods[29]
Dyspepsia (indigestion)
Acne
Constipation
Hemorrhoids
Dull pain in lower extremities
Pus-filled boils
Tumors
Severe headaches
Decrease in penis size
Priapism (continual painful penile erection)
Impotence
Sterility
Premature ejaculation
Clitoral rash
Elongation of labia minora
Leucorrhea (whitish discharge from the vagina)
Uterine hemorrhaging
Falling of the womb
Hypertrophy of the breasts
Rickets
Dysuria (painful urination)
Slowed growth of "beard, courage, and energy"
Softening of the brain
Loss of brain tissue
Loss of bone marrow
Tabes dorsalis (deterioration of back muscles)
Jaundice
Blood diseases
Rheumatism
Diabetes
Catarrh (inflammation of mucous membranes, especially of nose or throat, causing flows of mucous)
Marasmus (wasting away of the body)

Consumption; phthisis
Gonorrhea
Spermatorrhoea (involuntary loss of semen; "leakage")
Paralysis
Vomiting
Epilepsy
"Mania"
Catalepsy; catatonia
Nocturnal hallucinations
Religious delusions
Senility
Cancer
Insanity
Suicide
Death

Immediate and drastic remedies were called for. Admonitions in the early to mid-19th century were religious in content, more concerned with spiritual welfare; "practitioners will be hunted down by the resentment and wrath of God," said one Christian.[30] From mid-century into the early 20th, the campaigns became more secular, backed by science and administered by civil authorities, based on an obsession with physical health. The religious and secular discourses, however, remained entwined and were in fact dependent upon each other, a tactic largely popularized by Tissot when in his first edition of *Onanism* (1784) he claimed to continue the authority of the Church. He authorized medicine to not only describe but to root out "evil," and he gave himself (and his future colleagues) permission to discuss and display what is "obscene" and, as long as one is against it, to do it in detail.

The following list is of treatments and cures applied by professionals and parents of the day. An industry of institutes and experts assumed roles as saviors of the nation by treating masturbation for which they searched and inevitably found.

Bible reading
Repentance
Pure thoughts
Extra caution during phases of the moon
Regular bowel movements
Exercise
Moderate sleep; early rising
Fresh fruits and vegetables
Specially created breakfast cereals
Marriage
Visits to a prostitute
Acquiring a mistress
Avoiding handling one's genitals

Ice baths to genitals at bedtime
Hot, then cold baths
Wrapping in wet sheets
Leeches; bloodletting
Enemas
Hair mattress and sheets
Trusses over the genitals during sleep, with a herb bag over the genitals
Straightjackets during sleep
Tying hands to bedposts or rings in the walls
Tying feet to separate the thighs
Devices to keep the sleeper on their back
Metal trusses covering genitals, including ones with alarms that signal if an erection occurs
Spiked penis sheaths
Infibulation; insertion of rings in the foreskin
Leather cords tied around the penis
Wooden, metal, rubber, or porcelain cylinders inserted in the rectum to press against the prostate
Electromagnetic treatments; thermoelectrocautry
Blistering of the thighs
Application of chemicals: red iron, tartar emetic ointments, camphor "Spanish-fly blister," acid burns
Chemical ingestion: quinine, digitalis, belladonna, bromide of potassium, cannabis, opium, morphine
Ragged cutting of the foreskin; circumcision
Electrodes in the bladder and rectum
Clitoridectomy
Ovariotomy
Vasectomy
Acupuncture of prostate and testicles
Confinement in an institution and the application of any or all of the above

The collections of Krafft-Ebing, one of the individuals most responsible for institutionalizing sexology as an agent of moral and political supervision, are always good for an inspirational story. He cited a case reported in 1882 that testified to the tenaciousness of children in the face of adult saviors. It was a

> disgusting story of two sisters affected with premature and perverse sexual desire. The elder, R, masturbated at the age of seven, practiced lewdness with boys, stole whatever she could, seduced her four-year-old sister into masturbation, and at the age of ten, was given up to the practice of the most revolting vices. Even a white-hot iron applied to the clitoris had no effect in overcoming the practice, and she masturbated with the cassock of a priest while he was exhorting her to reformation.[31]

It became important to watch children closely and continuously. While the 19th century advanced the idea of privacy as an accoutrement of individualism and

capitalism, this did not extend to children; just the opposite. Gay remarks that parents

> would open their children's letters, oversee their reading, chaperon their visitors, inspect their underwear. If parents extracted truthfulness from their children, this all too often served as a screen for the rude assertion of adult power, as an arrogant, and at time prurient, invasion of young lives. (1984:446; Airès 1962:393ff)

Most of the anti-masturbation frenzy occurred in the context of intense concern over the integrity and cohesiveness of a fragmenting white middle class family. These anxieties contributed to seeing malicious influences everywhere, in the form of artifacts, ideas, and classes of people. The images and themes seen in the 1980s were direct descendants of these 19th century fears.

II

Many movements become focused around certain individuals. One figure active in the late 19th century was responsible for institutionalizing a fundamental theme always used in polemics and campaigns against the corruption of youth. Anthony Comstock applied political principles to the definition of "obscenity," linking it to philosophies of Liberalism, Freethought (1880:416f), and, more specific for his time, the Free Love Movement. Movement literature, which Comstock called "free-lust literature," "crushes self-respect, moral purity, and holy living. Sure ruin and death are the end to the victims caught by this doctrine, which is now becoming so prevalent" (1967:158). Principles of Free Love, as would be said of pedophile arguments a hundred years later, were "fake doctrines and theories" (p. 163). From the beginning, accusations of obscenity have been both political and cultural contests.

"Tender youth" could be "debauched and cursed for life" (1880:418) if they yielded to temptation. They may be turned into homicidal maniacs by reading "Boy's Papers," and newsdealers used the pages of the sensationalist press to lure children to their stands where they were molested (pp. 436-441). Comstock had dreamt throughout his life of "moral heroism,"[32] and he believed he was chosen by his deity to protect everyone's young against the work of Satan (1967:239).

Comstock was involved in all aspects of enforcement, from legislative lobbying (passed to his liking in 1873), to entrapment and arrest. Sometimes using women's names, he often corresponded with pornophiles. His first arrest included, as would many others, two boys ages 11 and 13. He kept detailed records of his conquests, measured in terms of railway cars loaded with artifacts and a body count of people he had driven to suicide.

Though Comstock was widely ridiculed, it was for his fanaticism rather than because of his views; the basic assumption, the necessity for purity, was widely supported. Criticism and any discussion of sex outside the confines of marriage and reproduction were not only discouraged and stigmatized, but subject to police

action. Even professionals who subscribed to the basic assumptions of the day but ventured alternatives were in danger. In 1899, the author of *Right Marital Living* was arrested and convicted of "obscenity" for advocating a "Free Love" tactic, male orgasm without ejaculation (Haller and Haller 1974:117). In 1913, a Boston neurologist was threatened with arrest and prosecution for publishing professional articles on psychoanalysis and sex. During this period many challenges, in text or image, of the prevailing attitudes were met with broadened enforcement of the newly devised obscenity statues designed to combat the spread of birth control information, usually resulting in "swift, certain punishment" (Hale 1971:444ff).

Even as conservative a researcher as James Inciardi had to refer to the utterances of Harry Anslinger as "the ravings of a madman."[33] Many take delight in his preposterous images of drug users, victims, and heroes.[34] Anslinger was neither unique nor an exception. In Anslinger's company—indeed, in competition with him for public attention and funds—was J. Edgar Hoover, an individual who had considerable influence on the conception of the child molester. Hoover took the direction of Anslinger's infamous "gore files" (cf. Sloman 1983) and expanded them to a point that made Anslinger look rational by comparison. Thanks to Hoover and the personalities the FBI selects for, the institution has become known the world over for its organized criminal activities, its anti-democratic subversion, and its sociopathic erotophobia.

Hoover's texts largely follow genre patterns. One thing he especially liked to do was to picture the relentlessness of criminal activity. There were "rising waves" of crime in which "a menace of a growing army of criminals" was present in every community. He continually claimed that "depraved human beings, more savage than beasts, are permitted to rove America almost at will," that there are increasing numbers of "bestial acts" committed by "fiends," and that "degenerates run wild" throughout the country (1937; 1955; 1967a, b). One special rhetorical device Hoover used frequently we have already noticed in anti-pedophile discourses is the use of a phrase calculating the occurrence of crime on a minute-to-minute basis. A sexual assault occurs every 43 minutes, "day and night," (1947). One out of seven crimes is a sex crime (1955); later, it becomes one out of four (1967b). A sex criminal was arrested once every 6 hours in 1937, every 6.7 minutes in 1955, and by 1967(b) it was "every 4.5 minutes, day and night."

A large portion of his texts is spent detailing cases "from the files," as he liked to say. These are never referenced and given only vague markers of time and location: events happened "recently," and, at the most specific, on "the East Coast."[35] Horrific examples are given one after another, spiced with details of gore or sex. No child is safe, and the "vast army" of molesters can "strike anywhere, at any time." Children are lured or grabbed off the streets, usually by strangers or slight acquaintances. Murder is the intended or actual outcome of sex between adults and youth: "few murders approximate the violence engaged in by

sex fiends," he said. Favorite scenarios included multiple rapes—both over time and by two or more assailants, attacks on especially vulnerable children (a 12 year old girl with spinal meningitis was "ravished" [1947]), and bodily destruction (a man who raped an elderly woman and another 12 year old girl who had "her abdomen literally torn open" [1947]). Perpetrators inevitably increase their violence with each crime. A subtext to this is that the attackers had prior criminal records and engage in continual orgies of violent crime regardless of periods of capture, imprisonment, and psychiatric evaluation. Each petty offense "was a blazing signpost pointing to a future of torture, rape, mutilation, and murder," Hoover exclaimed (1937).

After this preface, Hoover then usually spent up to a third of his text citing the dire consequences of lenient laws, courts, parole policies, and parents of offenders, especially mothers pleading for their sons. He decried campaigns by "bleeding hearts," "sob-sister brigades," and the "softhearted and soft-headed," all with their "false sentimentalities."[36] Hoover cited a case of a "savage degenerate" who when arrested had to be tied to a stretcher because of his uncontrollable behavior; he was released because of a "sob-sister" appeal by his mother (1955, 1967b). Hoover pled for more attention to the sensibilities of the victims, "violate[d] children in a state of hysteria" (1947).

He demanded tougher laws and urged severe sentences, approvingly citing a case in which a judge ordered a kind of "treatment:" "the treatment was extreme...[and] is still an official secret but it worked to the benefit of society" (1947). Hoover urged sex deviates be studied by "medical men of high standing" because "the time must come when, in especially loathsome cases, the surgeon must play his part in removing the sex criminal as a distinct menace" (1937). Perhaps to the end of making sure the public felt a case was loathsome enough, he was particularly anxious that the press reveal details of the crimes, the identities of the accused, and that private and organized citizens monitor cases to insure proper severity of punishment and confinement. There should be no question, no hesitation; "every community should devote itself to the segregation of all *suspected* persons" (1937; my emphasis). He also advocated breaking the silence around sex and educating children as to the ways of identifying and avoiding dangerous strangers; a poster circulated by the FBI (fig. 4.1) reached tens of millions of school children since its introduction in 1956 (Hoover 1963, 1967a).

But while he advocated intense publicity and "a high state of public vigilance and indignation," Hoover insisted on the protection and respect of complainants. Hoover said "the annoyance of women and children should be looked upon as a far more serious affront to society" than it was considered to be at that time (1937). This, of course, was no progressive position, but a bitter and nostalgic recall of 19th century idealization of women and children as carriers of innocence, purity, and morality.

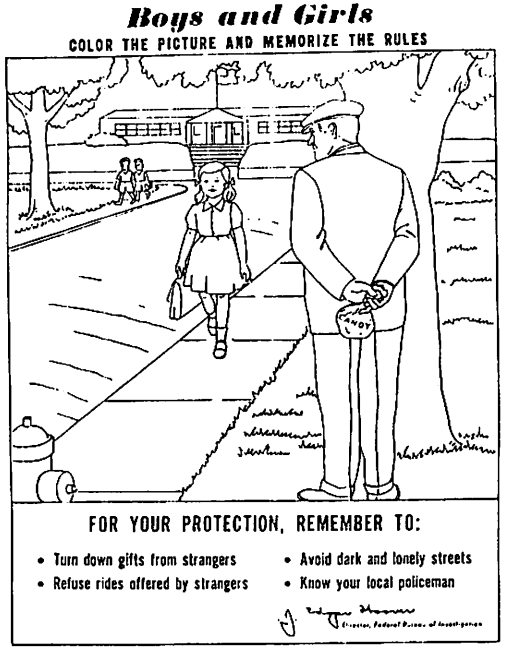

Fig. 4.1: FBI Stranger-danger poster

Much of Hoover's imagery, rhetoric, and values were happily promoted by journalists. No distinction was made between child molesters and child murderers. "Depraved humans roam the streets of America," said Rice (1967:17), and they are indistinguishable from everyone else. "The shadow of the sex criminal lies across the doorstep of every home" (Harris 1946), and every child is in danger. When arrested, only light fines or sentences are given, and often the victims, already burdened with "inerasable scars" are made to suffer more. Harris insisted police need to track "down every instance of perversion, however slight," and wanted extensive nationally-networked files kept on all those arrested on *suspicion* of sexual perversion (Hoover [1962] wanted all school employees to be fingerprinted for easier tracing and monitoring). Indefinite commitment laws, rigorous examination by psychiatric experts, denial of plea bargains, and lobotomies are recommended by Harris for dealing with suspects. To this end, the infamous "sexual psychopath" laws began to be passed, with only minor ineffectual professional protest, from 1937 on through the 1950s.

III

Building on themes used extensively in pre-Civil War reform movements, "child abuse" in the late 19th and early 20th century campaigns went from conceptions of "cruelty" or "neglect" to include the real or imagined effects of "vice," poverty, and popular culture. "Vice" was spelled out as alcohol, tobacco, drugs, bad attitudes, and, of course, sex. All of these were to be shunned, not only because of their content, but also because they were assumed to be addictive; the widely-used phrase "habits of vice" carried a double threat. But popular culture was the fundamental problem.

From the earliest American Puritan days, it was believed that there had to be maintained an uncontaminated moral environment for children. If the child was

seen as evil, the child was "susceptible;" if the child was innocent, it was "vulnerable." The existence of perfect role models was not sufficient. The whole environment had to undergo cleansing because the contamination was immediate and automatic. The 19th century produced some lovely examples of this idea, largely because of the relatively sudden and chaotic expansion, along with large numbers of immigrants, of the urban and technological landscape. As Reverend Magie put it:

> contact with evil is impossible to avoid. [children and youth] walk the streets of the city...see sights, and hear sounds, and be subjected to influences, all of which gradually and imperceptibly, but surely and permanently, are drawing the lines of deformity on their hearts.[37]

Wordsworth was an outspoken critic of new popular culture forms, particularly journalism. Speaking of the "degrading thirst after outrageous stimulation," he condemned both product and consumer:

> ...a multitude of causes unknown to former times are now acting with a combined force to blunt the discriminating powers of the mind, and unfitting it for all voluntary exertion to reduce it to a state of almost savage torpor. The most effective of these causes are the great national events which are daily taking place, and the increasing accumulation of men in cities, where the uniformity of their occupations produces a craving for extraordinary incident which the rapid communication of intelligence hourly gratifies. To this tendency of life and manners the literature and theatrical exhibitions of the country have conformed themselves. (1963:249, from his 1800 preface)

Writers and physicians of the period were against even the minutiae of youth's social life, public or private: children's parties, staying up late, "puppy love," "loose" conversation (including talking about boyfriends, love, and marriage), against the "drama of the ballroom," "silly" letter writing between boys and girls, mutual affection between girls, and dancing—not so much the dance itself, but the danger for young women of being exposed to men's "animal magnetism" (Haller and Haller 1974:100ff).

William Foster sought to break what he saw as "the conspiracy of silence" (1914:5) that was allowing the exploitation of sex in popular culture. He felt that any attempt to relax control over sexual desires would be detrimental to the individual and to the "race." He goes on with the same kind of inventory Roe cited:

> In seeking innocent recreations, young people can hardly escape contact with amusements cunningly devised to excite sex impulses and at the same time to lower respect for woman. ... Especially dangerous are the saloons, billiard rooms, dance-halls, ice-cream parlors, road-houses and amusement parks. Both male and female enemies of

> decency frequent these resorts. They are often schools of sexual immorality, with clever and persistent teachers. (1914:19f)

Two received special attention: the dance hall and movie theaters, the latter in their earliest appearances. The most common way to "ruin," whether "with or without their consent," was at the public dance hall: "Young people, mellowed by liquor, who cannot still the inflamed and overheated passion, go from the brilliantly lighted halls out into the darkness of the night" (Roe 1910:94). Louise de Koven Bowen (1911) investigated 278 dances involving 86,000 people; most of those attending were males between 16 and 18, and females between 14 and 16. She realized that young women needed social recreation but felt the dance hall was "unwholesome." Reverend Earnest Bell wrote on "The devil's Siamese twins" ("liquor and lust"), saying "it is almost fatal to a young girl's virtue to drink. Destroyers of girls almost invariably induce them to drink and dance" (Roe 1911:323).

The Rockefeller Grand Jury had this to say about early film and movie theaters.

> ...while the law provides that no child under the age of sixteen shall be allowed to attend them unaccompanied by parent or guardian, it is a fact, as shown by the numbers of arrests and convictions, that the law is frequently violated. ...in spite of the activities of the authorities in watching these places, many girls owe their ruin to frequenting them. [In a] case of a defendant indicted by this grand jury and convicted... three girls met as many young men at a Harlem moving picture show. At the end of the performance, the young men were taken by an employee of the place through a door in the rear into a connecting building...where they met the girls, and all passed the night together.
>
> The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children has furnished statistics showing that since the 13th day of December, 1906, 33 cases of rape and seduction originated in moving picture shows... (Roe 1911:234)

From its emergence as a recognizable form, the novel was also accused of subverting the sensibilities of self and civilization, and was asserted to be a special danger to young people.[38] Novels were said to have "debauched" the minds and lives of youthful readers, usually females. Against a backdrop of social and emotional reconceptualizations of the public versus the private, the novel's encouragement to introspective thought and private sensation was anathema.[39]

Nineteenth century novel reading was hooked to the fear of masturbation and novels were held responsible for its occurrence. Purity advocates condemned the romantic novel as injurious to physical and emotional (more specifically, spiritual) health. Novels could cause hysteria, diseases, and "vicious habits." Pykett said that critics of 19th century sensation novels aimed at young women felt that they featured only "unnatural," deviant and perverse acts, were directed at passive and vulnerable consumers, and were intended only to excite the body (1992:30ff;

Miller 1987). Avery (1965:18) offers this text from a novel by Miss M. Woodland, *A Tale of Warning, or, The Victims of Indolence* (1810). The heroine, Agatha, reads novels so much that she neglects her child who subsequently dies. She then realizes what she has done—but it is too late!

> Her mind and frame, rendered peculiarly weak by the fatal indulgence of indolence, sunk under the fearful conflict; she fell, senseless to the floor!! ... She was seized with a brain fever, and, after suffering excruciating agony for a few days, expired in the arms of her broken-hearted, but still affectionate, husband!!!

In actuality, it was the imaginative possibilities encouraged by reading that was the culprit. A "roving imagination" could lead to "notions" that would "pollute the imagination" and give girls "false ideas of life," a real danger to a society anxious about its national status, its social relations, and the personal integrity of its Anglo Christian citizens.[40] Masturbation was condemned in the 19th century, aside from the traditional fear of pleasure-production, largely because it was related to "invented pleasures," "fleeing mirages," and mental phantoms (Haller and Haller 1974:202), in short, the private imagination and the development of fantasy in which multiple selves and Others interacted in experimental or forbidden relations.

The condemnation of popular culture certainly did not originate in the 19th century. Such complaints go back centuries before the Christian era. Pagan critics warned against public amusements for fear of the loss of public and private dignity and honor. Tacitus complained that Roman popular culture was nothing more than "imported [Greek] licentiousness;" "...our youth, under the influence of foreign tastes, shall degenerate into votaries of gymnasia, of indolence, and of dishonourable amors." He was certain that "amid a promiscuous crowd every vilest profligate might venture in the dark the act for which he had lusted in the light" (1951:139, Book XIV, xx). Presaging 19th century critics, he surmised nearly two thousand years before that "It was this very prospect of license that attracted the majority" to such events (p. 139, Book XIV, xxi). Seneca observed that "nothing is so damaging to good character as the habit of lounging at the games" (*Spectaculo*; 1979:31, Letter VII).

Christians eagerly accepted this view and added the concepts of sin, self-loathing ("low self-esteem"), and body hatred. Tertullian, speaking of popular spectacles, believed viewers and participants to be "defiled by the defiled" (1984:255ff). Salvian felt that

> all crimes and vices [can be] found in the amphitheaters, concert halls, games, parades, athletes, rope dancers, pantomimes, and other monstrosities of which one is ashamed to speak, since it is shameful even to know of such wickedness... The very fact that they forbid description shows what great sin there is in all these.

Like later critics, Salvian felt that merely being in the presence of such abominations was polluting; "The indecencies of the spectacles alone involve actors and audience in substantially the same guilt" (1966:162f). The link is direct and absolute, a view held for twenty centuries. In his *Confessions*, Augustine related a story of Alypius who was carried off against his will by his fellows to watch the gladiatorial games. At first he simply shut his eyes but a roar from the crowd made him open them upon a scene which Augustine does not describe. We are told that "his soul was stabbed with a wound more deadly" than any inflicted on the playing field. Alypius becomes obsessed, "simply one of the crowd." He stays for the rest of the games and when he left, Augustine said, "he carried away with him a diseased mind which would leave him no peace until he came back again...leading new sheep to the slaughter" (1961:121ff).

The long history of civil and religious suppression of cultural amusements is as much a part of class conflict as of religious jealousy over objects and emotions competing for the spiritual allegiance of the clergy's customers. Stage plays have been roundly condemned and were said by the founder of Methodism, John Wesley in 1764, to "sap the foundations of all religion...giving a wrong turn to youth" (Wickham 1963:II:23). Some traditional children's amusements, such as puppet shows, songs, and dance games were called "indecent" in the 17th century. Popular amusements were generally suppressed in England during the first half of the 17th century, though there was some leniency from 1660 until the late 18th century when again they were attacked and prohibited by Protestants and Catholics. When crowds came to enjoy these amusements, the "public character" of the gathering itself came into disrepute for two reasons: people behaved badly and the environment was believed to be conducive to "sinful, heathenish, lewde [and] pernicious Corruptions" which promoted, especially for youth, all sorts of immoral behavior.[41]

Not all public amusements were condemned. It was believed that some could be engineered to provide more appropriate, "healthy," entertainments for the public. They could also be very useful when the behavior of youth was a concern. The Duke of Newcastle wrote Charles II in the 17th century that

> ther Shoulde be [entertainers] to Goe upp and downe the Counterye... The divirtismentes will amuse the peoples thaughtes, and keep them In Harmless action which will free your Majestie from faction and Rebellion. (Stallybrass and White 1986:73)

Shortly after the white slave hysteria, during one of this country's most intense political pogroms (the "Red Scare," from the mid-teens through the 1920s), anti-popular culture sentiment used many of the white slave themes as proof of the demonic power of jazz and popular music. The music and "jazz-dancing" promoted "an unwholesome excitement" resulting in a sexual "holocaust" of illegitimacies.[42] The lyrics of the songs were labeled obscene and were believed to encourage drug use, violence, and insanity. In another linkup

with the white slave panic, jazz was said to be connected (in unspecified ways) to the 65,000 girls that were reported missing in 1921 (Anonymous 1922). The music was especially pernicious because it was directly a product of "the negro influence." Listening and especially dancing to jazz was said to cause irreparable trauma to youth.

> Anyone who says that "youths of both sexes can mingle in close embrace"—with limbs intertwined and torso in contact—without suffering harm lies. Add to this position the wriggling movement and sensuous stimulation of the abominable jazz orchestra with its voodoo-born minors and its direct appeal to the sensory center, and if you believe that youth is the same after this experience as before, then God help your child. (McMahon 1921)

McMahon, editor of the *Ladies Home Journal*, advocated prohibition of jazz, and by the late 1920s a number of cities had banned its public performance.

The 1930s and 1940s saw nearly all of the same motifs in use as the entertainment media, especially the movies, became a renewed target of moral custodians. Censorship was pervasive with children again being the justification.[43] After a slight decline in the mid-1940s, post WWII conditions encouraged the resurgence of these anxieties. Women needed to be pushed back into the home, and youth was still psyched up for war but could only play in the Korean "Conflict." Adding a metallic edge to the nervousness, there could also be heard an incessant beat pulsing an increasingly insistent strumming of electric guitars.

Many memories are still fresh and accounts are widely available of the horrors said to be found in 1950s American popular culture, particularly comic books and music. Less known in the United States is the similar British campaign at the same time against comics that came close on the heels of critiques and bannings of American horror movies that were felt to be flooding England and corrupting the populace. Barker demonstrated the durability and wide acceptance of the images and tactics involved in both countries. It was the energetic devotion of youth that frightened observers the most, and, not unexpectedly, all the images of threat that had gone before were recycled.[44] "Addiction" became one of the major explanations. In the well-worn sequence, comic readers would soon search for "other means of satisfying their depraved tastes" (Barker 1984:77, quoting an anti-comics writer from 1955). Comic readers are left in a state of total devastation, tied to an incurable addiction, or at the very least, cursed with "a failure to understand and enjoy good literature" (Anonymous 1954).

In America, and to some extent in England, from the early 1940s through the early 1960s, the "juvenile delinquent" became the obsessive focus for the effects of mass culture on youth. The Delinquent was directly caused by the popular culture of the time, a belief incessantly promoted through the entertainment media of magazines, newspapers, books, and film (Gilbert 1986:4). As they were in the 1980s sex abuse hysteria, liberals and conservatives joined to blame social ills on

a few homogeneous causes connected by inevitable linear chains. Just as popular culture was believed to be omnipresent, so too became its product, delinquency. It became—what else?—an "epidemic." But it became, just as in the sex abuse view, more than just a increase of victims. Because teens and preteens began acting too adult-like too soon in such similar ways, it became a conspiracy, an underground, something outside of and against normal society. Popular culture was both its cause and its expression, complete with hidden meanings and codes for the conspirators. Citizen's groups, government committees, and journalists all began representing their fears, and once seeing them represented, became even more fearful at their own reflection. Hoover's FBI was the most alarmist, becoming especially aroused when confronted with young teen female "delinquents." Hoover directed the agency's morally indignant rhetoric and doomsday visions to the problem of youth, and, as evidenced by the youth culture of comics and music, to the *threat* of youth.

Popular song has always received quite a bit of condemnation. The major concerns in the 1980s were over encouragements to drug use or the celebration of Satan, but there were many of the standard worries over the sexual stimulation of children by popular music. In a widely acclaimed book, academic Allan Bloom spent a few pages on the insidiousness of rock music, depicting young nubile fans as mindless receptors of sexual messages. A corrupt, technologically sophisticated society produced "a pubescent child whose body throbs with orgasmic rhythms," he said (1987:75). Beginning in late 1994, a San Antonio, Texas television station began a campaign against teens "dirty dancing" at a local club, offering at each newscast peekaboo footage of the evil dance. The club was finally closed under their pressure, but the station claimed they were not regulating morality, only protecting young vulnerable girls against "predators" who might be "lurking" on the streets after the club let out.[45]

The U.S. Attorney General's Advisory Board on Missing Children blamed pedophiles for the corruption of youth (as expected), but also warned that there was a need to pay attention to mass entertainments and peer cultures insofar as they might "offer an escape from traditional family values and from a parent's tendency to protect and insulate a children from harmful influences."[46] Critics continued to say that a "crisis of values" was corrupting children (Medved 1992:3). Pop culture producers are "out of touch" with the values of "the average American family." The media are full of "sleaze and self-indulgence," and are against "conventional notions of decency" (p. 10). More importantly, images "influence real-life behavior," Medved said, and to this extent must be severely regulated and/or children's access to them must be restricted.

Nineteenth century rhetoric labeled popular culture "obscene," and the characterization continued into the present century. Linedecker said "Today's brightest young movie stars are victims of filthy kiddie porn thinly disguised as art" (1983b), and the 1995 Calvin Klein ad flap mentioned in Chapter 2 is another

example. But more than children simply being in popular culture, it was the influence and effects that worried and panicked many adults. In late 1985, the Recording Industry Association of America fell before the insistence of conservative and religious parents, many organized by Tipper Gore and the Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC). Warning labels were to be added to rock albums advising buyers, "Parental Guidance: Explicit Lyrics."[47] Almost immediately after his election, Democrat Bill Clinton decried the "banalization of sex and violence" and "hinted he might take up Tipper Gore's campaign to get the recording industry to establish a rating system."[48]

San Antonio, Texas was the first city in the country to make it a crime for music and theater promoters to allow individuals under the age of 13 to attend without their parents a performance that included mention of violence and/or "illicit" sex. The ordinance included not only rock concerts but all musicals, dance, dramas, and any other theatrical performance held at city-owned facilities. Child psychologist Robert Demski suggested age 15 be the limit for protecting the children. "This is not censorship," insisted Mayor Henry Cisneros (Phillips 1985). One local columnist asked if there was a right "of rock singers to yell four-letter words and make explicitly sexual overtures to 12 year olds. ... Should a 10 year old be exposed to sadomasochism ... the adult world has some obligation to prevent emotional and psychological abuse of children—whether in print, film, or rock 'n' roll" (Stinson 1985). "No civilized adult wants to see kids 13 and younger exposed to the kind of raunch, filth and runaway iconoclasm spewing out of the mouths of some of today's heavy metal rock stars. ... the mayor and council enjoy solid and sweeping public support...for their brave new crusade in behalf of the shell-like ears and tender, impressionable psyches of little boys and girls," wrote another columnist (Thompson 1985). The next concert of the season was one by the group Kiss, especially popular among young teens. Two city officials attended, and a local group, Community Families in Action, sent a number of monitors to take down any lyrics that were "lurid" to turn them over to the city for action. The group was concerned about drug use but more about "offensive words" and "suggestive antics promoting kids to commit sexual assaults" (R. Smith 1985). Critics of the ordinance were subjected to the sort of vicious name-calling that was the norm for the 1980s (Stinson 1985, 1986).

A tie-in between music as a threat to children and sexualizing fashions mentioned in Chapter 2 was made in an editorial cartoon from the *Atlanta Constitution* by Mike Luckovick (reprinted in the *New York Times*, October 11, 1992, p. IV-4) showing singer and actress Madonna opening her trenchcoat before a playground of kids. Standing next to her in the cartoon is a male flasher, also exposing himself to the kids, who says to her, "Beat it! This is my playground!"

Sexually explicit material became the sign and symbol for all that was wrong with society. Morton Hill, S.J., one of the founders of Morality in Media, wrote in

an August 2, 1984 appeal letter, "Tears welled up within me when I read this letter from a grieving mother:"

> My 14-year-old son has been badly influenced by pornography because of peer pressure in our small town. Our parental input seems to be failing. He is now in a psychiatric unit where they will try to help him sort things out. I deeply believe in your cause.

Hill said "letters like this come to my desk every week."

This was a popular and influential group for religious conservatives in the 1980s, and they used the imagery extensively, particularly in fund raising appeals. In a May 7, 1990 appeal letter President Joseph J. Reily, Jr. asked "...how long must innocent women and children endure the horrors and tragedies inflicted by pornography addicts every single day?" He added,

> The evil temptations of pornography are everywhere—on cable television, in video stores, at your local convenience store, at "adult" cinemas, even through the sale of music which glorifies crude, sub-human sex and sexual violence. The supply of slime and smut is mammoth. It's no wonder then that 70% of pornography falls into the hands of children.

A 1989 Christmas fund appeal focused on the then popular topic of child sex offenders.[49] Against images of the childish delights of the holiday season is posed the encroaching pornographer destroying the souls of children. The result is "children whose lives have been so blighted by pornography that they have lost all sense of innocence and wonder. When they have lost all hope, many of them act out their frustrations by sexually molesting other children." As hoped for, a series of examples is given. An eight year old Dallas boy said he started molesting other children after he watched some pornographic movies. A 12 year old Miami fifth grader said he got ideas about homosexual activities "from cable television."[50] The brightness and glow of Christmas is contrasted with the "dingy rooms throughout this nation, [where] young children and teens are forced into perverted sexual activities before a pornographer's camera. The light of their precious innocence dimming into darkness—perhaps forever" (November 23, 1988).

Finally, it was not only the forms and contents of popular culture that were offensive and frightening, it was the way they were marketed. Criticism against advertising has been sporadic, but the themes are consistent. Such complaints began making wide-spread appearances in the 19th century, and criticism of capitalism targeting children rose significantly after World War II. Goulart saw children "under attack," "exploited," and subject to "assault;" their growing up process was being blocked and "sidetracked." More seriously, kids were being "seduced." Advertisers wanted to cultivate in children the characteristics of "selfishness, impulsiveness, delight in...simple-minded uncontrolled aggressiveness, and prejudice." The World War was the basic cause of this

"abusing and exploiting of children" because it changed family patterns, produced a rebellious youth culture, and gave youth a new affluence (1969:3, 9, 13). Goulart targeted all popular media, including toys and breakfast cereals, warning of psychological and physical harm. Along the same lines, Leo (1995) directed complaints over the 1995 Calvin Klein ads to advertisers and corporate insensitivities. Advertisers reach their markets by promoting "self-obsession, narcissism, and contempt for all rules." Leo felt this dissolves the bonds of mutual respect and cooperation, making for a chaotic, hard-hearted society. Seeming to take a cue from Goulart, in May, 1997 the Federal Trade Commission filed charges against R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company that their cartoon character "Joe Camel" represented an illegal attempt to "entice" children into smoking; the figure, arriving on the American scene in 1987, was withdrawn in July, 1997.

There was a direct tie of advertising to pedophilia in Russo's novel, *Day Care*, written at the height of the panic. One character complains about others in his family pushing to get modeling and acting jobs for his 4 year old child:

> you and I have seen how unscrupulously kids can be used in the marketplace. I don't want my daughter burned out by age nine, or pawed and pampered by the pedophiles who think a baby's ass is just the thing to sell their designer jeans. (1985:55)

The late 1980s and early 1990s saw a renewed effort to sell to children, as marketers expanded well beyond the usual toys, clothes, food, and electronic gear. Some observers enjoyed the inventory (Moore 1990), while others issued the standard "Parent's Guide."[51]

"You gotta get to 'em young," was the "marketing mantra of the '90s." There is plenty of documentation that "a vast array of goods is emerging across a broad spectrum of quality and tastefulness" aimed at child consumers (Moore 1990). But to accomplish the merchandising, children are being treated in ways that could legitimately be expressed in the language that described the supposed intentions and consequences of pedophile relations in the previous decade.

Marketing to children had reached the level of an academic specialty, with courses and texts offering instructions on "how kids can be successfully influenced by marketing strategies." That was a blurb for the latest book by Professor James McNeal (1992; see 1991), one of the more widely published engineers of techniques for finding suitable children, keeping track of them, for manipulating imagery so as to obtain money from them, and to keep them tied to products through "brand loyalty." List (1992) details how to reach and influence children, using such words as "efficiency," "targets" (a favorite term in anti-pedophile narratives), and so on. List notes an interesting shift taking place in the early 1990s away from the previous emphasis on visual media for children to the cultivation of print media loyalty. The *Chicago Tribune*, crusader against pedophile conspiracies, is mentioned as one of the many newspapers that have developed special sections for children that "try to develop the daily habit" of

readership: "as long as children remain a choice market segment, media options for them should grow more plentiful, more sophisticated, and more focused," List said (1992:47).

Some marketing firms offered special data bases of children selected and targeted by "geodemographics." The back cover advertisement by Polk Direct in *Advertising Age* (63[30-July 27], p. 44, 1992) shows a picture of a young boy accompanied by a number of artifacts and clothes, and lists some of the "geodemographics" of interest to marketers:

> Has two older sisters, VCR owners, plays video games, has home computer, family owns a motorcycle, camps in a recreational vehicle, TV sports viewers, family owns a boat, mom & dad both work, mail responsive household, mother's name is Kathleen, Father's name is Matthew, moved from Chicago to Phoenix last year, lives in an upwardly mobile household, mom & dad own their own home.

Recall that obsessive record keeping was a favorite accusation about pedophiles and supposedly set them apart from what was referred to as "the normal population."

Advertising Age had a special issue early in 1992 on "Marketing to kids" with a number of articles praising successful strategies to gain access to kids: "'Tween' time at NBC: network starts early push on revised kids slate;"[52] "Focus groups key to reaching kids;"[53] "'Addicted to research, Nick [Nickelodeon Network] shows strong kids' lure;"[54] "As kids speak, magazines read 'tween the lines;"[55] "10 tips from the top agency: exec explains how Griffin Bacal scores with kids."[56]

The ads themselves in the magazine also featured claims from media and agencies boasting of their ability to attract and deliver children (by specification) to interested marketers: Modern agency,[57] *Scholastic* magazine,[58] MSW-Child Research Services ("The most extensive normative data bank in the industry"), Turner Toons ("If you're looking for kids, you'd be 'Daffy' going anywhere else"), *The Marketing To Kids* newsletter, "Young Consumer Seminars" given by Dr. Langbourne Rust and Carole Hyatt, ("experts in child psychology"), NBC ("The best way to find teens and tweens since the invention of the mall"), Censydiam [Center for Systematic Diagnosis in Marketing] ("Marketing to kids in Europe, in depth research on primary mechanisms, use of fantasy techniques"), and more.

A predictable reaction produced a few defensive strategies to avoid seduction and exploitation, even physical harm, done to children (and their parents) by such merchandising (Sussman 1990), but the issue has never achieved widespread and sustained indignation, largely due to the fact the popular media, if not owned outright by broader commodity-based corporations, depend on advertising revenue for their economic and spiritual health.

5

ROOTS OF THE SEX FIEND

I

The modern ancestors of the 1980s molester have antecedents themselves, sexual figures that have maintained representational consistency over several thousand years. Among the earliest are found in texts from the eighth century before the Christian era, the Grecian satyr. Satyrs are sons of the god Silenus who is an ugly drunken lecher. They are harmless—cowardly and clutzy, generally ridiculous and mischievous, though charmingly so. Lascivious, they are insatiable and without taste. They spend their time drinking, playing music, dancing, and chasing after nymphs, childlike young teen females who shared their pastoral utopia. Originally satyrs were represented as older men but as time went on the figures became younger and were seen cavorting with naked boys (Seyffert 1895:560, Fig. 3; Lissarrague 1990:81, Fig. 2.29). These figures were the centers of a genre of Greek drama, satyr plays, from about 500 BCE, arising from Dionysian rituals. The actors wore grotesque masks, and were naked except for a huge erect artificial phallus. By Roman times, there had appeared youthful female satyrs as well, sharing the same general characteristics as the males but they do not appear to have been depicted as much.

The satyr was one of several figures used by Christians to construct the Devil. Celebrated pleasures became demonic: they were redefined as violent and violating, threatening personal lives and social institutions. A wider gulf was created to separate humans from other animal life, hence the exaggeration of the goat-like qualities of the satyr into the primary marks of the Devil. The satyr became linked with apes and monkeys, and to the medieval Wild Man and Wild Woman. By the Middle Ages, satyrs were associated with witches and Jews. Demonic elements of the satyr continued until the early 17th century when a mellowing is seen, but the need for the demonic maintained itself into the 19th century. By late in the century the authorities had given the creatures' name to a new official psychiatric disease, "satyriasis," one used at least through the mid part of the 20th century.

There were in ancient days a number of rustic goat-gods populating natural and supernatural landscapes. One was Pan, a satyr-like deity; dangerous to humans, he could induce "blind unreasoning terror" in masses of people: "panics." Pan was also a highly sexually active figure, as much if not more insatiable than satyrs. Any mammal would do, though there seems to be an incestuous preference

for goats. Pan also started out as an older male but became younger over time and was shown having fun with young boys.[1] Pan also became lower case and plural, and female pans appeared in later Greek history, depicted as playful, flirting young teens. The Roman deity Faunus was in the line of Pan, and his young male and female followers, fauns, also continued the panic tradition by being able to cause nightmares. These figures served as a basis for the development of the incubi and succubi as Christianity continued to take over and redefine its pagan roots and deities into evil figures.

An interesting figure appears in Greek drama from the 4th century BCE onwards that has contributed to the current conception of the pedophile. The *senex amatore* was a lecherous older lover, what is now called "the dirty old man." The figure was a comic one, an object of ridicule, a buffoon under a transparent veneer of respectability; these qualities were more fully developed in Roman theater in the two centuries before the Christian era. There was then only a sporadic presence of the character until the early part of the 16th century when the figure became one of the thematic mainstays of Italian Commedia dell'arte. By the 17th century, especially in France, the *senex amatore* had become a more disgusting creature: lascivious, greedy, and beginning to embody what would appear later as the idea of depravity. Previous constructions of the *senex*, both visually and textually, were not treated harshly, but by the 1600s severe stigma and punishment was brought against the character. The role "usurps nature's and society's laws even as they should be gracefully retiring from the human scene. This unregenerate use of their authority and wealth to serve an unchecked passion, placed them beyond hope and redemption" (Craven 1988:1175).

In the 18th century the *senex* still held comedic elements but the burlesque was softened and broadened to include a wider variety of vices and faults. There continued, however, an intensification of the idea of "the tyranny of rich old age." By the late 18th century, the *senex* was still dangerous and authoritarian, but sexual predation had been absorbed into and overshadowed by the next major sexual beast, the Libertine.

II

Sexual desire in the 17th and 18th centuries, and even in the early 19th century, was recognized by some as a healthy, fully human interest, and was encouraged by a few authorities; the clitoris was even recognized for its importance (Haller and Haller 1974:92ff). But others characterized these views as "permissive," and a sexual villain was needed to personalize the violation of decorum and to criminalize desire. Libertinism, as a linguistic term, usually referred to some sort of disapproved sexual attitude or activity, but the use was varied. "Libertines" could refer to political radicals advocating Christianity's early communism, or to those who called for lessening of restrictions on divorce, or to devotees of sensuality. Users of the expression from the 16th century on were less concerned with empirical description than meeting challenges to specific meanings and roles by stigmatization and authorizing punishments of a scapegoat.

Young (1966:222ff) describes libertinism as consisting of two main streams, each with subdivisions, some articulated into explicit philosophies, others not. The first line is one with strong religious allegiances. From the days of early Christianity roughly through the 17th century, there appear what can only be described as Christian sex cults, such as the 2nd century followers of Carpocrates and what Young calls other "Licentious Gnostics," the 16th century "Blood Friends," parts of Baroque Catholicism with its images of "redemptive flesh" (Hsia 1988:129, 218), and 17th century Ranters and some Satanists. These groups generally claimed that sex revealed a higher and truer view of God and salvation. There were two views of this, both based in versions of Middle Eastern dualism. One, the more negative, saw sexual desire as a materialistic and demonic force that could be subsumed to human and divine will by personal and communal indulgence. The other, less common among Christians, saw sexualities as essentially beneficent and believed ecstasy was a path to the godhead, similar in some respects to parts of Tantric Buddhism. Though most of the sects were patriarchal and misogynist, many women were attracted to these variants of christianism because they could exercise a broader social existence (cf. Goehring 1988).

Pauline critics believed that these sects, especially those of the first variety, practiced tabooed relations. Homosexuality, incest, and sex with minors were said to be especially promoted in Christian sex religions. A 2nd century observer is credited with this description:

> On a special day they gather in a feast with all their children, sisters, mothers, all sexes and ages. ...flushed by the banquet after such feasting and drinking, they begin to burn with incestuous passions. They provoke a dog tied to the lampstand to leap and bound towards a scrap of food which they have tossed outside the reach of his chain. By this means the light is overturned and extinguished, and with it common knowledge of their actions; in the shameless dark and with unspeakable lust they copulate in random unions, all equally being guilty of incest, some by deed, but everyone by complicity.[2]

From the 13th through the 15th centuries there existed in Europe movements loosely called the Free Spirit, a heresy vigorously persecuted but widely popular and resistant to Church authority. The movement was fragmented and generally unorganized and so the beliefs and practices varied. As usual, much of what is known of the sects come from enraged critics, one of the most vocal and influential being John Calvin. According to him, the Free Spirits interpreted scripture only for their own ends, elevated the subjective focus of religion to condone behavior that was self-indulgent, disruptive, and "child-like," and practiced a form of communism in which all belongs to all. Further, the Free Spirits lived by a philosophy that saw "every inclination in man...a calling of God." This sanctioned sexual behaviors Calvin called "villainous debauchery."[3]

Though most believers made no effort at concealment and often loudly preached their philosophies, assumptions of heresy demand images of secrecy and deceits of logic. Authorities warned of conspiracy, simultaneously reaffirming their own powers of perception:

> It is difficult to recognize such men unless one is divinely enlightened and possesses the power to discern spirits and divine truth. They are extremely subtle and know how to disguise beneath appearances or excuses those of their beliefs which are in contradiction to God.[4]

Another variety of religious libertinism was one that rejected Christianity on the one hand but accepted its concepts of hell and damnation as real and inevitable. This variety received more notoriety and vilification, mainly for its core character, the late Renaissance and Restoration Rake. The Rake was a sympathetic and often comic figure, though lacking the foolishness of the older and devolving *senex amatore*. Frivolous and self-indulgent, the Rake had qualities of manic intensity, including heightened sensuality and promiscuousness, challenges to the then still popular celibate and pseudomonogamous ideals of courtly love. The Rake is important too for its associations with behaviors and atmospheres that were said to be conducive to sexual license: "squalor, drunkenness, shame, and loud laughter" (Young 1966:231). Intoxication and loud laughter date from Classical times, but the elements of shame and squalor are modern, more exactly urban, additions, and they have remained attached to the image of the sexual fiend to the present. While some of the Rake's elements carried over to the next century's Libertine, the essence of the Rake fed more into the development of the images of the Dandy and the Decadent of the late 19th century.

The second main variety of libertinism that Young outlines is the irreligious or atheistic type, and it is the type most attributed to the 18th century. Sex for many here was a way of physically and spiritually communicating affection and human-centered values between individuals and in social groups. Sex was then, and is now for those who maintain these traditional values, a way of mutually enjoying natural human pleasure. This view is without guilt, humiliation, and "squalor," and as Young points out, is devoid of "romantic swooning and yearning" (1966:241), forms that desire has usually taken in Western society.

Another branch of this form of libertinism, however, has embodied cruelty and exploitation, though much of the simplistic criticism of libertinism attributes these elements to all forms. In this version, the Libertine, male or female, was totally committed to the selfish indulgence of the senses. Relationships were transient, superficial, and ego-centered. Sexual objects may be anyone or anything the Libertine desires, regardless of the "object's" desires. An important emphasis was the Libertine as a cynical and predatory tempter, seducer, and exploiter of the young and innocent; popular targets were those youth who have just had the "first stirrings of desire" (Hilliard 1979). The French novel, *Les liaisons dangereuses*, by Choderlos de Laclos (1782), which explored the Libertine's obsession with conquest, domination, and manipulation continues to be read and made into film, indicating a popularity of meaning for over two hundred years in Western culture.[5] The novel has been seen as a glorification and promotion of libertinism, but the work is in fact criticism, and as a re-imaging of libertinism from a bourgeois moral standpoint was used as a justification for combating and eliminating libertinism in general. Eighteenth century associations of "irresponsible wealth and functionless

power" with "aimless and irresponsible elegance" (Young 1966:245ff, 250, 236) fed into 19th century images of dissoluteness and debauchery.

There are several roots to the sexual libertine image, with direct connections going back to the fun-loving fourteenth century folks of *The Decameron* and the *Canterbury Tales*. Major markers of continuity came in the 16th century with the appearance of the English Ranters and their assumption of relationships with the older Free Spirit movement, and Francois Rabelais' *Gargantua* (1534) which provided the slogan used by many an aspiring Libertine, "Do what you will."[6] The 17th century provided more elements, scenes in which harmonious pastoral landscapes and the sentimentalities of previous times become ravaged by a destroying sexual beast. Part of the country-city conflict developing at that time used the image of the Rake and Libertine to signify a growing moral separation between the two environments (Novak 1977). The Lothario appears slightly later, coming from a character so named in Nicholas Rowe's play, *The Fair Penitent* (1703). Spain offered the figure of Don Juan (France continued development of the image), and Italy contributed the more good-humored Casanova via the autobiography of Giacomo Casanova (1798). Don Juan as a character appeared on the American stage in the 1790s. From then on, the Libertine appears widely in plays, novels, film, autobiographies, and social criticism through the 20th century with no sign of becoming obsolete.

In the late 18th century, pessimistic and morbid conceptions of self and society were widespread. The Libertine, an artifact of these views, was presented either as one of several causes or the main cause of what was felt to be social disintegration. Optimism (of sorts) found some expression in the late century's revolutionary movements, but a bitter entrenchment of many others throughout a broad political spectrum found expression in sharply drawn images of sexual threat. Intensive attention by philosophers and the police began to be paid to the contents of the Libertine's internal character and relationships, and their meaning for society.

The Libertine was, obviously, for "freedom." That meant different things to different people, and critics used the figure to embody, act out, and receive the punishment for broadening anxieties that were attached to human sexualities. This so-called liberty of sexual behavior was threatening to society through an abandonment of interpersonal attachment, an ignoring, even a denial of social conventions over a variety of sexual and social relationships. Personally, the Libertine was superficial, lacking a capacity to care for or respect other individuals; they were vain and narcissistic. What was most scary about Libertines, especially since there seemed to be more and more of them, was their arbitrariness. The Libertine was random in his or her relations and always in movement with no clear anchor, attachment, or allegiance: the very definitions of sexual promiscuity and criminal violence.

The inability to "love" was felt to be inherent. The driving energy of libertinism was out of control, unrestrained by social consciousness. Of particular interest was the anxiousness surrounding the expansion and unbounding of the imagination. Before the unspeakable there was the unimaginable, but it was

during this period that forms found in dreams and nightmares became more tangible and visible in waking life. Though the period had little or no concept of "treatment" or "cure," it had strong ideas on "salvation" and was very concerned to correct heresy and blasphemy. Both individualism and ideas of romantic love were growing and spreading among the middle and upper classes of the 17th and 18th century, the two ideologies sometimes compatible, sometimes at odds, making for considerable confusion.

During the 18th century, there may have been increases in rates of sexual activity, along with inseparable changes in attitudes and perceptions of sexualities. Recorded rates of illegitimacy began a steady climb from the early 1700s until the late 19th century, reinforcing perceptions of a collapsing sexual morality (Laslett 1980). As the boundaries defining acceptable behaviors changed (especially regarding gender), the behaviors and ideas attributed to Libertines (which had always been there and at the relatively same levels of incidence and frequency), appeared larger and more threatening than they were. When the word "desire" was used in the 17th and 18th centuries, its initial meanings were of overt and extravagant displays of sexual passion that violated cannons of taste and morality, urges more "abnormal" than we think of today (Hilliard 1979). Qualities of evil and death became more attached to sexual expressions throughout the 18th century, manifested in explicit and grotesque texts of both fiction and non-fiction. Sex was seen as a cover for greed and power, obtained through fraud and force. The developments in the 19th century of romantic love helped disown sexualities and attached them to elaborating conceptions of violence and destruction. The term "gratify," often applied to 1980s pedophiles, was connected to sex in the early 18th century to characterize it as a self-interested, forceful consuming lust, empty of all empathetic content (Richetti 1969:205).

Social critics began to think up ways that sexual interests could be brought under the governance of the social order, or if not, how they could be eliminated. Compromises were suggested; one could be a Libertine, but a polite one and a responsible member of society, the kind of vision that distinguished some types of English libertinism from European models (cf. Brissenden 1974:86ff). The respectable Libertine looked down upon the mindless sensualist and assisted in the prosecution of overt, flamboyant debauchees. But some Libertines began formulating philosophies and theories by which they could deliberately set themselves apart from if not in opposition to other parts of society.

Libertines were as closely identified with atheism as they were with antisocial sex. While a number of Satanic and pseudo-Satanic groups became popular in the late 18th century, most freethinkers were unattracted to the idea of deities altogether. For some Libertines, however, blasphemy of the sacred—which included the innocent—remained a major entertainment. The Libertine was individualism on the hoof and part of its parade was the flaunting of their lifestyle and the mockery of their audience's values. Libertinism was a contemptuous detachment from conventional shared symbolic orders into an autonomous self, a self seen as deluded and delirious, an isolate subject to removal from the body politic. One of the alleged major characteristics of libertinism is that it uses

elaborate argumentation for justifying unconventional or antisocial behavior, especially sexualities. Late 17th and early 18th century libertinism expressly denied official views by insisting that sex was natural and should not be repressed or suppressed. Experimentation was encouraged, especially among youth, and chastity and virginity were said by Libertines to be hypocritical and bad for physical and spiritual health. Denying concepts of sexual sin, the body and spirit were brought closer to a mutual harmony; laws were the unnatural parts of human life rather than the varieties of human feelings.[7] Individualism was advocated, emphasizing the primacy of personal "instincts" and desires over social conventions and communal cooperation. Extensions of this called for denials of empathy and compassion. This was both a reaction against as well as a manifestation of the 18th century's continuing development of sentimentalism which stressed feelings and emotions. By the end of the century, however, sentimentalism came to mean elaborate shows of superficial postures that disguised true emotions; sexualities were placed firmly in the latter realm and the changing definition of sentimentality helped construct the theatricality of sexual behaviors, especially in their less socially approved of forms in the 19th century.[8]

Part of this change to more negativity was intensified in the late 18th century, particularly about the time of the circulation of de Sade's works in the 1790s. The degree of sexual violence in his works was disturbing and repulsive to many.[9] With de Sade and other writers evolving the genre of "pornography," the personality of the Libertine was represented more and more as sordid, criminal, and unstable.[10] Images of eruptions and explosions became entertaining and necessary.

de Sade's *120 Days of Sodom*, written about 1785, is the account of four Libertines who have their way with eight boys and eight girls, aged 12 to 14, all of whom have been provided by a ring of child-nappers; the youth are eventually killed. What is pictured is a secret, underground domain operated by the self-indulgent amoral rich. Rumors of such individuals and groups were circulating in the 18th century, including tales of debauched aristocrats who abducted children, murdered them, and then bathed in their blood for regenerative purposes (Foucault 1980:223). The sexual beast is broken down over four main characters: one is the essential monster in large proportions of lust and cruelty (the Duke), another (the Bishop) is sickly but calculating in his "refined depravities," another (the President) is the embodiment of all the physical manifestations of filth: feces, flatulence, and other moist bodily excretions, and the last one is effeminate, soft, sweet, and pudgy, impotent but whose mind is a bubbling cesspool of viciousness.

As with all genre, however, the breakup into multiplicities may represent not so much post-modernistic fragmentation as an attempt at restabilization to more firmly ground characteristics in recognizable types in a changing social order, yet maintaining consistent and predictable elements from the past. It was a major concern of the 18th century that people seemed to be turning into (or were at least more revealing of) "multiple personalities." The pernicious effects and social subversiveness of popular masquerades worried many at the time (cf. Novak 1973). Precursor to the feared "confidence man" of the 19th century, the disguised

figure raised levels of personal and social anxiety in the 18th century centering around the feeling that the available roles and structures of the social order of the time did not allow for the expression of a "real self." It was felt that through the opportunity to not only disguise oneself but to display that disguise socially, some modicum of truth would also be shown. It was an assertion of a philosophy (later to become clichéd) of "truth revealed by deception," one opposed to the more usual official stances (as in government and journalism) of "deception revealed by truth" (cf. Castle 1986:5, 1987).

Shunning cultural conventions was beginning to be seen in the late 18th century as biologically pathological, a disease individualized, yet symptomatic of broader racial degeneration. Foucault (1980:221) suggested that the 19th century idea of "perversion" was reinforced by the late 18th-early 19th century idea of "instinct," an inherent irreversible biological drive. Some held sexual villainy to be supernatural in some entertaining ways (Gothics as a genre appeared in the late 1700s), but by the beginning of the 1800s, discourses of sexualities were strong and delineated enough so that their forms and cultural locations remain near identical today, recognized for their history because they are collapsing not only because of shifts to post-academic thought and relations, but also because they are empty at their core. Davidson (1987:22) argues for the development in the 19th century of what he calls the "psychiatric style of reasoning," which was based on the period's emphasis on differences between surface appearance and external form (the older view) and the newer stress on internal content. The newer "psychiatric style" gave priority to internal drivers such as tastes, desires, and other mental factors. Theology versus the 18th century Libertine gave way to Psychology versus the 19th century Pervert.

III

Don Juan and his libertine associates continued with some shifts into the 19th century. The emphasis on danger to innocents increased, but Don Juan himself lost some of his demonic edges, becoming more romantic. The 18th century Don Juan was killed by God for his transgressions, but in the 1800s, he was brought to a secular justice that emphasized confession and repentance. Later in the century, Don Juan shifted to endings similar to the *senex*; he ended life bitter and impotent, a comic and pathetic figure.

The Seducer, present from classical times on, has attained special importance in modern Western cultures. Fiedler believed that the seduction myth is historically limited, appearing and disappearing according to cultural appropriateness and need. "Yet," he pointed out, "even in reduced straits, it retains some vestige of its legendary power, and can at any moment achieve an unforeseen popular success" (1966:84). All the elements of classic seduction—loss, violence, domination and subordination, suffering, humiliation—came into play again in the 1980s to express personal disturbances and social discomforts, and to provide society with an exciting spectacle.

Eighteenth century forms carry most of the elements familiar to us today. Male seducers recite lists of their conquests, and they use special aids, notably

alcohol or drugs, music, and texts and images. As part of his fiendishness, he is a trickster, and he is at it constantly; like another 18th century villain, the vampire, he is insatiable. It is from the 18th century on through the present that social and administrative concerns continually escalate their attention to the presence and importance of the seducer, and more particularly over the figure's involvement with youth.

Little (1988) makes a useful distinction between a lecher and a seducer. The Lecher had the general qualities of a sexual aggressor, but his saving grace was that he was susceptible to appeals to religion and an "inborn goodness," his reform serving as a tribute to the heroic and divine qualities of women and children (Brown 1940:27). The Lecher is an exercise in bad taste, clumsy, unsubtle, and therefore undeceptive. The Seducer on the other hand, especially in the 19th century, meant not merely to achieve sexual relations by deceit, but to destroy the victim's integrity (Halttunen 1982:6). In the context of an expanding and developing economy, this posed a severe threat to the character needed to keep America going, and endangered the physical basis of "the race" itself (Smokin 1967:chapter 1; Bailyn 1967:56). In the late 19th century, woman became the symbol of national and cultural aspirations; crimes against women became crimes against the nation, against humanity, and against a divinely ordained cosmos.

The Seducer shames women. He takes them away from their institutional connections to family, deity, country, and gender role; he diverts the innocent from the path of proper development. Here is a typical depiction:

> The Seducer plunders the wretched victim of character, morals, happiness, hope, and heaven; enthralls her in the eternal bondage of sin; consumes her beyond the grave in endless fire; and murders her soul with an ever-lasting death. (Dwight 1818:IV:250)

After humiliation comes abandonment, another trauma deliberately inflicted by, indeed the definition of, the Seducer.

These themes have survived comfortably into the late 20th century. The idea of "soul murder" is one we saw used frequently and in exactly the same way 150 years later in the sex abuse hysteria of the 1980s. Vigilante action has long been justified by the idea. From Lippard's well-known early American novel, *The Quaker City*:

> The seduction of a poor and innocent girl, is a deed altogether as criminal as deliberate murder. It is worse than the murder of the body, for it is the assassination of the soul. If the murderer deserves death by the gallows, then the assassin of chastity and maidenhood is worthy of death by the hands of any man, and in any place. (1845:206)

As early as the first part of the 18th century, the Seducer takes on a Satanic character, largely through the Gothic genre where innocence is diabolically pursued in bizarre, surreal, and erotic atmospheres by an overpowering man bent on the enslavement of a young innocent female. Late in the 19th century, the 18th century Satanic character was translated into the secular vocabularies of psychopathology and criminology, especially the serial killer, and enslavement was replaced by homicidal destruction. In America, even the earliest seduction

stories were tied to themes of death and violence, narrated through Christian rhetoric and imagery. Literature devotes "more care and realism to sudden death" than to sex, Davis said, and he seemed puzzled that this has "never been satisfactorily explained." From the late 18th century into the mid-19th, "seduction meant homicide;" further, he says, "there was something new in the shrill insistence that sexual error, violence, and murder were parts of one inexorable process" (Davis 1957:147f, 156).

A related figure arriving with modern urbanization and appearing in many stories late in the 19th century was the marginal and solitary "haunting stranger" (Gross 1989). The lurking Seducer signified the immediate threat of death. In the 1980s, the figure was splattered over the popular environment via what have been called stalker or slasher films, wherein an adult (due to some childhood trauma), possessed of great or supernatural powers, returns to haunt, hunt, and hack up the youth of America before screaming audiences of preteens and teens. The complex of motifs was much the same as was being postulated for the pedophile: the threat is from within the community, the authorities are weak and ineffectual, and heroes and heroines have to use violence to save themselves and rid society of the threat. One analyst felt that most stalker narratives are based on social and sexual assumptions common to conservative world-views.[11]

The Seducer is denounced for his evil nature, though he was a hero of sorts to many men and some women. Especially in the expanding urban economies of early 19th century America, the Seducer was doing sexually what was being done in politics, industry, and finance. The opposite, the moralist, was unappealing to many women of the day (Davidson 1987), and the more benign or comical forms of the Seducer held many attractions for both fantasy and behavior.

From as far back as the 12th century, aspects of remorse, jealousy, and suicide have been used to define both the hostility of the Seducer and the tragedy of the Victim. From the 18th century on, there is an emphasis on seduction as deceit, particularly in its premeditated planning and execution, and a stress on unfairness and inequality of power (Staves 1980:116). The Seducer is seen as especially tricky in matters of language and logic, a spreader of false doctrines that are persuasively presented. Using "a highly complex aesthetic discourse," the Seducer taps the "aphrodisiacal power of language," said Little (1988:1166). This aspect becomes especially important in times of cultural disputes over knowledge and power. One of the greatest fears of seduction from the 18th century on has been the possibility of philosophical and psychological seduction as well as sexual submission (Richetti 1984). Even still, since many of the arguments used by Seducers were "irrational," the Seducer ultimately had to resort to what Davis refers to as enthusiastic presentations of the imagery of "sublime nature," used "to arouse the primitive and savage nature of a woman" (1957:159). Novel reading was seen as a sexually subversive activity in the 18th and 19th centuries, and a competent Seducer always had ready a number of exciting books with which to excite the passions of his intended. Alarmed social observers considered them irresistible.

Female seducers appear in the 17th and 18th centuries, and a good deal of erotica of the time featured the seduction of youth at the hands of women. This extends into the 19th century which elaborates both female seducers and the idea of seduction itself. The Libertine is still active and seeking amusement, but there is now also more benign quests after ideals such as the perfect poem, the perfect woman, the perfect conquest (Little 1988). The sentimentality of the period, however, demanded that all these pursuits end in failure and the suffering of innocence became more elaborate in a glorification of victimage.

The Seducer in the later versions was also a product of what Cominos calls an ideology of seduction, one appearing in the mid-19th century as a device to explain—or explain away—women's sexual interests and behaviors, then denied by most authorities.[12] Further, it helped explain and excuse the wide-spread existence of prostitution in the 19th century by seeing prostitutes as the end-product of seduction, rather than the result of economic conditions, patriarchal ambitions and power, and/or as a preferred occupation either enjoyed or indifferently accepted by women themselves. In the mid-19th century women were assumed to be totally innocent and seduction the fault of men alone, much as was the assertion of childhood innocence in adult-youth sex. By the end of the century, however, women had become much more villainous, and they were seen as active accomplices or sole instigators of seduction; attributions of innocence shifted to men as they became victims of women. Further, the villainous qualities of the Seducer were transferred to the image of the Drunkard in the heat of rising Temperance movements. Drink was said to cause seduction (offered instead of feminist accusations against masculine behavior of the time), and the Seducer became a figure with a small "s." But the motives, techniques, and consequences remained, ready for attachment to other images of the sexual fiend.

IV

The Libertine as constructed by its critics had already set the stage for the 19th century Decadent. The label was more of a epithet (Gilman 1979), since the realms of threat remained largely as they had been exhibited by the Libertine: the moral and the political. The Decadent, however, raised aesthetics to such a level as to elicit significant unease on the part of society's moral custodians. This was aggravated by the proud assumption of the term "Decadent" as a positive personal identity, thereby making the rejection of mainstream values more explicit, effective, and desirable, especially for youth beginning to create middle class bohemianism.

According to Gilman (1979:103), decadence in the 19th century included blasphemy in general and Satanism in particular, sexual perversity, an obsession with the 19th century disease of nervousness ("neurasthenia"), boredom, a nostalgia for the corrupt taking the form of the glorification of real or imagined ancient exotic splendors and excesses, a disdain for "naturalness" as the enemy of transcendence, a view of democracy and "progress" as silly and insidious, and the obsessive cultivation of taste. Images in the first half of the 19th century abounded. The Gothic continued but was joined by melodrama and sensation

novels, all promoting images of improper behavior as dangerous, especially sexual dangerousness. "Devotees of insatiate and abhorred lust" filled the culture through texts and visuals.[13] A classic image is noted by Burt (1980:153) in the 1844 novel by G. W. M. Reynolds, *Mysteries of London*, in which a dying "shrivelled, haggard, and attenuated" sensualist lies with his grotesque head on the bosom of a young and healthy girl.[14] Edgar Allen Poe somewhat earlier had established the crucial elements of this sort of decadence in *Ligeia* (1838) and *The Masque of the Red Death* (1842), the latter containing the criteria of "much of the beautiful, much of the wanton, much of the bizarre, something of the terrible, and not a little of that which might have excited disgust."[15]

In 1895, Oscar Wilde was seized upon as *the* embodiment of sexual and social decadence. Everything the man did and said was taken as a sign, as proof that the corruption offered by decadence was tangible, real, wide-spread, and organized (he was spoken of as a "ringleader;" Hyde 1948:12). Wilde epitomized the subsidiary figure of the Dandy, a figure of affectation, selfishness, presumed superiority, irresponsibility, and superficiality that began to appear in the late 18th century. This variety of male image, with its foppish emphasis on appearance and style, threw androgyny and effeminacy against the definitions of masculinity that were then being demanded by industrialization and colonial military adventures. By the latter part of the 19th century, the Dandy merged with the Decadent and represented all that was offensive and subversive. For Americans, the figure was the threat of Europe and urbanization, everything foreign, urban, and immoral.[16] And old. America had always prided itself as being something "new," and with the economic expansions of production and marketing in the late 19th century, "oldness" (of things and people) began receiving increased denigration. The decadent Dandy in the late 19th century was a rogue, a sexual picaresque whose cruelties were of little consequence to him and whose offensiveness and vulgarity was of little import. What was even more enraging was that this creature was an active seducer of youth. Such contempt and blasphemy thrown in the face of civilized society demanded retaliation and exorcism. "Decadent" moved from an epithet to a classification, then to a symptom. It was a condition looking for a disease, and one was quickly constructed. Decadence became part of a greater threat: the Pervert.

Along with incest, homosexuality was one of the most frequent themes of decadent texts. "Perversion," as initially conceived, was an unconventional departure from usual practices and responses.[17] Later it came to be seen as a severe unnatural dislocation, a denial of official and divine sexual and moral interests, meanings, and abilities. Levels of activity were measured and calculated, and the boundaries of the normal and abnormal specified by attributions of perversion. Activities of this sort were said to be a threat to the home, family, nation, and to humanity (or at least the white race) in general.

But homosexuality was not the only decadent pleasure. With de Sade, the sadomasochist (so named later in the century) became another classic figure of perversion. Pedophilia remained resistant to being easily named until the late 20th century, largely because of other distractions. For the 19th century, the

homosexual, the *femme fatale*, and the sexual child were the greatest dangers. Even later examinations avoided the idea. Though Ridge named all the other categories of sexuality, he cited a couple of French texts (1961:134ff) that deal with youth-adult sex without seeing "pedophilia." In one novel by the prolific French writer known as "Rachilde" (1923), a child "indiscriminately" introduces the children of the neighborhood to sex and "attempts to make love to the village priest in, of all places, the confessional. And she almost succeeds." Ridge referred to this as a case of "nymphomania." Another is a novel by Mendès (1892), which Ridge called "an amusing tale of horror." A middle aged artist falls in love with

> a woman old enough to be his mother (incest revisited) but is suddenly captivated by...the nymphet heroine, Liliane Forli, who seems to have been a model for Lolita. She is supposedly an insatiable girl of seventeen who has been everyone's mistress. ... Later Mme Laveleyne discovers that the poor child is only ten—though somewhat advanced for her age—an amoral sprite of a girl whose passions have made her the willing accomplice of man's lust. (p. 136)

Adult-youth sex in the 19th century popular mind was a subclass of decadence and perversion; medical formulations made the popular prejudice into official policy. Faced with increasing pluralism, the detailing of differences became paramount and necessary for the stabilization of sexual behaviors and interests, gender roles, and the surveillance and control of children and youth. Differences, separate "spheres," became an attribute of the "natural," while the possibility of sameness (equality of men and women, same-sex love and sex) were moved to the expanding realm of the "unnatural." Gilman (1979:15) saw the Decadent as the last stage of morbidity for the image of sensuality and vice. It was in fact to get worse with the arrival of the Degenerate.

The idea of degeneration was both a biological and a moral conception, each with roots in the 17th century. The moral idea was based on feelings of weakening resistance to whatever was warned against by religious authorities of the time. Cotton Mather, John Cotton, and others expressed this fear in America by warning settlers as early as the first part of the 17th century against becoming too much like the natives, seen as a regression, a loss of morality and civilization.

Degeneration as an idea found ready consumers in physicians dealing with disease theories (of which there were many in the 19th century), as well as with moralists. Degeneration was the morbid physical decay of the body—the physical body or the body politic. Sexuality held stigmatized status at this time, and it was quite easy and convenient to see destructive elements in sexual activities and attitudes. The "normal" became tightly focused on the heterosexual married couple. Anything else was "abnormal" and their participants and advocates were located in antagonistic realms as "The Other." The sexual Degenerate was compatible with notions of the Libertine and Decadent, but the dangers and violence were escalated and appropriate forces were mobilized to deal with the

threats. The foundations laid in the 19th century continue to attract those seeking explanations for anything from eccentricity to violent crime.[18]

The belief in degeneration stimulated—demanded—a relentless search for its causes, and within the conceptual structures of 19th century science, philosophy, and religion, this took the form of rigorous schemes of classifications and typologies. Lists of stigmata, drawing on religious roots of heresy-hunting, became the goal of science. Character types, on the stage and in the clinic, became fixed and cemented in well defined (if not especially real) heavy lines that became immediately recognizable to large numbers of people. Along with this developed similarly rigorous aesthetics of order and recommendations of regenerative processes to correct or prevent the spread of biological and cultural diseases. There was an attempt to

> objectify and cast off whole underworlds of political and social anxiety. ... The doctors of degeneration took it for granted that their work was impersonal. Within the terms of this ritual disavowal, social commentary was transformed into "scientific truth." (Pick 1989:10f)

The most influential exposition was by German physician Max Nordau. His book *Degeneration* first appeared in 1892 and attracted a great deal of attention and enlisted large numbers of supporters. Nordau's writings are often dismissed as reactionary, but a closer examination shows an interesting mix of positions. His ideas and characterizations were exaggerated, but were full of a righteous zeal quite familiar to late 20th century audiences. Nordau felt that in his study was a "firmly linked chain of causes and effects" (1895:43), and the Degenerate represents a special danger to "impressionable youth."

His focus, the end of the 19th century, was a time which meant "to the voluptuary...unbridled lewdness, the unchaining of the beast in man." Libertines appeared to be getting worse and growing in numbers; they were infecting vulnerable and innocent individuals. Nordau felt this was a new stage of history: mass confusion and "false prophets." A "The Dusk of Nations" was "wrapping all objects in a mysterious dimness, in which all certainty is destroyed and any guess seems plausible. Forms lose their outlines, and are dissolved in the floating mist. The day is over, the night draws on" (p. 6).

People are becoming superficial, artificial, faddish, and conformist. Art is a "debauch," writings were "mere sewage exhalations," and the emphasis on sex is "unnatural and degenerate" (pp. 9-13). Society craved "more intense stimulus, and hopes for it in spectacles where different arts strive in new combinations to affect all the senses at once" (p. 14). As examples he cited the use of mood music at painting exhibitions and the use of perfume sprays in theatre performances.

Nordau defined degeneration as "a morbid deviation from an original type," showing itself through "denominated 'stigmata.'" Based on physical and medical models, degeneration was deformation, asymmetry, and imperfection. Mentally, Degenerates are "borderland dwellers."[19] They were what Prichard (1835) and others from the late 18th century through the mid-20th called the "moral insane" or the "morally alienated," today referred to as "sociopaths."

Degenerates have a "predilection for inane reverie," "nebulously blurred ideas and inchoate embryonic thoughts," defined as the "perpetual obfuscation of a boundless, aimless, and shoreless stream of fugitive ideas," "the disorderly tumult of...fluid presentations," and the "unlicensed pursuits permitted by the unshackled vagabondage of [a] mind," not to mention "queer and senseless ideas" (pp. 19ff). For example, those who speak of socialism and the "emancipation of the mind" are degenerates and their talk is merely "the senseless stammering and babbling of deranged minds, and [is] nothing but the convulsions and spasms of exhaustion" (p. 43). The degenerate "is incapable of adapting himself to existing circumstances... Thus he becomes an improver of the world, and devises plans for making mankind happy..." (pp. 22, 261ff). It was noted in the early 19th century, similar to observations about 1980's pedophiles, that one of the puzzling aspects of "moral insanity" was that degenerate individuals may be completely functional and indeed highly able except for one quirk of unauthorized thought or sexual interest.

Degenerates are prisoners of their compulsions. They "have an irresistible desire...to accumulate useless trifles" (p. 27), as pedophiles are supposed to be compulsive record keepers and collectors. The Degenerate has "a predilection for forming societies...exclusive to outsiders." Due to the combination of weak-willed followers and egotistical leaders, degenerates are driven to force "insane ideas" on those around them. The victims of Degenerates became "possessed," converted to "diseased ideas." The cause of degeneracy is "poisoning:" addiction ("even without excess") to drugs, alcohol, "tainted foods" all of which will produce "idiocy" and "dwarfishness." It is all based in urban living with its stresses and pollutions—biological, physical, and cultural.

Morality, "an organized instinct" in normal humans, is the target of the Degenerate; "perversion" is that which works against "normal" function. It was a late 17th century idea deriving from the notion of disease as a failure of and deviation from the natural internal function and purpose of the organism rather than a condition caused by external agents, e.g., germs. "In perversion of the moral sense the patient is attracted by, and feels delight in, acts which fill the sane man with disgust and horror." This, added to egomania, results in the Degenerate as one who delights in crime, one who inherently has "a decided predilection for evil" (pp. 259f, similar to the pedophile's "predisposition" to crime).

There is no cure. The Degenerate is one "for whom humanity can find no use" (p. 23). They must be expelled from society, and any show of tolerance is a sign of cultural sickness. Nordau issues his call to heroism for "we stand now in the midst of a severe mental epidemic" (p. 537). "It is our duty to untiringly and by every means...enlighten the weak in judgment, and the inexperienced. ... It is the sacred duty of all healthy and moral men to take part in the work of protecting and saving those who are not already too deeply diseased" (pp. 556f). The targets are listed; unity is called for:

> Mystics, but especially ego-maniacs and filthy pseudo-realists, are enemies to society of the direst kind. ... Whoever believes with me that society is the natural organic form of humanity, in which alone it can

> exist, prosper, and continue to develop itself to higher destinies; whoever looks upon civilization as a good, having value and deserving to be defended, must mercilessly crush under his thumb the anti-social vermin. To him who, with Nietzsche, is enthusiastic over the "free-roving, lusting beast of prey," we cry, "Get you gone from civilization! ... There is no place among us for the lusting beast of prey; and if you dare return to us, we will pitilessly beat you to death with clubs. ...
>
> And still more determined must the resistance be to the filth-loving herd of swine, the professional pornographists. These...have freely chosen their vile trade, and prosecute it from cupidity, vanity, and hatred of labor. The systematic incitation to lasciviousness causes the gravest injury to the bodily and mental health of individuals, and a society composed of individuals sexually over-stimulated, knowing no longer any self-control, any discipline, any shame, marches to its certain ruin, because it is too worn out and flaccid to perform great tasks. The pornographist poisons the springs whence flows the life of future generations. No task of civilization has been so painfully laborious as the subjugation of lasciviousness. The pornographist would take from us the fruit of this, the hardest struggle of humanity. To him we must show no mercy.[20]

Nordau points out that the police can't help because they too often have to act in the interests of those other than "cultivated and moral men." He suggests citizen reviews and boycotts: "The condemnation of works trading on unchastity must emanate from men of whose freedom from prejudice and freedom of mind, intelligence and independence, no one entertains a doubt." These groups—composed of "the people's leaders and instructors, professors, authors, members of Parliament, judges, high functionaries—who have sufficient culture and taste," would review art productions "to distinguish the...morally healthy artist from the vile speculation of a scribbling ruffian." If a work was found to be morally lacking, the group would say, "He is a criminal," and the work "is a disgrace to our nation!" Merchants, critics, and consumers would all refuse to handle the book or picture and thus "dishabituate the 'realists' from parading a condemnation based on a crime against morality as a mark of distinction" (pp. 558f).

He then calls upon the "medical specialists of insanity" to demonstrate to the public "the mental derangement of degenerate artists and authors" (pp. 559f). The myth-smashing role assumed by 1980s abuse theorists have had a long tradition in these heroic self-images, roles made sharper by the contrast to elaborated forces of evil. True moderns are distinguished from the false by "profiles" of a sort that have always been of use in political contests such as those of past centuries as well as contemporary issues of sexuality and drugs.

> ...whoever preaches absence of discipline is an enemy of progress; and whoever worships his "I" is an enemy to society. Society has for its first premise, neighborly love and capacity for self-sacrifice; and progress is the effect of an ever more rigorous subjugation of the beast in man, of an ever tenser self-restraint, an ever keener sense of duty and responsibility. The emancipation for which we are striving is of the judgment, not of the appetites. In the profoundly penetrating words of

> Scripture (Matt. v. 17), "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill." (p. 560)

The heroism identifies easily with supernatural status, and it is divine authority that is sought to maintain a dichotomy between the body and the mind. The libertine "Do what you will" was a challenge such that the forces of moral and behavioral supervision had to continually redefine themselves into legitimized agencies for effective control. From the more or less monolithic domain of ancient clergy, regulatory powers had to maintain both sacred and secular bases. The overt influence of religion continued to decline throughout the 19th century, and the state had to support such institutions as medicine, psychology, and sexology, as well as continue to elaborate the usual legal and police forces. This became particularly true in order to deal with that late 19th century invention, the homosexual.

Degenerates were separate from decent folk who had an inherent sense of decency and morality. Those who violated this were subversive, abnormal, and criminal. Pronunciations of "degeneracy," a radicalized Social Darwinist view, allow those of "sufficient culture and taste" to round up degenerates, and with a clear conscience, beat them to death with clubs.

6

IMAGES AS SPECTACLES

I

The events and images of the 1980s discussed in the previous chapters combine a number of elements that increase their value and meaning. For greater impact and effectiveness, images are often constructed with certain visual strategies to support textual forms and intents. For the villainous pedophile, there were two major realms of visual representation: concrete personalized figures, and generalized or abstract images of threat. The first contains specific images of humans, figures identifiable as people. These can be actors playing sleazy pedophiles, as did Richard Mazur in the 1981 television melodrama nominated for an Emmy, *Fallen Angel.* In popular fact, mug shots and other police and news photographs of disheveled people accused of being molesters have been very popular (e.g., Cohn 1988). These pictures, including people handcuffed and/or in prison garb, are preferred so as to convey the unconventionality, uncleanliness, and bad taste of those arrested. Police photos help confirm the danger, criminality, excitement, and heroism that pre-define the issue and characters, and when seen by potential jurors help determine trial outcomes.

They can also be more or less realistically drawn figures, though many shade off into generalized threat.[1] The figure of "the creep" in Dodson's (1980) novel is drawn face-forward on the cover but he is in a shadow and disguised by reflective sunglasses. The molester for Millar's novel (1984) is rendered clearly enough on the cover, but his back is to the viewer, with his hat and trench coat covering nearly all evidence of his body, suggesting that something non-human lurks under the disguise of civilization.[2]

The second area of villainous representation, the generalized threat, can run from realistic to abstract and metaphorical or symbolic images. Among the former, leading in from the personalized representations is the image of the molester as a shadow. An example of the latter is the shadow on the wall on the 1979 paperback edition of Clark's novel.

Among images of threats, a classic is the Clutching Hand or Claw motif. The 1990 paperback edition of Disney's 1965 novel used a combination of the Clutching Claw and Shadow posed over the form of a young girl. This was used to good effect on the cover of Welles's (1980) book, a black gloved hand over the purity of a snowy background. The cover figure for Dodson's 1980 book also carried this as a minor motif, and it remains a popular graphic (Plante 1989; Lara

1990). Layouts for two of J. Edgar Hoover's articles (1937, 1947) featured a nice expression of this image.[3] Variations are also used on the paperback covers for two books by J. Kellerman. For his 1985 novel, a clenched fist is shown in the immediate foreground, and for the 1986 book a more explicit fist is shown crushing a white (but red-tinged, as if bloodied) flower. A CBS special *Break the Silence* (May 31, 1994) featured a clawed hand reaching for a terrified child clutching a teddy bear, *the* classic image of the hysteria. The claw image is of long-standing, used to signify that which is alien, threatening, unknown, unexpected, powerful, subversive, and tyrannical. Films which featured severed hands are tied to the claw motif by signifying the disassociated and disembodied as external threat.[4]

In the texts we've looked at, though slightly less with the fictional and more with the factual, there were specific pointers to the supposed respectability and conventionality of the molester. Janus remarks in a couple of places about how shocked people were that the adults involved with boys were "respectable" (1981:15, 202f). Given the demands of genre, one might expect descriptions of the villains to be more traditional, with emphasis on ugliness, repulsiveness, and grotesqueness. Some of this can be accomplished by the use of mug shots, but with the newer stress on conventionality, with subtexts of secrecy and subversion, the problem becomes how to depict monstrousness without physical monstrosity. A relatively easy out was the favorite grinning-skull-beneath-a-facade graphic, often used on the covers of horror novels, especially during the genre's renaissance of the 1970s and 1980s. The cover of Johnston's (1985) novel showed a skull inside a teddy bear, and Citro's cover for the book had a skull behind the face of a clown.[5]

There are two main ways to tie images of villains with ordinariness. One is by more subtle symbolic allusions to conventional representations, along with more emphasis on context. The figure on the cover of Fielding's novel (1981), for example, is another trenchcoated, reverse-facing man leading two small children away from the viewer into a blank white background recalling molester stereotypes. However, there is more of the man physically visible than in the other figures because the issue here deals with parental kidnapping and entails shreds of respectability coming from the heterosexual family. The other method is to shift the burden of communication to the object of the monster's attention: the victim.

To represent the victim, two approaches were particularly effective aesthetically and politically. As with the villains, one involved the human figure: clip art children, especially those emblematic of innocence. The cover of Clark's novel (1979) shows a young boy playing with his train set in the comfort and sanctity of his home. The point of view is from the outside looking in, replicating the view of the voyeur, the outsidedness of the Other which heightens the sense of the invasion of privacy and the violation of sanctity.

Crying children are most frequently used, as in Hoover (1937, 1947), on the covers of Kellerman's books (1985, 1986), or the amateurish line drawing accompanying Royko's (1987) syndicated column showing a stubble-faced

scowling man with a whip over a large-eyed weeping girl. Mary Ellen Mark's photos for the *Life* story by McCall (1984a) featured the clichés of frightened, weeping children being comforted by concerned looking therapists. The photo accompanying an article promoting the television documentary *Scared Silent* was a large, high contrast head shot of a boy with slightly pursed lips, a sad expression and large highlighted eyes, recalling the works of the Keanes (see note 8). The illustration accompanying Ehrlich's article on Asian child prostitution is of a weeping young Asian female, her hands clasped in supplication, a submissive posture seeking forgiveness, mercy, or salvation. The cover art for Boyle's book on sex between Scout leaders and Scouts is an unintentionally funny full-face illustration of a sad-eyed uniformed Scout with a tear welling up in one eye. An interesting variation on this image was used in the newsletter of the Victims of Child Abuse Laws (VOCAL). A hand-drawn figure of a weeping girl (with a bandage on her cheek) is seen looking out a window with the caption, "They took me from Mommy & Daddy because I had an accident. I wanna go home."[6]

The frightened child was also very common, as on the cover of Mertz's Executioner novel (1986). There is the sense of fright in the expression on this cover, but rather subtly in the drawing is also admiration from the female child, a slight echo of the awe accorded the battling hero in the text. The terrified face of the girl on the cover of Dorner's book (1987) also features the child framed on a roll of film dripping blood, affirming the association of child sex pictures and snuff films, and there is a hand over the child's mouth, the clutching claw suggesting unspeakable violence and horror. Finally, using youngsters in sex pictures was another way to project the victim status of the juvenile who had been involved sexually with adults.[7] A staple of the anti-adult/youth sex and anti-pornography agitations of the 1970s and 1980s was the traveling slide show, featuring photos and artifacts meant to disgust and enrage the viewers, the audiences reading sadness or fear into the expressions, self-verifying assertions of crime and violence supposedly inherent in such sexual activity.[8]

The second area of victim representation involved the use of symbols for children, childhood, and innocence, usually animals and artifacts such as dolls. The most significant icon was the teddy bear which has represented innocent childhood since its development and commercial spread in the late 19th or early 20th century.[9] It was during the late 17th century sentimentalization of children that they are more identified with animals, such as lambs, connecting with a Christian tradition of representing innocence, purity, and divinity. But as girls are attached to dolls with implications of predestined motherhood, there remains the troublesome aspect of sexuality. Teddy bears allow play and nurturing to be developed but erase the sexual elements. Animals used were usually baby animals, such as puppies and kittens (e.g., Lofgren 1987), tying into a biological disposition of many humans to react positively to a generalized "babyness," particularly among mammals.

But not all dolls were permissible; some may confuse the child as to what is good taste and what is not. One critic believed the popularity of painted dolls (reflecting adult use of makeup) was not only "perverting" a sense of beauty but he

hinted that gender role concepts may also be at stake (Karageorgevitch 1899). A doll marketed to girls 6 to 9 years of age in the early 1990s drew considerable criticism. The "Bundle Baby" by Matel came in a pouch that the child could strap onto herself and, at the push of a button, the figure would "kick" and make the girl feel as if she were carrying a child. One writer ("Disgusted") wrote to "Ann Landers," saying,

> If we let the money-hungry manufacturers and merchants have their way, they will destroy the innocence of our youth. ... Add this to what they see on TV these days, and you have a perfect blueprint for adolescent sex.

"Ann" thoroughly agreed, saying the toy was "awfully far out. I cannot imagine any sensible mother buying such a doll for her pre-teen daughter."[10]

Weeping or vulnerable looking children were often depicted clutching teddy bears. A teddy bear is glimpsed in the background to emphasize the youth, innocence, and violation of a young high school rape victim in Clint Eastwood's *Sudden Impact*, a film series that had been building a vigilante theme since the early 1970's. Teddy bears make a defining but subtle appearance in the 1984 anti-abuse comic of *Spiderman and Power Pack*, for both a boy and a girl. Even teddy bears themselves were abused, as in the film *The Annihilators*, released during the height of the abuse panic (1985). Dolls are most often used as familiar cultural accouterments of childhood and the violation of one is a violation of the other. The McMartin story was begun and theatrically defined by Wayne Satz and KABC-TV in Los Angeles; he told of the supposed mutilation of rabbits in a voice-over on a screen full of live bunnies, an interview with defendant Peggy McMartin Buckey was played over a screen of dolls, and the station's newspaper ads featured a torn teddy bear with comments such as "This is a sick, sick story."[11] Amy Fisher had a collection of teddy bears, and her 36 year old lover bought her several more (Fisher 1993:19f, 45f); one of the made for television films on the case showed the stuffed animals in her room.

A popular guide to healing sexual abuse suggested that

> A good way to identify and care for your inner child is to buy a stuffed animal or doll for her... Take your inner child to a store and spend lots of time choosing just the right stuffed animal or doll for her recovery process. (Engel 1989:44f)

Teddy bears also allow heroes to advertise and represent "the spirit of caring and unconditional affection" (Lawrence 1990:152). This was a particularly useful and popular device for authorities during the sexual abuse hysteria; police used teddy bears to comfort traumatized children.[12] The bears do that in many cases, but they also serve to establish the purity, good will, and authority of the helpers.

An interesting variety were the Cabbage Patch Kid dolls promoted in the early to mid-1980s. Connecting with the folklore that babies innocently appear in the cabbage patch, the dolls were marketed so that buyers "adopted" the dolls, making a not very subtle connection to anti-abortion disputes of the period. Sales of the dolls began to decline as the sex abuse panic also began to fall into disrepute in the later 1980s (Miller 1988). Some authors, though believing that the dolls played

upon feelings of "reproductive alienation" or parental guilt among women, nevertheless saw the marketing as a "benign" exploitation of emotions (Jacob, Rodenhauser, and Markert 1987), but broader consideration of the dolls' place in cultural time was not taken into account.[13] It was also believed that the dolls had a wider iconic value. In Ohio, the Columbus police force and the Franklin County Sheriff's Department published a newsletter entitled *The Cabbage Patch* that was mailed to suspected molesters and pornographers. Police posed as pedophiles, relating their desires and experiences—as well as advice on how to seduce children—and invited similar responses from their targets. After exposure of the operation, the police had to apologize to the company that manufactured the Cabbage Patch doll (Tsang 1985).

Particularly among the missing children texts, children's artifacts were presented in empty or alien landscapes. The emphasis was on disruption or dismemberment: empty swings still swinging, abandoned or playthings (Chastain 1982; Cuba 1984), single articles of clothing like a shoe or glove (Wolman 1982), or tipped over tricycles (Chase 1990), broken dolls, damaged and patched teddy bears (used most in editorial cartoons and article illustrations), and torn or broken photographs. The paperback edition of Cohen's novel (1991) featured a teddy bear and one lone shoe in an empty room with the window open, a nice use of four images tying to the novel's title, *Disappearance*. Landscapes echoing of emptiness became a way of speaking the unspeakable, and at the same time encouraging the imagination to literally fill in the spaces with one's own anxieties as the viewer's emotionality and ideas of sexuality take part in constructing the issue.

One image found less often, though often implied by the above, was a sort of anti-image: the sexual child. There was more of this in the mid- to late 1970s but by the 1980s they had been replaced, often under threat of seizure and prosecution, by images of asexual children. Children in sex could exist if they were re-represented as victims (Rooney 1983). Some allowance was made very early in the period for images of young prostitutes to be shown (as on the cover of the report from the Illinois Investigating Commission), but these disappeared in the later 1980s. Toward the end of the decade, a sexualized child was allowed to reappear, but again only in the service of official narratives. A 1988 magazine article by Hersch was about runaways and their connection with the spread of AIDS. The cover was an illustration of a girl soliciting in front of a movie theater, the marquee reading, "TRAMPS XXX PALACE." The fact that most runaways do not resort to prostitution for their existence did not preempt the entertainment function in marketing a semi-professional study. The photo for Hutton's newspaper article (1989) featured a young female hiding her face in her arms, ostensibly depressed, ashamed, or weeping at her fate as a victim; posing her in short shorts made sure a significant amount of leg was showing as well. Both of these are good illustrations of how victims may be eroticized by journalists and other child savers.

An effective representation of villain and victim is where the figures are placed in severe contrasts of perspective with steep angles representing the size differences, usually with the adult figure disguised or in shadows. This emphasizes

the insidiousness and generality of the threat, as well as conveys implications of dominance and submission with differences in height and weight (Millar 1984). The upward gaze has been used as a representation of innocence and virtue (with accompanying implications of submission and inferiority) since the late 17th century; similarly, looking down carries the message of evil and dominance (Banta 1987:401; 702, note 12). Sexually, looking up may denote yearning or passive desire, while looking down may indicate lust or aggressive desire. Use of these devices is another way in which publicists eroticize the issues and its figures. Sharp angularity has often been used in Western culture to signify the abnormal and dangerous, as Lovecraft did in the "horrible geometry" of Cthulhu's hometown of R'lyeh, or as did the sets in *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari.* Representations of enemies have also traditionally been in extremes of sizes; smaller ones to emphasize the insignificance or plenitude of the enemy (as with rats and insects), or larger ones, usually as giants to emphasize their power and the significance of the threat, most effective when overcome by the smaller but righteous hero.

This contrast of size so insisted upon in abuse narratives involves fundamental ideas of continuity and composition. Large and small paired together may represent natural relationships and progressions in age and power; proper postures and embraces can be used to signify innocent paternalism. When the figures assume sexual postures or convey sexual intent, all the aesthetics of authorized relations are violated and produce, as good art or political statements do, visceral responses and energetic vocalizations. Conventional linkages of time and social meaning are broken, not so much separated but merged (literally) and refigured. The paperback cover for *An Evil Streak* (Newman 1979) shows a conventional pose altered by the suspect expression of an older man with a girl on his lap, his hands drawn in the Clutching Claw manner (one is on her thigh, with the book's title immediately beside the pair. The plot has nothing to do with youth-adult sex but the illustration suggests that imagery to convey the malignancy of the character. Even for those who enjoy sexual images, the usual aesthetics of sex are redone, destroyed actually, when showing sex between adults and juveniles, having much the same emotional and social effect as did the sudden appearance of early modernist art such as expressionism, surrealism, or cubism or the radical texts of feminism, atheism, and anarchism.

Understandably, viable representations of heroism are also offered. One is the outright depiction of figures: concerned-looking talking heads of journalists, or role model celebrity figures like Miss America (*Child Protection Alert* 1985:2) representing the values and roles set against those that define adult-youth relations. Police officers are always popular (usually shown looking over spoils seized from the enemy; see below) and offer a good contrast to mug shots of villains.[14] Drawings of men or women protecting children are popular as cover art, as with the Executioner on the cover of *Save The Children* (Mertz 1986), or the mother of *Still Missing* (Gutcheon 1981). Both occupy "appropriate" gender roles, with the man firing a gun, and the woman (married) giving admiring and nurturing looks to

her child (the inside cover illustration of Gutcheon's book shows the woman dealing with the situation by being helpless and hysterical.

Another side of heroism is the display of seized representations of nude children, sexual children, and adult-youth sex that often accompany articles and television shows. As a genre these are related to shots of seized contraband, such as large amounts of drugs, illicit money, or weapons. The emphasis is not so much on the artifact, though the titillating peek is fully exploited in which child-savers eroticize their subject, but on the fact of possession by the authorities. These are trophy pictures, displays of the hunt, a variety of the body count idea. They show the wealth and power of the enemy the hero faces by sheer volume (e.g., millions of dollars from drug networks) and/or by meanness of equipment (such as displays of weapons). Secondly, they show the power of the hero by the mere fact that he has them and the other guys don't. They have been taken in battle, and testify to the risk and effort of the heroes; it is presented as a display of the triumph of Good over Evil. Not only can they be taken but the heroes neither need nor want them, as in genre pictures of revenuers breaking up stills and beer barrels, or burning evil plants.

These are clichés, and they are so for good reasons. The struggles and figures are mythic ones, cosmic in scope, and fundamental symbols are needed to tie into traditions of folklore, myth, and genre. There is—has to be—a simultaneous definition of audience and issue. A second reason for the use of clichés is found in the limited artistic and political imagination and intellect of journalists, graphic artists, authors, and others who exploited the issues of youth-adult sex.

This is not to say that cleverness was absent from anti-abuse theatrical productions. The work of photographer Fred Housel and the advertising firm of Metzdorf-Marschalk was responsible for increasing the ratings of Houston's NBC outlet, KPRC-TV. One of the efforts involved promoting a report on abducted children for which the photographer used the daughter of the agency's art director ("he coaxed a few horror-stricken poses from the youngster") and the art director himself ("he makes a helluva claw"). The result was the ad, "Someone reached out and took her," featuring a shadowed hand reaching for a frightened girl. The campaign was begun to "counter accusations that [KPRC's] nightly newscasts are masquerades of journalism, thinly disguised attempts to pass off violent crime, celebrity gossip, and purply 'human interest' stories as serious news" (Markus 1984). The station news director felt the "hard-hitting" photography increased their reputation for "top-notch hard news reporting." However, by 1990, a similar ad shown for a CBS station was ridiculed and denounced as a "tune-in turnoff" (Styles 1990).

Arnold Shapiro, producer of the heavily promoted television program, *Scared Silent*, was asked how he was able to engineer such attention to his project: "How do you bring people to the TV screen when the subject is child abuse? First, you acknowledge the subject is worthy of being an event. ... Then I came up with the idea of the simulcast" (Wynne 1992a). The collectivization of visuals and texts into "events" is what produces the spectacle.

II

In his analysis of medieval life, Huizinga stated that "Having once attributed a real existence to an idea, the mind wants to see it alive and can effect this only by personalizing it." Once this appears as an image, the idea behind the image is taken as real and truthful (1949: 186, 148). Personifications become connected to other representations, all of which when tied together by a cultural logic form myths, elevating the images into realms of the sacred and giving the issues and values attached to them respectability, authority, and urgency. And protection. The mythic assumptions and images, essentialist in nature, are re-placed before the public but, despite claims of universality and timelessness, they may or may not be shared by the market. What matters more than sharing is that the images and values obtain obedience and enforcement, the intensity of which promotes displays of loud support as well an insistence on corresponding levels of exclusion and silence from those who would disbelieve or refute.

Images are ideal types. They have some basis in fact but by their nature extend and aspire to dimensions far beyond any empirical groundings. The images, however, are claimed to be real and an audience may acknowledge the claim as legitimate, not because the images are in fact real but because the claims reaffirm the audience's own (however vague) configurations of ethics and aesthetics. Images are made by borrowing and applying sets or elements of characteristics used in other representations; "new" images are more the recycling and rearrangement of traditional cultural inventories. Moreover, the images cannot be too new or they lose their market share. Through a process in which association is taken to be identity, images and their meanings are asserted as fact and event. These images supply the meanings that motivate and structure social action, and they produce what may be spatially and temporarily limited sets of subtexts, some predictable, some not. Given the stability of image sets and the certainty of their repetitive consumption, what allows for variation is the manipulation of stories within the stories. Thus in the sexual abuse hysterias, while the dramas focused ostensibly on the victims, performances were allowed or encouraged by the parents of the victims, by heroic professionals, and of course by villains, all carefully auditioned before casting.

This has been particularly true in the cultural processing of sexual acts and motives in Western culture. One of the consequences of the belief in the drive theory of sexuality has been the need to create and invest in arrays of symbols and images designed to ritually (i.e., in a regulated, structural way) call forth and channel selected emotions. There is an emphasis on extremity and division (thought to reflect the inherent nature of sexual experiences and feelings—filthy versus pure, good versus evil), a reflection on the Western religious and scientific mania for moral regulation and the economically derived obsession for accounting and bookkeeping manifested as elaborate, sometimes eloquent, lattices of classification.

Because the images are idealized, based on a fractured and incomplete substratum, and rooted in the defense of one set of desires against others, they are ultimately unstable. The more unstable the images, the more vociferous their

defense. This need to quickly and strongly insist automatically produces narrative inconsistency, and considerable energy is spent reconciling the appearance of seemingly contradictory figures in the drama. Iconic and thematic repetition serves to reduce or deflect attention from complexity or contradiction for consumers. The lessening of complexity is also accomplished by the insistence upon linear causal modes. If assertions are made about the direct and immediate influence of a pedophile upon a victim, there is also the assertion that similar modes will resolve the situation, such as aversion punishment or execution. One of the seductions of linear insistence is its promise of certainty, uniformity, and stability. When the sexual child breaks out of an enforced silence and threatens to reveal the fragility of the perfect victim character, she is explained as simply another classificatory variety of victim and is reintegrated into the codependency of villain/victim/hero. Wilde suggests that such aesthetic and ethical cohesion is a demand of modernism (1981:32). It is true that such unifying strategies, manifesting themselves as reform movements, purification campaigns, and moral panics have been found with increasing importance from the early 17th century on through the present, times when social, emotional, and cultural fragmentation was seen as immediately and extensively threatening. To be sure, most symbolic crusades have as their intent the reintegration of the social and physical body into something more uniform, consistent, and obedient. The modern tactic usually used to accomplish this is the engineering of emotions. The most effective way to do this is firstly for the campaigns to claim cultural respectability by asserting social and moral superiority.

Secondly, the images and their attendant emotions must be routed through long standing, recognizable (consciously or unconsciously) representational genre. The structural connections and conventions of content in such genre as the gothic, melodrama, and sentimental texts have been traditionally used to mobilize emotions, encourage fantasy work and play, and to direct or discourage social activism. The genre appear mainly as artifacts of fiction, advertising, and journalism, though science as an institution has also been active in the generation of clichéd self-promoting images. It matters very little that the images used may shock; in fact, it is preferable that they do. Jarring scenes and scenarios are meant to induce reaction, and politically it is that very reaction that represents the impetus for stabilization, to "reaffirm perception rather than change it" (Huyssen 1980). What may appear as change may simply be retrenchments of value and symbol systems thought to be inadequately protected and enforced. Substantially draconian, the child sexual abuse laws that came out of the 1980s reinforce traditional meanings of sex, age, gender, and authority in the face of challenges rather than represent any progress in humanitarianism. The laws and their reactionary images insist that pertinent cultural and biological qualities and characteristics are fixed and valid, particularly those of childhood and sexuality, both seen as singular.

By intensifying and clarifying the values involved in their texts, genre purposely escalate the interactive complex of image-emotion-value. Images may be superficial but they are devised to be absorbed as emotion and identified as

personal value. It is the elevation of representational quality that produces display and theatricality. This accomplishes two things. One, in proportion to the degree of dramatism, it demands acceptance of the display and the emotional reactions to it as reality. To do this, theatrics have to discourage and deflect critical inquiries about the constitution of and reasons for the presentations. This latter idea is an old one, expressed formally by Edmund Burke in 1757, and has been a constant theme in conservative critiques of popular culture. It is seen in contemporary anti-pornography movements which assume the viewing audience has no choice but to respond to the genre. Adults are seen as a mass of barely restrained armaments, awaiting only a trigger, and children are seen as empty sponges, soaking up all they encounter as they become programmed for automatic action.[15]

Secondly, assuming that such discourses appear with sufficient strength in times of cultural instability and conflict, the images become heightened not only in quality but in quantity, that is, become repeated to emphasize and instill their message. The same emotion-exciting article on child sexual abuse appeared with little variation in nearly every newspaper, magazine, and broadcast media repeatedly over a concentrated period of time during the 1980s. Repetition is in large measure a function of the degree of perceived instability. Gender roles that need reinforcing, sales figures that need boosting, and political authority that needs strengthening will be assisted by publicity campaigns, particularly those that move the market to seek more of the same. This is especially true when sentimental appeals are used, whether in fiction, journalism, or advertising, insofar as such images and their implications are projected and taken as a form of self-reinforcement and promotion. The images become common, offered as their own definition of realness.

All of the individual images used in these situations for these purposes necessarily become part of a broader cultural phenomenon, the spectacle. Imagery is paramount over plot in any of the representations we have examined, a characteristic of the genre vehicles themselves (see Prickett 1979:78). Spectacles emphasize images over ideas, and display and reaction over understanding.

This "predisposition" toward the spectacle seems to be a very human characteristic: the desire (based on what appears to be a biological and evolutionary necessity) to stimulate the senses and intellect and keep them stimulated. This "taste for awe and wonder" (Hunter 1990:33) can be activated by a supervised, regulated, and restricted social context and a social structure in which leisure time is either overwhelming (for the rich or unemployed, for example) or constrained (for the overworked, for example).

All peoples, especially youth, have enjoyed stories and visuals that activate the imagination and the physical responses of the body. Even ones that produce fear and guilt have found themselves domesticated to the extent that such horror shows can be safely consumed and enjoyed as entertainment. Cultural displays, usually ritualized, are found in all societies. The history of the West is composed in large measure of spectacles, from the circuses and military campaigns of the ancient world, into the solidification of religious power of later times, through the

showy wallowing in anxieties over adult-youth sexual relations from the mid-1970s on.

Most relevant to our inquiry here, and probably of the greatest tradition, has been the fascination with "monsters." Monsters were represented as actual beings in ancient Babylonian texts, and through the classical cultures of Greece and Rome. In 77 CE, Pliny began the formal and authoritative cataloging of such creatures in his *Natural History*. This was expanded in the early Middle Ages by extensively listing and categorizing monsters—verified by witnesses and victims—in travel accounts, encyclopedias, bestiaries, and texts of biblical exegesis. Initially there was a merging of monstrous animals with human monsters (as Blacks in Africa were then seen to be), but by the late Middle Ages, the term "monster" began referring more specifically to defective humans (skin color was considered a defect). By the 16th century, animal and human monsters or fantastic beings were generally discredited, and more emphasis began to be placed on what we have called "freaks," a product largely of the rise of early medical and biological research and the desires of societies to account for themselves in secular terms.

During the Middle Ages the idea that monsters signaled divine displeasure and coming disaster became more accepted and has remained an element of popular and professional thought. Arising in a growing post-medieval secular interest in the fantastic and bizarre, monster motifs and the search for the "unnatural" were integral parts of Western popular cultures during the 16th and 17th centuries. An interest in linear and mechanical causes also reemerged then (Park and Daston 1981; Fiedler 1978:233f) as the definition of science. Spacks (1962:30) quotes the Earl of Shaftsbury as saying in 1710 before the emergence of the Gothic genre later in the century, that "Monsters and monsterlands were never more in request" by an enthusiastic population. From the late 16th century on, however, the consideration of monsters became more and more the provenance of the expanding educated and professional classes. Some still take monsters to indicate a relationship between the natural and the supernatural, while most take them to indicate a relationship (usually moral) between the natural and the artificial. In the early 18th century moral and ethical questions were again raised amidst great social anxiety, and the monster become identified—especially in human form—with a great evil threatening personal and social destruction.

The 18th century demanded all sorts of stimuli, particularly the tabooed. There was a desire for "stupendous works of nature" largely in the form of panoramic landscapes, special effects in the arts and sciences, and a continuing interest in defective beings (Brissenden 1974:40, 75). In the 18th century special effects became mass produced and tied to an ethic of consumerism. Carried by the growth of capitalism and its development of advertising, the desire for sensory stimuli was taken up by larger and more varied portions of society.

In the late 18th century, the development of technologies for spectacular performances and exhibitions with apocalyptic themes became more popular with audiences and could be more effectively staged; it is here we begin to see "disasters" as spectacles. The drama revolves around images of human victims,

once living a peaceful existence but now threatened and decimated by powerful external forces. In the early imagery, the forces were products of divine displeasure, and the suffering victim was somehow at fault. Disaster spectacles were metaphors for an individual's punishing test or trial and a route to spiritual realization and renewal.

In the later part of the 19th century, this turned more inward to what would become psychological disaster spectacles, and the imagery reflected more secular meanings. The focus was still the individual, with attention paid to such subjective themes as the workings of "fevered brains" (Prickett 1979:31, 33), but social themes became more meaningful, standing for certain subsets within a society or even for the whole society itself. The self-conscious subject could now perceive itself as a social element, and throughout religious and post-religious imagery, themes of loss (of goals, identities, meanings) and the lone heroic figure adrift in a sea of monsters remained constant. Also at this time, spectacular imagery of The Deluge attained popularity, shifting from its more overt religious meanings to the sense we see still today of "anchorless" innocents being inundated by tidal waves of moral disaster (Landow 1982).

The extensive and rapid development of pictorial magazines and newspapers in the early 19th century was accompanied by developments in technologies for visual reproductions via an elaborate and popular domain of viewing machines—from the 17th century "magic lantern" through the Eidophusikon, Sciopticon, kaleidoscope, and stereoscope, all emphasizing panoramas, dioramas, and cosmoramas (Booth 1981:5f). The suffix "-rama" became institutionalized in the language and became synonymous with grand spectacles of the victories of good over evil, quite handy for the display of the West's colonial projects. The blurb on a lobby poster for *Devil Girl From Mars*—"Sights too weird to imagine! Destruction too monstrous to escape!"—would easily apply to the imagery of the Sex Abuse-O-Rama of the 1980s. There was continuity throughout the entire spectrum of cultural representations; television journalist Geraldo Rivera, one of the best representatives of the institution in the decade, announced one of his specials with the promise, "You'll be looking at some horrible scenes and meeting some horrible people" (April 13, 1988, "Murder: Live From Death Row").

The first wave of massively manufactured commercial experiences began to edge out, even substitute for real life. From the beginnings of this process in the 18th century, there were both condemnations and support for this interest in the "extravagant" and "unnatural" (Spacks 1962:80, 125f). Reactions against staged dramas, based in the Puritan equation of display with lewdness and paganism, were strongly present in America until the mid-19th century, although condemned displays moved in the 19th century to other, less public areas and became referred more and more to as "obscenity" and "pornography." Banta (1987:709, note 16; 711, note 2) cites a number of references on the general indignation at the great increase and replacement of pictures over text in the course of the 19th century, continuing a trend seen today toward what was referred to in 1911 as "pictorial squalor." Wordsworth in his poem "Illustrated book and newspapers" decries the rise of visuals as "a backward movement," and a "vile abuse of printed page!"[16]

The trend continued throughout the century resulting in severe reactions against explicitness and an increasing attention to "realistic" detail. Melville grumbled that people wanted "more reality than real life itself can show...nature unfettered, exhilarated, in effect transformed" (1971:158).

Two main displays of the spectacle are of relevance here: the parade and the exhibit. Parades are celebrations and dramatizations, usually regulated by ritual criteria, especially ethical and aesthetic. They are ceremonial events and in most ways reaffirm their cultural bases, particularly those that relate to social structures and their validations by what Ryan sees as "stories" within a parade (1989; see Scott 1990). She is quite right, especially if the term "parade" is used broadly as I do, as something close to performative display. Parades share many characteristics of the exhibit, but here I want to emphasize the assertiveness in the idea of a parade. To parade is to ostentatiously display, to order a subject in such ways that that which is paraded is put up for inspection and judgment. To parade is to manipulate. There is an intense, often self-righteous assertion and celebration of power in parades. Some of this establishment of power comes from the very display of the things that are put on parade, and some from the physical and social distance the parade establishes. Spectators, as outsiders, are invited to share by giving forth exclamations of awe, approval, and allegiance; the fact that a market has assembled in the first place to watch a parade is the first affirmation of the power of the parade-giver. The spectator is relatively passive, the judgment limited. The parade is movement, dynamic, with an officially defined beginning and end. Part of the strength of presence comes from the entertainment purposes of a parade, a hedonism and self-indulgence lacking or minimized in the more formal idea of exhibits.[17] Exhibits try to stabilize the fluctuations of history, to ground alien forms in structures of contemporary knowledge and meaning. Parades mobilize that which is exhibited, but in a direction dictated by power and knowledge grounded in the exhibits. Pedophiles and other heretics are first displayed through professional exhibitions, then circulated more broadly through the community-audience by being paraded by journalists in popular media.

Exhibits make greater claims to respectability and authority. As an institutional form, parades can be permitted occasions for inverting a culture's values, usually those of aesthetics and ethics. Parades encourage the imagination via display, sometimes by explicitness, usually by exaggeration, sometimes by understatement. But despite seeming exceptions, parades must still represent conventional social relations, particularly those that involve hierarchies of power, and particularly when those relations may be contested or doubted (Davis 1986; Ryan 1989; Scott 1990). While parades invite public participation emotionally and physically, exhibits call more for respect and admiration. They are much more static, an indication that what is being displayed has roots more firmly in the official, less volatile and less changing culture. These statements apply not so much to what is exhibited but to the event of exhibition itself. There is an implicit reference to the exhibitor within the exhibit, a reference to the power and mastery that can provide an exhibit in the first place. Whether from a wide range of exhibited material to the size and power of that which is exhibited, the statement is

there that those who have put on the display have done so from a position of elite expertise, licensed authority, strength of will, and material wealth. Distance is required, approval is not.[18]

The history of the discovery and exhibition of dinosaurs provides some examples. There were some dinosaurs found from the late 17th century through the 18th, but more focused unearthings and accounts began appearing in the first decade of the 19th century, became more textualized in the 1820s, and finally reached public display in England and the United States about mid-century. They became exhibited in the historical context of conflicts between rapidly developing institutions of modern geological and biological science, and the assertion of authority and power by various religious institutions. Monsters were indeed on parade, but in addition to their entertainment value, they figured as pieces in intellectual and political debates of the time. Exhibits became argument and evidence, parades were times for judgment.

Another shift going on at the time was in Gothic horror fiction—the shift of the locus of fear and terror from external to internal threats. Increasing speculations about the unconscious pictured it as a vast unknown domain, a setting which invited the seeing of monsters that embody the threats and anxieties of unexplored areas. Dinosaurs enlarged the scale of monstrousness, and they increased social emphasis on introspection by encouraging the imaginative projection of distorted nature into the inner depths of human psyches (Punter 1980). The question of the legitimacy of dinosaurs involved not only questions of evolution, which a "progress" oriented culture could accommodate, but the issue of extinction as well, particularly of such formidable creatures. These powerful monsters threaten human existence by the very fact that they are all dead.

Parallel to this was the rise of the American "museum." Popular tastes for the bizarre and the morbid, shunted out of respectable exhibit halls and institutions, found a home in the "dime museums" that developed early in the 19th century. These exhibits allowed people to view, safely, the stories of oughts and ought-nots, the natural and the unnatural, by the actual example of someone or some thing that represented the consequences of various behaviors and attitudes. McNamara tells of exhibits displaying the course of venereal diseases in graphic detail via "voluptuous female anatomical models," and one show featured "the gristly visage of a smirking and drooling idiot boy and the awful legend, 'Lost Manhood'" (1974:223), referring to the effects of masturbation, then a target of professional obsession and popular anxiety. The "dime museums," coming from ancient traditions of exhibits of exotica, were popular throughout the 19th century, reaching a height in the latter part of the period until absorbed by traveling circuses by the turn of the century (Grimsted 1968; Fiedler 1978; Bogdan 1988). They survived through the first half of the 20th century in the form of sleazy roadside exhibits, making themselves ideal settings for horror tales.

Also popular, going back to the late 18th century, were tableaux either of wax figures or of living people. Images were made by specifically designed poses meant to convey moral ideas in which "spectators' minds could enact private melodramas of desire" (Banta 1987:609). Previous contemplation of images was

encouraged because the subject was overt or directed by religious authorities; images were socially meaningful insofar as those meanings were explicitly shared by spectators. The 19th century radically liberated the imagination while offering images that were sometimes concrete, sometimes vague enough to allow for wider, internal and subjectively based elaborations. The indulgence in viewing the grotesque and horrifying was tempered by lectures and other presentations that surrounded the show with respectability, much as contemporary television documentaries, news reports, or exhibitions of child erotica do by simultaneously exhibiting experts.

Freaks have always been quite popular with audiences and entrepreneurs. From the 16th century on in modern times, the "spectacle of strangeness" (as Ben Johnson referred to it, Mullaney 1983) held a special fascination for spectators and those who wished to transform curious viewers into paying customers. In the 17th and 18th centuries, inmates of insane asylums were often put on display and people went to view the incarcerated for entertainment in both America and England. They paid admission and often tried to get the inmates drunk so as to exaggerate their behavior. The exhibition was justified on religious grounds saying that freaks were given by God to point out moral and immoral characters and behaviors. These "oddities" served therefore not only the power of the exhibitors, but fed and encouraged the sense of superiority of the viewers, allowing them a validated position for the exercise of their cruelties. They were lessons to be learned, and, as Foucault pointed out, the very entomology of the word "monster" indicated them to be "beings or things to be shown."[19] The 19th century continued to escalate the scope of the spectacle, featuring "all out-o'-th'-way, far fetch'd, perverted things."[20]

There is another kind of popular spectacle that is historically important. For many generations in Europe, the masquerade was a highly developed institution that allowed not only the viewing of exotic sights and behaviors, but allowed one to participate in them. To do so, one could not be oneself, however, and a going beyond oneself in a transformation to an "Other" was called for. Masquerades were related to other festivals of inversion in which ordinary relations and rules of daily living were, within authorized temporal and physical spaces, turned upside down. Here denied or unattained selves appear as monsters and clowns. Castle suggests that the masquerades of the 18th century were associated with increases of certain kinds of performances and rhetoric, specifically (critics said) the exercise of frivolity, excitement, moral danger, corruption of morals and taste, sexual license, eroticism, intrigue, and "a material devaluation of unitary notions of the self" (1986:4). This carnivalesque activity developed to where it had to be domesticated by civil society after the 18th century and was turned into more ordered displays and parades that emphasized the elements of "exoticism, morbidity, and death" (Castle 1986:336; 1987), with grotesqueness as the underlying unifying theme.

The importance of this is seen in the assumption of the burden of display by the official culture and the restriction of the cultural self to a more unified appearing entity. The Other, the monstrous being, became even more separate

from a defensive constricting culture and consequently became more of a focus for display and manipulation by official evaluators. The 19th century invention of sexual varieties is the heir of the threads of all these processes. Categories such as "homosexual," "pedophile," the masturbating child, "pornography," and others in the museums of Krafft-Ebing and his fellow sexologists represent not the advancement of science to greater and more profound insights but historically located constructions of cultural anxieties. They have proven useful for entertainment and administrative purposes for over a century.

Fig. 6.1: KABC-TV newspaper ad, 1984

7

THE VILLAIN AS SPECTACLE

I

Whether speaking of the "sex offender" in older texts (Sutherland 1950, Falk 1964, Gebhard 1965a, 1965b), or later of "the pedophile" (Plummer 1979), a few observers outlined portions of popular images of sexual villains and came to similar conclusions. These characters, including victims and heroes, are products of moral thinking. This kind of thought, basically utopian, is imaginative thought, speculation, fantasizing not only about what ought to be but also what "is." Like most other forms of political or sexual thought, it shows itself in icons and dramas, told from a particular point of view. As a part of this, monsters are constructed and paraded so as to evoke questions and contrasts of good and evil, of what is true and false, of what is real and artificial, of beauty and ugliness, of the self and the Other. Monsters may mark boundaries, but they are also constructed when there is uncertainty and dispute about the place or even necessity of boundaries. The external and internal shape of the monster is a direct representation of the distortions people feel are happening in their personal, social, cultural, and physical lives. Monsters entail skewed materiality and spirituality: of irreverence, impiety, amorality and evil; of uncontrolled passion and lust; of fanaticism, obsession, and conspiratorial subversion; and of the perversion of religious or secular purpose.

The most immediately salient quality of the villain, especially the sexual villain, is physicality; especially obvious is hugeness, sheer overwhelming bigness or obesity. If not physically disproportionate externally, monstrousness inside assumes gigantic dimensions. This largeness begins "Otherness." It is an "Other" because it is fundamentally, essentially *different*. To strike at the root of what makes up difference, a good deal of time is spent detailing deformity by presenting images of a transformed body. This is given as ugliness and repulsiveness; grotesqueness is used to trigger physical responses of disgust and fear. Made up of inappropriate, incongruous, and random elements, there emerges a distorted and disabled but highly dangerous individual. His behavior, like his appearance, is unregulated by any logic. Disease has long been an excellent metaphor for the transforming body; disease, decay, and death (especially when re-awakened) represent the ultimate threats of the monster. In the 1980s, a great deal of this was current in popular, political, and professional cultures. Speaking of the AIDS

anxieties that increased steadily to the latter part of the decade, Goldstein says the 1986 re-make of *The Fly* is a direct representation of the fear of bodies transforming into diseased monstrosities, accompanied by "heavy doses of sexual paranoia."[1]

The monster embodies a threat to authority and order. The monster goes where he should not, sees what he should not, touches what he should not, thinks what he should not, takes what is not his. The monster is a criminal, an outlaw; as such he becomes an enemy, officially designated by the proper authorities and repeated by the information industries (Gray 1970:131-169; Adam 1978; Shupe 1987). Worse, he will, by unsportsmanlike behavior, get others to do the same thing. Ironic and contradictory, his disobedience will force or inspire devotion and conformity. A double threat, the monster not only destroys others, he replicates himself.

The monster is irreverent, blasphemous, profane. He negates by uncensored thoughts and acts all the qualities and purposes of sacred images. By his utterance, he curses the worshipped and mocks the worshippers; by his touch he places a destroying spell upon the divine which, when faced with the monster, is suddenly less than omnipotent. He is tacky, oblivious to cannons of decorum, and delights in the obscene. The monster laughs at the tragic.

The monster is designed as an unusual but entertaining evil. The entertainment comes from the presentation of two stables of human drama, sex and violence, mixed with mysteries and secrets projected through special effects. The monster is lust on the move, or more precisely, on the march. The creation is animated because he is insatiable, intoxicated, obsessed, and addicted; he is uncontrolled and seemingly unstoppable. He is the imagination unbound. Sexually, he substitutes attack for foreplay, and his orgasms depend on death, explicitly and endlessly described by his fascinated opponents. He corrupts the innocent, violates the unconsenting, and destroys the defenseless.

And he is political. He is a fanatic, a fundamentalist, obeying unheard, or unspeakable, laws. He is insidious because he is subversive, and he is subversive because he is disguised. His commitment to unfair advantage makes his sudden appearances startling, consequences discovered only after he has fled—and he is always fleeing because he is a coward.

The monster is perversion personified. He deflects and destroys what are natural, normal, predictable states and processes, a subversion of the spectator-victim's faith and belief in the world's appearances and rules. His contempt for social values is aggravated by his arrogant assertion of a counter-ideology that denies all past accomplishment, present endeavor, and future aspiration. He is impervious to rational argument or the common sense, and cannot be convinced or compromised. He can only be stopped. Because the monster is so excessive, he is by definition more than is needed or wanted and is ultimately expendable. He allows an order dedicated to acceptance, abundance, and freedom to deny, exclude, and exterminate him.

Two related defining characteristics of monstrousness are the ideas of insatiability, and the single-focused devotion to fulfilling desires. The idea of

"sexual addiction" was widely popular and necessary to professionals early in the hysteria. Though some had used the idea in the early 1970s, Patrick Carnes (1983) is often looked upon as the one to first effectively market the idea.[2] The image was consistent with other accusations of sexual enthusiasm, and profiles of the "sex addict" were nearly the same as for the pedophile (most felt that child sex abuse was a consequence of "sexual addiction," Seligmann 1987). The idea was useful to advice columnists, referring undetected and unconfessed addicts to seek help, though "Ann Landers" (1988) cutely exempted "honeymooners and newlyweds." Levine and Troiden (1988) offered a good critique of the idea of sexual compulsion, seeing it as "an attempt to repathologize forms of erotic behavior that became acceptable in the 1960s and 1970s," but the idea remained popular and profitable.[3]

The concept, however, has been around for quite a while, and has been used for the same political purposes it served in the 1970s and 1980s. In the mid-18th century, Tissot saw masturbators as people "addicted to the evil" (Jordanova 1987:74). Thomas Malthus, famous for his dire predictions of over-population, believed that due to a lack of reason, "some men of the highest mental powers have been addicted not only to a moderate, but even to an immoderate indulgence in the pleasures of sensual love" (Malthus 1926:217f). Dwight warned that for both the seducer and the seduced, the "Licentious character soon becomes habitual" and they "become addicted to those indulgences."[4]

The *Oxford English Dictionary* notes that the elements of devotion and dependence which are crucial to the concept of addiction go back at least to the early 16th century. Anything which seems to distract attention from authorized preoccupations and artifacts may be deemed both the subject and cause of a pathological and fanatic adherence, that is, ideas of obsession are coupled with ideas of allegiance. Young (1966:99) correctly observed that "The fear of addiction is not far removed from the fear of idolatry."[5]

This has been most evident in criticisms of popular culture influences on youth. Addiction was used to account for a wide variety of pleasures and preoccupations, from religion to video games (Booth 1991, Rosemond 1988). Psychoanalyst Pederson-Krag believed that reading detective stories became "habitual" because it produced "gratification" and resulted in an "insatiable demand" for more and more stories. This seemed, to the analyst, to be a product of child abuse. The reader wants "to relive and master traumatic infantile experiences he once had to endure passively. Becoming the detective, he gratifies his infantile curiosity with impunity, redressing completely the helpless inadequacy and anxious guilt remembered from childhood" (1949:214).

At the time Pederson-Krag was analyzing, social critics were very concerned with popular culture, and the effort produced some extraordinarily idiotic professional outpourings. In the late 1940s through the mid-1950s, authorities were anxious about the influence of crime and horror comics on children, and addiction was one of the key words of the time. Crime readers and especially the growing generation of horror fans proudly referred to themselves as addicts. An EC Comics story, "Model Nephew," carried a self-reference to the "fan-addict,"

and one could in fact become a card-carrying (another popular Fifties phrase of condemnation) member.[6]

The monster is in all respects larger than life, reality, and normality. And it is so because its growth comes from feeding on an ever-increasing number of victims. The devouring, "all consuming" (Dawson-Brown 1985), cannibalistic imagery of monsters goes back to classical times, a favorite figuration for those feeling a profound sense of loss and threat, feelings escalated individually and culturally since the advent of modern capitalism. The monster in popular and professional imaginations is a forecast of consequences, the aftermath of unique events. For people so affected, the monster is the symbol of being overwhelmed and absorbed by nature and of being overtaken and left behind by history. The monster casts doubt on external ("objective") and internal ("subjective") worlds and the meanings that hold them together. The stability and certainty of knowledge and reality in the life of the self and of society is at stake.

II

The importance of the idea of excessiveness is not only that a boundary has been crossed, but that the boundary has been violated in some horrific threatening way, the interior that was protected becoming vulnerable. There are two spatial and tactical metaphors available for use: one, the interior has become corrupt, swollen, and may explode through a breech made by weakened resistance to internal pressure. Here is the imagery of the necessity of external controls and internal paranoia. Another is that the Outside/Other breaks the boundary and invades and destroys the interior, regardless of the interior's cohesiveness; here the emphasis is on internalized controls and xenophobia. The two often combine, generating doubt and uncertainty that translate into a fear-driven search for secrets and a hate-driven demand for confessions.

Monstrousness, based in images of bodily transformation, reflects instability and formlessness. This fragmentation, a consequence of the loss of control, order, and a unified totality, often becomes expressed in formulas of relentlessness such as "1 of every...," "every *x* seconds..," and in narratives that say "*x* could be anywhere, anyone." The impossibility of locating the phantom pedophile places the emphasis on detection, naming, and stigmatizing.

A relatively late addition to the conception of the grotesque carries a meaning of hidden or layered truths wherein a being's inner core is the most true, the most ugly, and the most uncontrolled. Disguise, and the antidotal tactic of "myth-busting," assume major constitutive positions in panics based on fears of invasion and control by alien monsters with incredibly bad taste. A 1982 remake of *The Thing* was much more graphic about the danger of alien invasion, particularly because the film emphasized how the alien, with delightful disgustingness, could transform itself into whatever shape resembled the being with whom it came into contact.

Paranoia has its basis in a sense of "abnormality" which is unseen (and thus imagined) or rarely glimpsed. Fundamental to spectacles of horror is an external menace, or a latent internal threat that either awaits an outside trigger or is simply

growing, building pressure until an eruption unleashes hordes of disgusting maniacs. Horror tales achieve their tension and fright in shifting balances between the known and the unknown; they "are predominantly concerned with knowledge as a theme," says Carroll (1990:127). The emphasis has to be on disclosure, emergence, and revelation.

Paranoia is grounded in struggles for power, and a sense of invasion and conspiracy reflects a deep-seated fear of losing control over and identity of the self and others. Official horror shows, where monsters are placed on parade, are designed to authorize losing control in ways that will have little impact on the fundamental structures of daily life. Correspondingly, the promotion of horror, specifically designed to induce fear, reinforces established social forms and institutions. Paranoia generates distrust and the impetus is to increase distance and separation (a close cousin of paranoia is claustrophobia). It has to encourage reliance on and promotion of increased centralized and unified authority and discipline.

Paranoia is not restricted to the uncontrolled. Those enforcing moralities have to entertain a deep and pervasive distrust of their own subordinates. Doubts and doctrines on worthiness constitute the main texts of a paranoid culture, heresy and blasphemy the main topics of prosecution. The child sexual abuse hysteria equals the mid century anti-Communist frenzies in its output of narratives of seduction, conspiracies, and disguises. As a logical consequence of this mentality, the hysteria was responsible for the legalization and institutionalization of more intrusive acts of stigmatization, orgies of unity, and the routinization of sexual surveillance and detention. Demands for abstinence are demands for loyalty oaths, instituted by a fear of duplicity.

Duplicity is part of the double-self or "paired opposites" motif. It occurs frequently in the texts because of the Manichean nature of the cultural base from which it springs: the bifurcation between the monster pedophile (body) and the innocent victim (spirit) is one expression of this, and the "pedophiles-can-be one-of-us" or "what-if-I'm-a-pedophile" themes, as well as images of the demonic Lolita are others. The concept also appears in images of size and weight differences between adults and juveniles; the "power differential" argument against youth-adult sex is a variety of this old idea.

The imagery of duality engenders structural and narrative paradox. It has been acknowledged to some extent in the abuse narratives, such as admitting that the suffering innocent child may be sexually assertive and enjoy erotic pleasures, or that the demon-pedophile may be passive, gentle, and caring. But paradox is fluid and vacillating, ideologically unstable. This elusiveness of the paradoxical, insofar as it is based on connected opposites, lets the believer escape a confrontation with irony, a state which would call for more self-doubt than believers can emotionally, intellectually, politically, or aesthetically manage. Paradox is allowed only to the extent that it does not call for actors to consider contradiction, a contamination by uncertainty of the concepts on which the beliefs are based. But the inconsistencies and contradictions in the image of the pedophile, victim, and hero are of no consequence to their authors simply because

those images are not what we would call rational constructions. Consistency, usually a verifiable empirical referent, is not the purpose. The purpose is to express in entertaining ways the aspirations of certain political and sexual values; the detection and solution of contradiction is overridden by the momentum of aesthetics. Further, for abuse advocates, it's not how you play the game, but whether you win or lose. The emphasis on winning (specifically, on triumph and overpowering), was paramount in the 1980s and expressed by a variety of physical spasms and cries (seen most in sports and commercials), a triumph of the challenged body and doubted will.

III

The revelation of secrets for the paranoid demands confession to substantiate the certainty of threat and the necessity of action. At the heart of this is the idea of the Unspeakable. It is this that *must* be spoken, confessed, made public, and brought under the control of administrators of knowledge, thought, and behavior, as when Herman (1992) obsessively insisted that the unspeakable be constructed and cured. It is no accident that psychoanalysis arose in a time and place of collapsing colonial adventures. It was a time of restricting and resisting frontiers and a time when an outward thrust was deflected back to heighten a growing sense of accusatory inwardness. It was incomprehensible to many in the 19th century that the outreach of imperial power would be rejected and ridiculed. The subjects of such gestures, barely considered worthy, were placing themselves at risk by having nothing to rely on but their own resources, proven to be inadequate by science and religion.

Silence as a literary device gained a great deal of popularity in the 19th century. It was used to stand for interior states of feeling yet unarticulated, to establish and convey a sense of mystery and deception, and as a metaphor of sex and death-related themes. It expressed feelings and states of helplessness, alienation, isolation, and estrangement, uncertainty, and suspenseful waiting (Kane 1984). The association of the Unspeakable with sexualities goes back to Saint Augustine, and a popular designation for homosexuality in the 19th century was "The love that dared not speak its name." Homosexuality was, by definition, hidden and distributed throughout the population such that the unease reflected the social paranoia we have seen in texts that dealt with the Confidence Man, the Seducer, the Masturbating Child, and other subversive figures. Reflected in the fascination with the horror of secrets, disguises, impersonations, "unreported" events and relations, conspiracies, and seduction, the levels of excited rhetoric varied with the degree of uncertainty. The Unspeakable is a sign of disunity on the one hand, and on the other, an explicit fear of discovering a unity, the *shared* sensibilities and perceptions that may exist between the self and the Other. To so obsessively purge "kiddie porn," for example, is to deny and protect the self from the risk that one may *also* respond.[7]

Fear and uncertainty of the form, content, and power of the Unspeakable get reflected in a mania to *name*, a magical process used to deflect the power of the undefined Other, important in the development of 19th century social, behavioral,

and sexual sciences. Moving the Unspeakable from the private and personal to the public and social through naming is an attempt to breach the Unspeakable and domesticate it via captured and instructed voices. Because the Unspeakable comes in times of theological, political, or scientific dispute, it becomes necessary to allay doubts and fears within official mentalities that the Unspeakable can in fact be spoken. The Unspeakable is usually expressed in languages of threat and dissolution, so confessions become of special importance. Exactly what is spoken is of great concern, for the speaker in confessions is the Other and still represents a threat to official definitions. It is crucial that these conceptions of what is Unspeakable be verified as "correct," that is, validated by the exhibition of evidence and the admissions of prisoners. The urgency to accuse is linked to the urgency to believe, and the urgency to believe is linked to the urgency to punish.

This is what is so satisfying about accusing someone of being a pedophile. Coming from a background of badly shaken meanings, there is an exhilaration felt when one can target and name someone; the meanings of the label are deeply entwined with systems of guaranteed truths and heroism. Experiencing a world that seems to drain one's essence and power, labeling "the pedophile" offers the designator a chance to utter and exercise the power of a universal truth in a way that purifies the world of demonic influences and stabilizes personal and social flux. It is among the most ancient of magical incantations.

Seeing something as "unspeakable" is to express feeling overwhelmed by excess and threatened by multiplicities. Naming attempts to isolate the challenges and soothe the convulsing personal and social body. But naming runs the risk of actually pluralizing what one wants to restrict to singularity, and further control must be exerted. One way is to *disallow* further elaboration, either by self or others, by acts of deliberate censorship of critical views, and another way is to *disavow* further elaboration, which is to qualify and authorize particularistic narratives that speak at great length of the unspeakable, but always from protected positions, such as academic and psychiatric prefaces, editorial disclaimers, urgings to report abuse at the end of broadcasts or novels, and so on. At a deeper level, however, compulsive naming usually results in mis-categorization and/or categorization at the wrong level such that actual and fundamental processes and associations are obscured or hidden; for this latter aspect, some have found that energetic naming has the desired effect of deflecting attention from those very elements more fundamental to the issue, adequately disguising them in order to accomplish broader political objectives. "Profiles" are one such type of naming.

Many 19th century monsters articulated the Unspeakable. The monster of Frankenstein, the vampire, and the personalities of Dr. Jeckyl were all used to exteriorize and articulate a growing fear of what lay within the self as well as the equally frightening specter of popular masses in revolt, a growth that had seen no sign of decline since the late 18th century. The century's sexual grotesques—the homosexual, the prostitute and the *femme fatale*, the sadist and masochist, the fetishist, and the masturbating child—were similar monstrosities invented to talk of severely threatened orders within and outside of the self.[8]

Secrecy has had a long and varied history with much depending upon the cultural context at any given point in time. The association of children with secrets has also been varied, some looking upon the secrets children hold as benign, others seeing them as pathological. Just before the extension of the sexual abuse hysteria into virtually all aspects of popular culture, Bennett was able to remark, "Among the more delicious feelings shared by children are the twin delights of secrecy and conspiracy. Silence and shared confidence heightens the senses" (1979:82). His last point is particularly important in understanding campaigns against the private worlds of childhood. Secrets are one of the few resources of power for young people, especially insofar as they contribute to the construction of an autonomous self. This autonomy, this separateness, can be corrosive to adult relations of power and self concepts. Within the culture of sexual abuse, it is assumed that secrets are subversive and must, at all costs, be exposed. Revelation necessarily becomes display, for much of the motivation is the eroticism of secrecy, funneled into its most conventional pastime, voyeurism.

Popular genres from the early 17th century on have continually explored the idea that there are hidden insidious secrets beneath the respectable facades of people and places. Forms of this go back to Roman literature and the exposés of Juvenal and others who pointed to the sordid private lives of public figures. The theme still finds popular and professional acceptance, and was used extensively in anti-pedophile polemics. Other basic assumptions are that what is seen on an individual basis directly represents universal reality, and that sex on a private individual level represents public social difficulties. This permits construction and application of texts by journalists and professionals that use both marginal examples and reified categories to substitute for ordinary, and usually quite different behaviors; these sensational and extreme examples of abuse are presented as common occurrences. The representational strategy is a rhetoric that Paulson (1967:219ff) calls "melodramatic diction." Instances, already distorted by personal and cultural biases, are further elaborated by this inflammatory technique. The modern exposé is grounded in the 18th century liberal belief that universal observation is inherently just and can only have positive results (Foucault 1980:161f). The belief assumed an educated, self-conscious, self-critical society and institutional systems delivering disinterested accounts to one and all.

Richetti correctly observes that these *chroniques scandaleuses* (as they were called in the mid-17th century) were reflections of basic social and sexual antagonisms. Disputes of value and social place continue to disturb society, and the conflicts over gender, sexual orientation, and sexual representation find expression, as they did 250 years ago, in the central figures of a helpless and innocent female destroyed by male malignancy or, less often, "innocent masculine youth seduced by aging and lascivious courtesans" (1969:124). These themes have been constant in the genres of Gothics, melodrama, journalism,[9] and others basic to the American imagination. An example is Hayden's novelistic account of a supposedly true search for the secret cause of a child's unsocial behavior in which she often compared her tale to horror films.[10]

One of the most basic ways to reveal secrets and verify their existence (within appropriate aesthetic criteria) is by confession. There have been two approaches to this, one emphasizing the confessions of victims, the other stressing confessions of villains. Though different in some motifs and structural relations, they necessarily share many characteristics. These two mutually reinforcing dramas find widespread use during times of conflict over power and authority, especially disputes over what constitutes valid and enforceable knowledge.

Confessions are dramas because they are usually ritualized, that is, formalized in procedure and content, associated with institutional and intrapersonal structures, and offered as both instruction and entertainment. Rituals, especially those of this sort, are by definition to be performed. Sometimes in public, sometimes in private—but as everyone is supposed to be familiar with the procedures and purposes, the "privacy" is one that is shared culturally. While the injunction is to "voluntarily" perform, in times of change and struggle, confessions are intensified by the hunt and the interrogation. Hunts for those who should be confessing but aren't lay the base of power and authority exercised throughout the rest of the confessional ritual; interrogations allow the display of specific individuals as cultural types and the specific application of domination (cf. Hariman 1990). In an attempt to relate the abuse hysteria with American witchcraft trials, Gardner remarked, "Paradoxically, those who confessed...were neither tried nor executed" (1991:129). It is hardly paradoxical at all when the function of confession is understood. Those who confess are often excused, and used, precisely *because* they confess. It is those who resist who must be silenced and eliminated. Jim Rabie, a former sex crime investigator and retired sheriff, noted that if a suspect confessed, he was let out of jail as "safe to be at large." If the suspect was uncooperative, however, he was considered "in denial" and sent for psychiatric evaluations and would most likely be sent to prison (Wright 1994:50). So too in the case of the Amiraults, kept in prison precisely because they would not confess, refusing to verify the legitimacy of the state.[11]

Display is an important feature of the hunt. Since Puritan days, confession has been a tactic of finding and curing the "wickedness" that was contrary to the spiritual purity of American culture. Confessees (the ones confessing) are exhibited as booty and prisoners taken in war, common as decorations and attractions at government hearings. As "Witchfinder General" of pedophilia in the 1980s, Senator Arlen Spector (R-PA) interrogated a witness brought in for display who had been convicted of having sex with 13 to 15 year old males. Spector probed for details of his methods and deflected attempts by the witness to indicate the emotional and social aspects of the relationships, insisting the witness's motivation was solely for sexual exploitation. He constantly interrupted the witness to badger him, and Spector continually emphasized the legitimacy of punishment and the fear of it as a deterrent.[12] At another hearing, "William Doe" was brought along for his confession as an adjunct to Dr. Fred Berlin's testimony. Part of "Doe's" purpose was to serve as a target of the Committee Chairman's demonstration of prosecutorial abilities and potency.[13]

An outstanding example of constructed display is the production by Emmerman (1985b). The photo with her article shows "a self-confessed" pedophile surrounded by index cards which carry descriptions of his encounters. Of special interest is the placement of the book, *The Sexual Addiction* (Carnes 1983) in a central position. The book is not referred to anywhere in the text; it exists solely as a marker of the subject, a visual definition accompanying the accusatory narrative of Emmerman's polemic. The book serves not only as the important link between confession and indictment, but adds authority and legitimacy to the accusation, placed there by the constructors of the scene. In no small way it points to the heroism of those who have captured the individual, and to their courage in being able to be in such close proximity to such a monstrous evil.

Another example is *Why They Did It* (O'Brien 1986), a wonderfully titled collection of guided confessions disguised as interviews. O'Brien was forthright in stating her purposes: "to help the public better understand why some adults sexually abuse children," and to ask those in prison "for a rationale for their action. It seem [*sic*] equally important to seek their advice on how to avoid sexual abuse in the future."[14] She was more specific as to her intent and assumptions when she listed some of the "basic questions" of her project:

> Is there a certain type of child who is at greater risk of being molested than other children? Why do some adults violate the natural love, affection, and trust that all children need to grow and develop in positive ways? Why do some people knowingly confuse and harm children by premature sexual stimulation? Why do some people combine the poor impulse control, lack of social conscience, and a low-value system with anger and revenge to justify their child sexual molestation activities?[15]

After the Christian Church became tied to the governance of the state, its practice of confession had two emphases. One, a more medieval tradition, emphasized confession as a means to resolve social difficulties based on a community of relations under the superiority of the Church. The second took a more personal direction by trying to reconcile the confessing sinner with the deities. Both approaches were used as the model of secular administration by the early 19th century. While there is some dispute about the importance of sex in Reformation initiations, accelerating from the 18th century there was a stress placed on the religious and secular confession as a basis to monitor and regulate the individual's sexual thoughts and behavior. The development of separate Catholic schools in the late 1800s and a 1910 encyclical by Pope Pius X lowering the age of first confession to age 6-7 helped fix the importance of sexual regulation via the confession. The development of psychoanalysis and psychiatry at this time also directed anxieties toward children's sexualities and necessitated increased surveillance and a pressure to confess. With this new demand for intelligence came more of an emphasis on voyeurism. The act of looking, especially at that which causes anxiety and/or excitement, as an exercise of power, is now normal practice in journalism, social and behavioral science, and popular culture.

Sage believed that "so-called direct reports of human experience...are the results of a consensus about representation..." (1988:132). In various degrees, however, there are authorized and unauthorized ways of presenting such accounts. Accepted and familiar ways, often institutionalized, are usually referred to as genre, and there are indeed stable types of confessions and testimonies. The confessional as developed in the 17th and 18th centuries as part of the novel allowed authors to include a wider and more detailed variety of personal material than had been the case previously. A more secular society encouraged inward examinations as did religious cultures but from different perspectives and assumptions. Diaristic writing in particular encouraged ideas of "selfhood, personality, subjectivity, propriety, and the way to verbalize the personal and unspeaking" (Hunter 1990:303). The emphasis was on personal, often intimate experiences, feelings, and values with a consciousness of social context that continues to increase and broaden, though there are significant pressures to restrict and reduce such perspectives.

For villain and victim alike, the confession uses homiletic themes: terrifying situations and events that are cruel, unjust, or poignant, as well as problems of personal and cultural management (Stahl 1989:28). The focus is personal and subjective. Within this, individual errors and deficiencies of the self are pinpointed in terms of afflictions, flaws, and faults, then come the confession of excesses, most usually in terms of instability and uncontrollableness. Secondly, there are accounts of external influences on a flawed, unstable, or vulnerable self, as when sexual material is confessed to be a "trigger" for one's behavior.[16]

Necessary for the ritual and entertainment functions is emotional tone. Part of the very definition of confession includes an expectation that since fundamental aspects of the self will be revealed, high levels of emotion will be displayed to verify this. The pressure on villains and victims to show emotion in their performances is regulated by cultural criteria which govern such displays (cf. Caldwell 1983:159), largely through direct encouragement by the entertainment or mental health industries. There is often an intense, volatile, and urgent voice to the confessions. These qualities testify to the immanent threat represented by the confessee, the guilt the confession is meant to communicate, and the salvation hoped for by the confessee. Exaggeration is part of this, done through inflation of language and repetition. Further, there is the tendency to make mutually exclusive distinctions between good and evil, a presentation that even though it pretends to consider alternatives and differences, abandons complexity for the convenience of simple singular causes and severe solutions.

One of the main reasons confessions are so popular, aside from their regulatory functions, is that there is often virtually no censorship of subject matter. Barriers between the confessee and the audience are removed, though only for the one direction in which the audience is given access to the confessing subject. Confessions by definition demand the presentation of tabooed material, and while the surface level emphasis is on secrecy, and (depending on requirements of the administrative staging) on the conspiratorial, the interest is to promote revelation. However shocking the subject matter, however "unspeakable," the performances

will still have to contain enough familiar elements to be acceptable to the target audiences. They can be explicit and graphic but not too offensive, nor can the teller relish too much the telling of the tales. Confessions contain stories within stories; the inside stories have to be narrated in such a way as to "domesticate" them in the service of the narrator's overall role and purpose as well as the purposes of the narrator's overseer. Forthrightness, an assertion of explicit detail in the service of heroism and righteousness helps to separate the good from the bad; Hunter (1990) refers to this as "plain speaking." O'Brien warned the reader that her exposés included "painful situations," "explicit language," and that "sexual detail is graphic" (1986:ixf); Stratford enticed the reader by saying, "I must warn you—this is not an easy book to read. Its pages are full of pain, suffering, abuse, and yes, even the horrors of hell itself!" (p.15).

Confessions are meant to be therapeutic for individuals and society through the restoration of personal and social order in the face of conflicting realities. It matters little or not at all whether what is confessed is true or false, it's the confessing that is important, says Herman (1992:1, 209f, *passim*). While usually spoken of in terms of "health" or "happiness" by its merchants, therapy is more precisely the assumption and reinforcement of power. After the confessee has been captured or has surrendered, the ritual calls for a supplicating approach of the confessee such that guilt is displayed and repentance is offered. There must be a confessor for every confessee. For villains, the tactic of repetition underlines his single-mindedness and his inability to control himself, as well as to serve as a sign of contrition and subservience. Repetitions often take the form of pleadings for mercy and as insistence on the confessee's sincerity.

An interesting aspect is the textual nesting of the confession through the voice of a more authoritative speaker and judge. Confessions may be edited by an overseer, as well as be accompanied by prefatory material from an official of higher status, verifying as to both the importance, legitimacy, necessity, urgency, and accuracy of the discourses. Trimble's "Preface" to Duersted's *Green Fruit* (1974) is less condemnatory than it would have been if written ten years later but he still promotes the volume as "a truly prophylactic case history for serious lay readership" (1974:xxi) and positions himself as a professional interpreter. Rayfield adds a "Postface" to *The Confessions of Victor X* in which he situates the document culturally and psychologically.[17] An episode of *Investigative Reports* featured a confessing pedophile, exhibited to verify the assertions about adult-youth sex that journalists and professionals had been insisting upon as true. The man's remarks were constantly interpreted and corrected by the moderator and two individuals presented as experts.[18]

Alice Vachss (1993) related the tale of a youth leader who had sex with a number of mid- to late teen males. His confession included telling of his supposed own sexual abuse when he was a child, but Vachss saw this only as "justificatory drivel." Sentenced to therapy, the man proposed that he be sent on a speaking tour to "educate" about pedophilia. This form of confession was totally unacceptable to Vachss; she wanted the man to serve extensive time. She felt the traveling lecture show would not be punishing enough and would be seen as "a national

invitation for pedophiles to come to Queens County," a fear nearly the same as dire predictions made about cities considering passing non-discrimination or marriage laws for gays and lesbians.

The clergy to whom a confession is directed act to accept and validate the confession aesthetically and ontologically. By the priestly distinction between truth and falsehood, the confessee changes to a witness, a slightly higher and more respectable but still subservient status. The administrator then moves between the roles of judge and savior. The material remains for the clergy to elaborate on or use for publicity purposes. The detection of hidden meanings and events by authorities is the linchpin for all confessions. The 18th century work of Tissot on children's masturbation was moving in the same direction with his use of medicine to postulate the existence of evil secrets needing to be revealed by confession. Tissot, like the Gothic developing at the time, took his own voice as the most authoritative to speak on the Unspeakable by suggesting that there existed a widespread Secret, Silence, and Shame. Whether receiving praise or punishment, the confession becomes a cleansing in which pollution is removed and negated, justice (variously defined) is served, and roles and relationships adjusted. The culture is allowed a brief triumphant euphoria, a glow of postorgasmic smugness.

As confessions are purgative, so too are they reconstitutive. Accounts are used to reconstruct a consensus that is more in line with the political ambitions of the sponsors. Siskin (1988:194) notes that addiction discourse is "a tale of the need to be cured." Addiction is a crucial part of the vocabulary of contemporary confessions, and is a basic justification for apprehension and re-education. This was part of the self-proclaimed "myth-busting" status in the sex abuse hysteria. However entertaining, confessions are what Hunter would call "didactic" texts, ones that advance explicitly or implicitly various "oughts" (1990:229ff). This is accomplished by reinventing personal and social experience and by redefining personal and social perception.

This is done largely by memory. First, events and perceptions are recalled, and the past and present are contrasted. Through acceptance and rejection of memories according to criteria established by the overseer and the status aspired to by the recaller, acts and influences are converted to a linear causal chain because the concern is to (re)discover origins. As memory is reordered or invented, the self is reconstructed and made consistent with the dominant ontology. The self is made more consistent and less worrisome. Tambling (1990:2) rightly says that an essentialist view of the self is encouraged by confessions. A major part of this is the construction of the self as singular even within the context of various social forces said to be acting on it. "Recovered memories" in their linear terms stabilize the past and limit the future; memories are built around aspired ("survivor") and determined ("victim") status.

Next is the positioning of the self in terms of social distances. Solitariness, alienation, and outright deviance are narrated. Solitariness is highlighted, especially for the sinning self, and individualism is reinforced. Here, in the pre-saved state, the self is yet the Other. As the process proceeds, the self becomes separated from the Other, but it is still an isolate and is not yet a unified self. To

become so (one of the purposes of the confessional process), one needs the guidance and authorization of the administrator. Just as one was converted into a villain by "triggers" or "abuses," one is similarly mechanically or magically reconverted via being "saved" or "treated." The pedophile placed on display by Emmerman (1985b) said he wanted to confess, wanted to be caught. A witness exhibited at a U.S. Senate hearing said he was "thankful for my own arrest."[19] Here, as Tambling notes (1990:90), confessions are closely related to oaths and avowals, declarations of allegiance and condemnations. After spending four years surveying the official literature, one man said, "I still can't answer why, but I feel better about it." His text, an uncritical summary and promotion of the pro-abuse view, is more properly a confession and affirmation of the official view rather than research. The author, "a convicted molester," admitted, "Why this study? I wish to redeem myself in the hearts of my victims" (Hunter 1991:3, 5). The confession has to be an apology, an expression of remorse and an offer of repayment, made in a situation that denies privacy and respect for the confessee.

Contemporary confessions can be presented in such a way as to either reintegrate the offender, or to maintain her separateness. Either the victim or the villain, via therapeutic confession, may be returned to the social fold as a more predictable and patriotic member, or through using the confession as description and verification they may be separated and kept separate. We have seen one example of public confession mandated by court order wherein a prisoner was required to confess his status, issue a warning, and appeal to others to surrender. There was an increasing effort in this direction in the late 1980s, the intent being to produce "media messages" aimed at unapprehended pedophiles. In one study, professionals asked 175 clients of a Seattle, Washington treatment program to design messages to others still at large.

> I have a problem that is destroying people's lives, as well as my own. I am a child molester. I needed help but couldn't ask. ... Programs are available that will change your life. But not without sacrifice.
>
> I am a sex offender. I was discovered two years ago. ... I hope to be cured and learn to control my problem. It's not easy. I wish I had never started. I knew what I was doing was wrong at the time and should have stopped. ... Seek help and stop. (Smith and Conte 1986:3)

The villain's confession in the youth-adult sex dispute is an example of the continuing attempt to develop an American shame culture. Stearns believes it is less rigorous than its Puritan ancestor (1989:248), with fewer communal enforcements, more internalized regulators based on embarrassment, and frequent "reassurances of affection." Just the opposite was the case in the abuse hysteria. The development of shame culture in the 1980s enhanced even more its most important component, public and private rituals of humiliation. Shame depends heavily not only on the culturally defined emotions, specifically fear, guilt, disgust, and eroticism, but also on the exhibition of the officially stigmatized offender. The display is the intersection of external emotions directed to the subject's interior, and a demand that the target's internal emotions be directed externally. Confessional display is absolutely crucial in shaming, especially of those aspects

of the subject's interior having to do with self-concept (Lynd 1958). It is here that the state reconstructs the isolated individual and reclaims its dominance and authority. It is no accident that confrontational shows like those by Oprah Winfrey, Jerry Springer, and Phil Donahue and others arose to such wide popularity in the 1980s. They depended on exhibitions meant to shock. They offered titillation and voyeurism as any good entertainment does, but more importantly, once authorized by shock, they offered the audience opportunities to perform (not merely express) moral outrage and violence.[20] By so doing, the audience elevates themselves above the displayed Others, a necessary ritual when self-concepts are shaky, social uncertainties need soothing, and where viciousness needs an outlet.

Print and broadcast media offered up offenders to a bored, anxiety-ridden, or guilty population. Through various theatrical devices the popular media try to insure that their markets properly absorb the imagery. Sindall (1990:33) notes that "there is a tendency to adopt the news as personal experience," a tendency cultivated by journalism as it attempts to emotionally engage the consumer to make them believe that what they see or read is true. What they believe is real is the reality of their own emotions, elicited by texts crafted by the fiction writer or journalist.

III

The display and confession of the villain is meant to represent the solution to cultural problems—via the accomplishment of capture and the promise of punishment. It is also meant to be entertaining. One of the most enduring, and endearing, methods of doing this is to use qualities now spoken of as "sleaze." The *Oxford English Dictionary* has under "sleaze" one unelaborated reference from 1727, and it cites a 1891 text carrying meanings of squalor, dilapidation, inferior quality, low morals, filthiness, depravity, worthlessness, and disreputableness. Most of the *OED*'s references indicate that popular usage of the term is very recent, fixed and frequent by the 1970s. The word was used with increasing glee throughout the 1970s and 1980s, and was applied to sex, politics, business, and anything else that represented repulsiveness, venality, and corruption (Fischer 1990; Samuelson 1991). It was an ideal cultural conception freshly in place just in time for application to the 1980s child molester.

Sleaziness is a quality of place and of person. Though they may be separate, there has been since ancient times a linkage assumed between "extremes of form and place" (Friedman 1981:35; Porter 1981:190). It has been easy to assume a uniformity from one to the other: nasty people, doing nasty things, live in nasty places, and nasty places hold (and produce) nasty people.

Sleaze is actually a variety of sentimentalism insofar as it invites and promotes a sensual and emotional wallowing for its own sake via heightened but simplified imagery. Sleaze has been an important part of religious and secular reform polemics not only because its aesthetics help attract and hold audiences,

but also because the sensuality allows advocates a safe and respectable immersion in the attractively revolting qualities of their opponents.

This is one of the main features of sleaze: it is an external, separate, and oppositional view. It is given as an observational account of one looking in from outside, from above to below. It prevents pity and compassion by establishing and reinforcing antagonistic value hierarchies. Consumers of sleaze are those who are outside such realms; accounts of sleaze are neither meant for nor consumed by those who make up the depicted populations and live in the given environments.

These definitions change as perceptions change and as cultural conventions become outmoded or boring. Sleaziness relies heavily on aroused emotions, usually tied to perceptions of the self. Disgust, for example, is a relatively unstable and transient reaction. Landscapes or artifacts that may have once aroused contempt may, like the leisure suit, return as an object of affection and veneration. Language that once shocked may later become ordinary discourse or disappear altogether. New terms have to be invented to increase impact. Aman (1992) offered an excellent example from a French correspondent. The terms *pourriture vivante* ("living putrification") and *charogne ambulante* ("walking carrion") apparently became too tame and limited, so a new term appeared, *crevure*, which means "an intolerably slimy, loathsome, disgusting, unreliable, squalid, unscrupulous individual," or, as we might say in our less eloquent fashion, sleazy.

Sleaziness as a concept is in large measure a product of ordering and cleansing processes, as Douglas suggests (1978:161), particularly in areas of a culture that deal with sex, politics, or fashion. In so doing, however, some parts of that culture may adopt sleaziness as a respected mode of desire and expression as did 19th century Decadents.[21] Meetings between forces of vilification and glorification make genres (and simultaneously their satires) possible and increase the entertainment value and marketability of the subject. When coupled with aspirations for domination and engineered hatreds, these clashes will often involve violence.

Sleaziness means two things: that certain feelings and perceptions (fear, revulsion, and hatred) are present, and that these are *aroused*—that they are instigated and felt personally and collectively in heightened, extensive, and sometimes erotic ways. Sleaze is a transformational domain in the movements from ugliness (aesthetic violation) to obscenity (moral violation). Disgust is absolutely basic and ties directly to bodily reactions, specifically those that have to do with expulsion and excretion. To help in this, the aesthetics are often connected to images of physical and moral disease, decay, death, and sometimes birth; sex is linked to this by being a synonym for these terms. But what is sleazy is not just disgusting, it is dangerous and the arousal of fear and promptings for rejection are crucial to the perception of sleaze. Filth, dirt, contamination, defilement, impurity, and pollution are seen advancing toward secular and sacred cultural symbols, and toward ritual and hierarchical distinctions, threatening to disgrace and destroy them and the power they carry. Sleaziness just doesn't exist in the world, it promises to take it over for its own demonic desires. It is not something to be

tolerated; it must be violently eliminated. The final arousal is that of a righteous saving hatred that is sometimes regulated, sometimes not, but always applauded.

The function of the imagination is clear in the construction of the sleazy spectacle; it is to its credit when used in fiction, although it is also used in the construction of fact. Given the trends of realism in both literature and journalism over the past two hundred and fifty years, there continues to be a close, though sometimes tenuous association between the imagination and what is perceived as reality. Added to the still widespread modernist tendency to perceive reality as ugliness (and vice-versa), it is no accident that what is called sleaze has often become "an aesthetic cliché masquerading as advanced understanding or virtuous awareness" (Applewhite 1986:439; cf. Hunter 1990:308).

Several genres in the 16th through 18th centuries helped define contemporary notions of sleaze. With some roots in the literature of roguery, sleaziness became a necessary part of the developing genres of horror, sensation, and "pornography" (cf. Richetti 1969:23). By the end of the 18th century, with its emphasis on emotions and feelings, sleaze was an inherent part of what was considered horrible and continued to be elaborated for the next two centuries. Gothics and melodramas added their energy to displays of the disgusting, offensive, and dangerous. The great pastoral narratives that began in the 16th century produced in reaction anti-pastorals and dystopias which became pervasive in English and Continental imagery and spread their influence to the American colonies. While Porter feels that pessimism (often a part of the aesthetics of sleaze) dates from Melville and Hawthorne as "a loss of faith in the regenerative possibilities to be derived from immersion in nature" (1981:201), it was in fact a shift in the dominating vision of nature to a more Hobbesian and Darwinist view that substantially contributed to the conceptual development of sleaziness, when Darwinism informed social and cultural theory from the late 19th century on until the advent of "postmodernism."

It is in the late 18th and 19th centuries that visions of sleaze become more elaborate and institutionalized. Journalism was a major source of the productions. In France, realism and naturalism tried to deal with "The mess and squalor of lowlife among Paris's underclass" (Gordon 1988:9). Journalists produced popular *faits divers*, short sensationalistic accounts usually with an accompanying illustration. Gordon notes that from this came the crude "*rosse*" plays depicting the lower class as "a universe of pure animal passion," and from them came the Grand Guignol theater itself.

Porter (1981) is speaking of crime writer Raymond Chandler when he says, "The tawdriness of represented life is an opportunity for the display of a flamboyant verbal artistry." This is true also of visual media, and constructors of text and image strive for and delight in detailed and elaborate depictions. Such devotion is given to the evocation of sleaziness because they offer awe, thrills, excitement, prurience, voyeurism, and other sorts of just plain fun. Sleaziness was an integral part of American 1940s *noir* novels and film. It differed from the "gritty realism" of 1930s depictions by escalating elements of danger, violence, and sex, by increasing the distance between the viewer and the subject so as to

senses of disgust and repulsion, and by engineering the display such that the viewer became more depressed, aroused, or angry.

While personal figures encode sleaziness, one of the most exploited contexts for sleaziness in Western culture has been sex. Especially in Christian traditions, sexual desires have been suspect for containing demonic elements, and in secular worlds many sexualities became widely discredited by the early 18th century. Displays of sex, either by individuals or in images, became associated with villainy and threat by the end of the century, the Gothic carrying the best configuration of uncontrolled lust and homicidal evil (Brissenden 1974:115). Gothics and their associated genre (melodramas, sensation, and sex novels) reinforced the elements of private or hidden debauchery as well as the forced violation of innocents, two essential elements of decadence and its next of kin, sleaziness. Sleaze, though it has its own styles, is decadence without elegance.

By the 19th century, religious indignation and intolerance over sex had transmuted to scientific condemnation and elimination, though the tie remained strong. Prickett notes the aesthetic fusion of sex and sleaze:

> It was in America at the very time when the scientific interest in monsters was coming to a climax, that the gothic quest for the dramatic moment or scene was most effectively combined with a metaphysical sense of evil. What Poe called "The Imp of the Perverse" helped to make sexual corruption not so much a social phenomenon in Victorian literature as a concrete embodiment or symbol of the powers of Darkness. (1979:97f)

These sleazy figures have a natural home, a place where they are from and a place where they belong and return to. One of the definitions of the term "grotesque" is of dark hidden grottos wherein a negative atmosphere prevails, touching all who enter and, worse, all who dwell there.

The sensibility of sleaze appears in some unexpected places. This dankness of the grotto served as the originating ooze of humankind for naturalist Loren Eiseley. In a Lovecraftian mood, he saw human origins in a context which makes us all Creatures from the Sleazy Lagoon:

> It began as such things always begin—in the ooze of unnoticed swamps, in the darkness of eclipsed moons. It began with a strangled gasping for air. ... The pond was a place of reek and corruption, of fetid smells and of oxygen-starved fish breathing through laboring gills. At times the slowly contracting circle of the water left little windows of minnows who skittered desperately to escape the sun, but who died, nevertheless, in the fat warm mud. It was a place of low life. In it the human brain began. ("The snout" [1950] in Eiseley 1959)

The idea of bad places has long been a crucial part of folk traditions. Some areas were designated as places of danger and horror because of their gloomy forbidding darkness or where evil creatures live. Spacks quotes William Diaper's poem "Dryades" (1712) which speaks of monsters and "fiends" who "in gloomy Forrests roam," and notes poet Thomas Gray was criticized in the late 18th century for "a preposterous love of...disgusting and squalid subjects."[22] It was a view held by American Puritans as they viewed the New England forests in which they

believed dwelt evil and Satanic forces. Themes of light-as-truth battling forces of darkness and gloom found expression as one of the defining motifs of the Gothic as well as contributing to what we know as environmental sleaze.

A basic function of spectacles is to serve as a modern expression of the travel literature tradition. Via the reporting and detailing of sleaziness we are taken on a journey and offered a chance to see (safely) the astounding sights of foreign or erotic places. Philosopher Jeremy Bentham conceived of a "cacotopia," a kind of dystopia, describing it as "an evil place" (Kumar 1987:447, note 2). Referring to criminal milieus, what Auden called "The Great Wrong Place" (1962:51) is "an exotic place where mythological simplicities prevail" (Richetti 1969:24). Whether in literature, newspaper features, or television documentaries, they are "mythic worlds evoked in order to excite the reader with an inventory of their magical or malignant possibilities" (Porter 1981:73).

One such place is Hell. As an idea, Hades is present in many cosmologies. "Tours of Hell" offer exciting possibilities for theological development, social control, and entertainment. Based on oral folklore, the earliest "tours" in Western civilization exist from three centuries before the Christian era and feature, as they continue to, punishments of the body in the context of horrific environments (Himmelfarb 1985). Hell has associations with ideas of justice and social relations and asserts a supernatural affirmation of human law. Tours of hell both amuse and validate ideas of types of people and their behavior, offering via what Walker calls "the abominable fancy," a chance for the divinely favored to view and applaud the suffering, taking the sight as proof of their own goodness and innocence.[23]

Landscapes have always had aesthetic and moral dimensions for human observers, and for many the greatest "Wrong Place" of all has been the city. Texts criticizing "civilized" life remain from ancient cultures, but it has been the modern city that has provided us with "realistic panoramas of metropolitan depravity" (Smith 1973:42, speaking of 19th century melodramas). Ugliness and dirt are essential parts of sleaze, and the combination begs for the divinely inspired intervention of reformers like Reverend Talmage who remarked, "A filthy city always has been and always will be a wicked city" (1878:128).

The closely related idea of ugliness in both person and place has been intensified by modernist mentalities and continues to carry attributes of self-limitation, degradation, inhumanity, desecration, revulsion, fragmentation, brutality, and sordidness (Applewhite 1986). With increased concentration of urban populations came what sociologists call "anomie," feelings of isolation, vulnerability, loss, and meaninglessness. Much of this reflected the increased variety of people and their ways in the city, adding to feelings of chaos. Harking back to Puritan fears of the wilderness, city novels from their first appearances carried themes of alienation, loneliness, breakdown of tradition, ineffectiveness of love and religion, mechanization, and materialism (Gelfant 1954:21). As cities grew, rural landscapes became idealized as less threatening, and more attractive and promising of relief and salvation from the increasingly destructive world created by humans.

For Augustine, the human city was the very essence of corruption. Christians spread their contempt for the human body and the human world with increasing severity from the 14th through the 18th centuries. By the 15th century, cities represented an inversion of sensible order and a loss of reason. There was less tolerance for variety, and deviations from any aesthetic or intellectual norm were referred to as monstrosities and the perversion of decency (Delumeau 1990:128ff, 136; Hill 1975:32-45; Rhodes 1980). Into the 16th century, cities became especially famous for disease and poverty. The 18th century continued this (cf. Defoe 1948), and beginning in the first quarter of the 1800s, the 19th century offered up some of the best of the city-as-sleaze imagery.

Dunlap (1965) and Hunter (1990) note a number of negative urban themes in 18th and 19th century novels. Crowding, in the sense of numbers of people as well as the physical congestion of buildings, was paramount.[24] Crowds had been a major source of anxiety since the 17th century, and with increased foreign populations, and a growing social and economic distance between classes, the problem became acute. There was from the beginning an emphasis on "dirt, disorder, squalor, the evidence of low living" (Sampson 1983:140f). "Evidence" became a key word, for one attempt to control all this was made through lists, inventories of varieties, held together by the observer's "power of vision" (Miller 1980). The 19th century saw the rise of a special kind of observer, the *flaneur*, the detached but interested urban spectator. This observer tried to map the growing confusion, producing lists of characters now familiar as "profiles."[25] These narratives were tour guides in both real and vicarious senses. Early 18th century books of the urban spectacle featured stories that were "filthy, bizarre, and offensive or outlandish." Exaggeration of characters, events, and behaviors were common, demanded by the new genre, such as Ned Ward's "Things Terrible and Prodigious" sought by late 17th century readers (Brand 1991:28, 30).

The development of urban centers with striking pockets of poverty reached classic proportions by the early part of the 19th century. Slums, especially of ethnic populations, became dens of secrecy and evil, sin and vice, misery and danger. This was aided if not instigated by sensational forms of viewing urban poverty in literature and in the news, along with equally sensationalistic reform efforts. All this heightened the moral separation between the rich and the poor, one consequence of which was the call for increased control by agencies of religious and secular salvation. The view of the city as pathogenic directly assisted in the instigation of panics (Foucault 1980:175). Sleaziness remains an important emotional tool for mobilizing reform resources or lynch mobs.

Exposés were at their heart glorifications of "self-absorbed middle-class verities" (Giamo 1989:41). Missionaries came largely to save the poor from themselves, with appropriate confessions of those saved to be displayed and circulated.[26] Outsiders took tours of poverty areas, sometimes guided by police with lanterns, an image repeated often in text and visuals.[27] Their place is taken now by the lights and cameras of eye-witness television news teams and camcorder carrying police. Stansell notes that

> though the medium of their own peculiar perceptions, they translated these experiences [from tours] into certain conventions of the imagination—so much so that home visitor's accounts, with their formulaic situations, cast of stock characters, and ritualized conversations, came to constitute a fictional genre in themselves.[28]

Children were a special source of anxiety in the rowdy city and they became a source as well as a target of sleazy imagery. Much of English and European depictions rang true for Americans in the mid-19th century. Vagrant and poor children of foreigners in major cities were seen more and more as products of moral, religious, legal, and economic failure. Couching a warning to the respectable population about filthy and dangerous children in the streets in an "urban sketch," New York City's Police Chief in 1849 found a ready and uncritical conduit through the city's news agencies (Stansell 1986:194f) because it was such good entertainment and because the genre was the accepted form, as it is today, of popular fact.

There were two main efforts to control the situation. One, for those who would not convert or work, children's aid societies began shipping children west in trains to be adopted and used as labor by rural and frontier households.[29] The other was to continue local education efforts. Noel quotes an editorial blurb for an undated children's story entitled, "Bob and Cobb, or the King of Cobweb Hall," which sets out the purpose of the story: "legends of crime and horror which may serve to warn urban and small town young of the danger of the first step from right, and of the many perils to be encountered in a great city." From the story itself, Noel (1954:173) offers the following text which conforms to the conventions of the "urban sketch," as well as contributing to the idea we know now as sleaziness:

> Ramshackle, filth-coated stairs, ... narrow and ill-smelling hallways, from which entry could be made to pinched and dirty rooms, looking much as they had been shaken by an earthquake.
>
> In these rooms and halls, at all hours of the day and night, bloated, hollow-eyed, unclean men and women slunk about—men and women that rarely looked anybody in the face, not even those of their own class, only showing any offering of human spirit when they could get up a drunken squabble among themselves, or beat some of the half-starved, half-naked, vicious children that swarmed in every part of the wretched place.

The key element has been crime, and it has served the city-as-sleaze image well. Dickens especially revised and established the newer aesthetic criteria using abused children. Tied to the development of police work, social services, and journalism, the focus on poverty and ethnicity provided provocative glimpses of corruption and depravity in the 19th century; Zeldin (1970) notes a French priest especially upset by the overt sexual behavior of slum children.

The view carried on well into the 20th century. Mottram (1989) quotes a 1924 letter from H. P. Lovecraft concerning his visit to New York's Chinatown:

> The organic things—Italio-Semitico-Mongoloid—inhabiting that awful cesspool could not by any stretch of the imagination be call'd human.

> They were monstrous and nebulous adumbrations of the pithecanthropoid and amoebal; vaguely moulded from some stinking viscous slime of earth's corruption, and slithering and oozing in and on the filthy streets or in and out of windows and doorways in a fashion suggestive of nothing but infesting worms or deep-sea unamiabilities.

Porter suggests that two impulses operated in the 19th century's fascination with the city. One was a valid and sincere humanitarian interest in reaching the "less than average life," along with a sympathetic but delighted realist school of representation that found a new inspirational source for text and visuals. Another was what Porter (1981:25) sees as "a late romantic preoccupation with the nightside of the soul and with the cultivation of the powers of mind beyond what is normally thought possible." The cities provided much material for anti-utopian narratives, especially when they were the settings of attempts at reform or revolution. Sleaze becomes a predictor, a preview of things to come, arising from a frustrated or violated nostalgia. Sleaze encourages paranoia, itself a kind of nostalgia, but still with the strength to muster bitterness and hatred.

The 19th century imagery of cities as swamps of creepy-crawly things found a comfortable and effective place in the cultural repertoire of the late 20th century. After World War II, and especially since the 1960s and the evangelical revivals of fundamentalism, the city again assumed its place as a source of sleaze imagery. Children figure prominently, and from the tough but almost benign realism of *Dead End* the shift went to much more heavy handed images of youth lost in a totality of cultural decay, as in films (*Hardcore* and *American Nightmare*) in which teen girls are engulfed by and given over to sleazy urban sexual "lifestyles." This jacket blurb from Campbell (1987) uses his text from the first page of the book as a teaser:

> Welcome to La-La Land: a dark, neon-bathed Los Angeles of "cancerous boulevards along which parade whores, catamites, twangie boys and transsexuals, skid rows of the homeless; tenderloins strewn with winos sucking on bottles in bags and dopers on the nod."[30]

In the 20th century, especially post-WWII imagery, there is a return to the ruined city of the 18th century, but here the motif is more apocalyptic. Religious mentalities emphasize the Last Days in which the good guys get to heaven and the bad guys suffer in graphic and disgusting ways. Secular views see a more materialistic end via nuclear holocaust or ecological catastrophe. This "dystopian" imagery carries a full load of sleaziness because all of the old anxieties are essentially still there. The instigation of an apocalyptic crisis is another attribute of monstrousness villainy. There are many ways to talk about this but the most effective way is to display the victim.

8

THE VICTIM AS SPECTACLE

I

The whole concept of the victim is built on an idea of innocence. The victim has no idea what is happening, and does not deserve what happens. Innocence is a state of natural order, integrity, and perfection in knowledge and behavior. Innocence is unequivocal and unambiguous; a suspended animation, it is resistance to change, amalgamation, and compromise.

The innocent child is the subject of a pastoral narrative, a figure in an Edenic setting. Narratives of childhood innocence discourse on tranquillity, communal unity, spiritual fulfillment, and natural law. The placement allows, like many narratives of a Golden Age, a certain amount of pageantry and celebratory spectacle, as well as the designation of inflexible roles. There are several pastoral stories possible, each with its own structuring morality. One projects a musical landscape of sensuously cavorting intoxicated satyrs and nymphs, one of the oldest visions of humankind. Another contains well regulated movements of passive flocks in beautiful meadows, crooned to and watched over by a benevolent shepherd protecting the sheep until it is time for them to be sheared or slaughtered.

Much of American society, especially religious subcultures, places the innocent child in the context of the last example above, an intrinsic part of which is asexuality. Particularly after the Pelagian heresy was eliminated in the 5th century, sexuality became more firmly associated with some Hebraic and pagan ideas of violence, threat, and death; chastity and virginity were elevated to positions of holiness (Brown 1988). Sex was defined as different from, antithetical to love, and in the 19th century its presence in women and children was a sign of corrupted moral health. Sexual interests and behaviors are seen as "acting out" or "cries for help," indicators of personal and social breakdown.

Given the resistance of women in the 1960s and 1970s, the child was the next logical site for the repository of qualities that had been reserved for women and some men: passivity, fear, submissiveness, vulnerability to emotional manipulation and physical and moral damage. The child, like the idealized woman, became an idol and its power could not be questioned, for to do so was to question the entire complex of beliefs and relationships that surround the innocent (Banta 1987:521). The 19th century belief that higher truths, and higher authorities, are represented

and embodied by the child was reflected in the cries of "Believe the Children" that sounded so shrilly during the 1980s.

Within a fragile pastoral world under siege, the innocent figure is a "pre-victim" at best. The forces are already in place and aligned: the threatening figure of the pedophile is "predisposed" and the child is "at risk." The scenario of threat generates its own folklore, and its narratives become texts of delicious detail and regulatory severity. To mitigate these functions, a corresponding culture of sentimentality has to be promoted in which the victim's suffering and sacrifice is directed to a higher purpose. Vulnerability is stressed where it exists and fabricated where it does not. A man referred to as "William" had a long relationship with a 12 year old boy, but the boy had never complained about the relationship, and the boy cared for and loved "William." When arrested, "William" took him to a counseling session and, as directed by the counselors, began telling the boy that he had molested him, but the boy continued to deny he felt molested. After extensive subjection to this, the boy finally "broke down" and accepted the definitions the therapists were demanding (O'Brien 1986:65). Victims' testimonies have to be coherent with the confessions of the villains and both can be tailored for a more credible fit if needed. Physicality, so hard to eliminate, either becomes "disembodied" as an external force, or it is placed in the service of sentimentality by displays of bodies convulsed by grief, transformed by degeneration, or destroyed by savagery.

Ultimately the innocent becomes boring because of its monotony and stasis, so in an entertainment-oriented consumer culture the victim must be transformed into a spectacle of disaster. An ad blurb for the film *She Should'a Said No* invited one to "SEE! The happy, normal laughter of physically adorable young girls give way to the hysterical outbursts of dope-maddened women!" People will pay to see this.

II

Childhood, as innocence, is believed to be devoid of the consciousness of sex and death. Such subjects are antithetical to childhood but when they do intrude (always from the outside) they are assumed to be horrendously traumatic, individually and socially. In order to define the specialness and vulnerability, pastoral narratives of innocence must also construct landscapes of sleaze. The intensity and explicitness of both are functions of more basic senses of social stability, order, and continuity. To the extent that ideals continue to outstrip realities and/or change, the increasingly hard to ignore flaws and failures of purity and perfection will promote increasingly demanding discourses of threat.

The victim's suffering is inevitable. Violation and loss are certain and there is no stopping the singular course of events once it has started. Cycles of abused becoming abusers are the dark parts of the Great Chain of Being, the 19th century's idea of progress and sequential development. Over and over, the necessity of traumatic consequences from contact with the pedophile is presented, though in a limited variety of narratives. If the basic plots are restricted, it is more than made up for by repetition. And when assertions are made as to the direct and

immediate influence of a pedophile upon a victim, there are also assertions that similar modes of reaction are the only ones able to resolve the situation, such as direct vigilante punishment or execution.

Linear logic in abuse discourses relies first of all on mythological antecedents, assumptions of eternal divine laws and/or the 18th century variety of science that believed in a finite knowable number of universal causal principles. Linear causality is a relic of Newtonian mechanical physics, sharing an emphasis on control and force with modernist political and economic ideologies. Included here is the assumption that authority represents divine will or scientific certainty, obtained via traditional associations. Based on this self-assigned ancient wisdom, linear assumptions inherently limit the physical, emotional, and intellectual play for which humans are so notorious. Speculation about knowledge and reality has been deemed too dangerous for social survival at various times in history, other than the 1980s. Thus the second thrust of linear chaining shows itself as a political exercise of intense devotion and commitment wherein the lines of cause and effect define the limits of personal and social variability and specify the consequences of violating margins of form and function. The search for causes is a search for control.

The investment in victimage and survivorship is a way of restoration and power for both those who assume the role and those who promote it. The theory is that youth-adult sex robs the younger partner of power and it is only through the rebirth of a new self that salvation is possible. While ostensibly based on the language of hope and progress, the future (recovery) is in fact a reconfiguration accomplished only by a denial and parallel reconstruction of both the past and present. This is particularly necessary when the culture has been confronted with any sign of the sexual child, real or potential. The child is partly defined by its insistence on immediate gratification. Such children must have their present state, and their pleasures, constantly monitored on the bases of adults' senses of the past and the future. All societies share these mechanisms of socialization and enculturation, some realistically, others sociopathically when recollection is nothing but nostalgia and anticipation is nothing but fear.

Anti-abuse texts with their emphasis on torment find a comfortable alliance with the American jeremiad tradition in which, as Geertz said somewhat correctly, "the problem of suffering is, paradoxically, not how to avoid suffering but how to suffer" (1966:19). Lamentations over the difficulty and uncertainty of personal and social salvation become public currency, entertainingly displayed for the rescue and recreation of all. Suffering is evidence of the reality of danger, the sanctity of the victim, the legitimacy of the hero's intervention, and the validity of the Grand Design binding all together. Because the jeremiad is based on a Fall, a loss of meanings and commitments, suffering is necessarily presented and explained in ways that reinforce specific moral values and authority fallen to disuse or disrespect. Suffering is a preview of coming attractions. Anticipation, with its apocalyptic eagerness, is lived as anxiety.

Worry and suffering, with their erotic edgings, have always been essential parts of sentimentalism. Sentimental imagery is distilled and condensed, yet ready

for expansion through the viewer's imaginative use of symbols and clichés. This internal expansion depends on fantasy coupled with a sense of the self as morally righteous or guilty of sin. The expansiveness of sentimental polemics urges one to heroism, a by-product of which is hysteria.

But perhaps the greatest product of a sentimental culture is nostalgia. This represents more than a simple loss of the admired. It is a subtraction, a lessening of innocence and beauty, a disappearance of forms with which one was familiar, and consequently a dissolution of a sense of the world's similarity to one's self. Further, it is a replacement of that innocence and beauty by their opposites, by their enemies. It is this dual process of removal and supersedure that turns change into conflict, a victory by one's opponents and a defeat of one's world. As regret over a loss of a familiar and controlled reality reflects on the disappearance of form and meaning, it flees, demanding a deep investment in memory. Sentimental remembrance is selective, and to the extent that it is self-indulgent it becomes sensual and exaggerated like any good exercise in autoeroticism. Suffering victims as martyrs, as monuments to the asserted permanence of trauma and the inherence of pathology, become artifacts of nostalgia's depiction of time based on First Causes. Fears of continuity and discontinuity clash over the child who represents the adult's pool of memory and despondency over change. Returns to memory for nostalgic purposes are ways to interrupt or stop change perceived to be degenerative. When engineered by "recovered memory" techniques, it is more than that: it is a way to start over on one's own terms.

Nostalgia is not just the retention of memory but its celebration—but one something on the order of a failed party in which humiliation worms its way in, inflaming the sadness. The lost (which has been replaced) is still present, but in a form distorted by disappointment. Nostalgia must carry an onerous load of resurrection, a last hope. As a further obstacle, destruction of the body in abuse texts represents the destruction of the very possibility of nostalgia. To convey this, narratives must be graphic. Nostalgia is the projection of sanctity and correctness from memory, and sleaze must report on its violation, suffering, and threat. Sleaze narratives, particularly those revolving around the body, are moral discourses because they speak to failures of and challenges to systems of regulation and piety. Sleaze narratives relate not just the absence or negation of certain values but give a graphic account of their loss and the deterioration of one's world. Nostalgic texts must explicitly or implicitly be related to a discourse of sleaze. There is an easy conceptual movement among nostalgia, paranoia, and horror. The familiar, that with which one is surrounded, when seen as unreal, incomprehensible, or deceitful can induce visions of danger and produce exclamations, often incoherent, of disaster.[1] When it generates regretful remembrance, loss includes sorrow and regret taken as powerlessness. As self-blame enters so does fear, then defensiveness, anger, and whispers of hate. This sense of loss, sliding between guilt and rage, is often greedily used to market products or politics. Elaborations are accomplished by expansion, a focus on the enormity of an external villain, or

by reduction, a personification of feelings of insignificance and weakness in a small form.

Innocence and victimage are made possible in part by paternalistic miniaturization, and what could be a better example of a miniature than the child. Women were used in the same way. Stewart (1984) offers a number of pertinent observations. Miniatures are often taken as an expression of subordination. The miniature deemphasizes or erases disorder, the smaller size making manageability easier and less challenging. The miniature represents the domestic, spiritual, and private, while the gigantic represents the public, secular, and exterior. Miniatures may be arranged through fantasy, moved through settings and careers like dolls in a doll-house. The miniature is personalized, and is related to the construction of interiors to the point that experiencing the miniature is an experience of fundamental interior elements of the self, thus the emotional and sensual expressions that accompany viewings of small things. Children are manipulated in this way, and adults may be reduced to their "inner child" for similar positioning. Miniaturization automatically creates distance, usually physical. When tied to nostalgia, the miniature also represents temporal distance. Manipulation becomes easier.

Distancing also allows the miniature to be associated with spatial and temporal closure, and is an allowable withdrawal from growth and change. Photos of children "are always ideological, for they profoundly eternalize a moment or instance...as an illustration of the moral working of the universe" (Stewart 1984:49; 65). Fears of the corrupting influence of visuals of sex are also fears that the children immobilized in the photos will come to life. Control of the photo through definition of content or prohibition of the artifact are magical ways of controlling the children and their sexual threat. The miniature is favored by visual representation and by memory, both ways of altering time. One of the most profound observations critics of youth-adult sex have been able to make against what they see as "child pornography" is that "the child never grows old." This is to be expected in artifacts and texts of nostalgia. Photographs by their nature impose a stasis; that seems to be the whole point. This allows the possessor of the artifact to call up and stabilize memory, investing in the photograph a belief that to some extent at least things have been and will be preserved as they were and ought to be, particularly in the context of a present or future that is unsatisfactory or uncertain. Photos of children are most often associated with home and the family; they represent placement of the self and Other in symbolic, historical, and physical contexts, all related to memory and hope. Nostalgia misses the excitement of participation and the validation of being and has to look for it in remembrance.

The energy put into the imagery of the child as a vulnerable suffering victim means to fix childhood and children into a more certain, defined, and predictable object which can be placed socially, culturally, and—especially for anxious adults—psychologically. Seen through adults' nostalgia for their own real or imagined childhoods, "hurried" children or those "robbed of their childhood" are subjected to strictures that, in their own ironic and perverse ways, attempt to insure

that "they never grow old." Theories of development have been a way of immobilizing a diffuse, heterogeneous, and changing entity, making it more manageable, mechanistic, and distant. As psychological and cultural maps, developmental theories offer all the tools necessary for the negotiation of self and Other. Through developmental schemes—configured systems of power—one may be able to pronounce on correctness or incorrectness over an fluctuating landscape of self and society.

Geoffrey Wagner (1954:53) remarked that "ecstasy, by its nature, cannot endure." But for the masturbating pedophile and the nostalgic protector, it can be revisited, renewed, reinvented. It is done by the narratization of the artifact, by the elaborating fantasy work and play all images invite and are subject to and for which many are purposely constructed. The photo is recontextualized and the event's characters are revitalized in ways that depend largely on a viewer's disposition at any given time. From the bases of their own histories and associations with the artifacts other observers will construct their own stories, especially when sex is involved. Nostalgia, and its relative, estrangement, have been served well by the invention of the photograph. The reintegration of self with history calls for an enlargement of the former and a constriction of the latter to manageable dimensions and contents (Stewart 1984:xii). For the same reasons, one set of images may be preferred or allowed over another which in explicit or implicit statements qualifies or refutes claims to universality and exclusive validity. Secured in space and time, the children in photographs may be called upon or allowed to testify to any given set of circumstances. Children in family albums are seen to strengthen a complex of traditions while children in sexual photographs are held captive.

Atrocity stories and captivity narratives form an absolutely basic discourse in anti-abuse texts. Sharing most characteristics of and often in fact dependent upon the confessions of villains, testimonies of suffering are integrated into the culture via associations with other genre narratives of captivity, conversion, and redemption. These are the narratives that buttress cultural structures and maintain their boundaries, outlining the participants and their values. During the 1980s, with its emphasis on "the survivor," a new sense of community was established through support groups and testimonies, a reconstruction of a psychological, social, and cultural unity that was felt lacking or destroyed. But there is a well known risk that victim confessors may appear to be monsters or freaks themselves as they attempt to tell their stories (Fraser 1974:60), especially under the aesthetics of entertainment. This is one reason why such stories have to be carefully constructed and staged. Stories of suffering and rescue are instructive and, if done well, make for excellent theater and exciting reading.

Many stories of sexual abuse fall into the "atrocity tale" genre and, whether fabricated, exaggerated, or uninflated description, they have been crucial in defining the images of the pedophile, victims, and heroic savior. Referred to as "horror stories" (Soman 1974:198, Signorielli 1980:198), they have been crucial to the construction of popular attitudes, to support official institutions and roles,

and necessary to the passage and enforcement of laws based less on empirical realities than on offended sensibilities or political desires. The collaboration between the entertainment and administrative institutions in this regard has been both essential and consistent (Nelson 1984).

While the main avenue of horror story marketing and distribution has been print and broadcast journalism, another popular source has been the lecture or seminar. Extensive networks and tours by conservative and religious fundamentalists were formed in the mid-1970s (largely revolving around the cult scares of the time) and greatly expanded throughout the 1980s. Child sexual abuse quickly became one of the hottest, most entertaining, and profitable topics.

Gordon Thomas (1991:60-66) writing as if he were there and inside her mind, gave an excellent example of this by relating a lecture supposedly given by the pseudonymous "Susan Warmsely." Her lecture consisted of tales of disappearing children, taken by international rings running drug-addicted preteen prostitutes, including one she claimed was exclusively for truck drivers earning millions of dollars a year: "There would always be a collective gasp at that information. She would pause, as she had learned to do" (her tale-telling mentor was her husband). She tells the audience of bribes and official corruption that prevent detection and arrests. "That was usually enough to guarantee a good-sized check for the center. But tonight she would go further." She will tell the tale of the snuff film.

> She had them. ... She had led them, increasingly horrified and captive, to where she wanted them.
>
> Now that she had reached that point she paused, eyes searching the packed hall, settling briefly on one rapt face after another. She thought how well she had heeded [husband] Bob's injunction. "Build them up. Just keep them waiting. Never rush."

She begins her story. "The lips of a woman in the front row had begun to tremble... She moved on, sweeping them along with the fluency of her arguments," said Thomas. The snuff film originated in South America, and is now in production in the United States, she said. "With a quick wave, she stifled the start of shocked murmurs. ... Surely and with quiet confidence, Susan continued impaling them with her revelations." She told of a 12 year old Thai girl making a film. "Several women in the body of the hall had thrust their hands or handkerchiefs over their mouths." Warmsely said the girl was raped then smothered to death on film. The film was sent to Amsterdam and distributed worldwide through the "snuff network" for "the growing number of men and women who actually enjoy watching real-life sex-murder videos." Warmsely had "hurled" the tale into the audience with "hammer-blow sentences," finishing with a final "thrust."

Strained and disjointed relations among a culture's value systems, coupled with felt personal fragmentation, result in an emphasis on captivity and escape narratives.[2] They symbolize not only the more obvious desire for "rebirth," but also signal the definite end of and separation from the trying times of captivity. While captivity and abduction stories are based on loss, they hold out the hope of

return. Dramatic tension is driven by the desire to reclaim and renew, themes of American Puritanism found in a book by Mary Rowlandson.

The first American prose best-seller was Rowlandson's 1682 *Captivity and Restoration.* The captivity stories popular in the 17th through 19th centuries, whether early religious ones or later entertainments fabricated by journalists, were of temptation and corruption, personal and social threats, rescue, and vengeance.[3] They dissipate and reverse guilt felt for powerlessness or participation. They tell of heroism obtained through undeserved but instructive suffering. The explicit detail offered in these narratives is entertaining to be sure, but is also related to the belief, the hope, that the more the suffering, the more thorough the regeneration and the more substantial the salvation. Building on these long traditions, especially those from the 17th century on which were shifting the focus of social fragmentation to internal personal fragmentation, the 19th century firmly institutionalized spectacles of suffering in a variety of genre. Some were victims of disaster, some held prisoner, some were ill or traumatized—the latter forming a widespread "cult of invalidism" (Dijkstra 1986:25ff).

With these, there is a concomitant search for First Causes, the "real" reasons for the loss. This offers chances to explore failed parental and social responsibilities. Links are sought and worried over, the logic almost always being linear ("If I'd only walked him to school that day"). The loss and the review of reasons ensures the presence of guilt. Unresolved guilt destabilizes the narratives; blaming the self or others, or even the victim, is a variety of naming and can help anchor the total context. As a part of this, in this culture particularly, conceptions of self and the world when destabilized by loss prompt an economy of substitution to reshore shifting or disappearing elements of a reality. There will be narratives such as "Why couldn't it have been me," but "If only" devices also appear switching one loss for another or substituting self-focus for other-focus.

The 1980s gave little choice to individuals who had been in adult-youth affairs. Hardly one to admit the fact of positive youth-adult sex, Armstrong (1990) none the less indicated that for youngsters who "disclose," the futures are not attractive at all: they may either go to jail, end up in foster care, be publicly stigmatized, and/or be sent into therapy. Since the latter seemed to be the most benign, to "disclose" was to tell tales, true or not, that satisfied the requirements for supportive treatment.

This drama of recollection has to place an emphasis on display, voyeurism, and emotional wallowing. An important marker was a combo platter genre offering voyeuristic indulgence in nostalgia, captivity, abuse, and exposé via a victim's performance. In 1978, Christina Crawford, daughter of film star Joan Crawford, published *Mommie Dearest,* an account of her life at the hands of her abusive mother (a film was made in 1981). Crawford went on to publish a novel featuring child abuse (1982), and to testify on the subject. She generally crusaded against what she saw as an epidemic of child abuse, and later produced a sequel in her saga, entitled appropriately for the late 1980s, *Survivor* (1988). The subgenre and original catch-phrase persisted throughout the decade into the 1990s.[4]

Historian Martha Banta (1987:639) claimed that "These days...the body is no privileged signifier." Banta was writing at a time when in fact the body was escalating sharply as a signifier and as a site for all of the major and most of the minor claims of political struggles. The foremost and most pervasive body was that of the sex abuse victim, one whose body showed (or, in the terms of the day, was "consistent with") not only sexual activity, a bodily function par excellence, but a body which was being destroyed as it was being displayed. One of the most enduring ways to depict and display suffering, especially redemptive suffering, is by direct and explicit reference to the physical body and its sensibilities. For a culture committed to the enjoyment of violence, the suffering victim is represented most of all by the revelation, interrogation, and dissection of the body. In issues that involve sexualities, the Western history of the body has provided some of its most gruesome and enthusiastic texts and images.

III

The suffering victim is a fallen victim. The loss of innocence is a loss of physical, personal, and social integrity. The victim has not only been violated but separated. A *new* past is established, then sealed off. The purity of virginity and innocence can never be regained and a new state of being is pronounced. The new being is a dangerous one, for the future is in doubt. Derived from acts of violence, blasphemy, or heresy, the fallen victim carries knowledge and behavior that must be brought quickly under control and directed to ends properly suited to reintegrate the victim into the society and its future. Myths of the Fall are crucial to American cultural life and Eric Smith (1973:2) is quite correct when he says that the encouragement to tell the story of the fall is as important as the myth itself. Parades, exhibits, displays, testimonies, and confessions form the pageantry.

Although the subject had seen frequent popularity in 17th century novels, stories of fallen women (females who had premarital sex) and "confessions of injured females" (Stauffer 1941:69f) begin to coalesce as genre with the rise of biography in the 18th century. They were largely embedded within narratives by women to other women on how to preserve their reputations in the face of male aggression and exploitation. In the first part of the 19th century a number of anti-seduction novels appeared. They were part of a sensationalistic genre of moral reform literature, and the fallen woman was linked to the causes of temperance, prostitution reform, and others. At first, only minor characters in the stories were seduced but later the heroine herself was centrally featured as the type. In earlier forms the fallen woman was totally and permanently separated from society and the possibility of salvation. Suffering was dwelt upon to reinforce demands of chastity and gender roles, and to entertain. "This crime...seems to sap and rot the whole nature. She loses self-respect," said one clergyman (Brace 1872:116). Lippard described (1845:124) the soul of a fallen woman in his early novel as "a chaos of ashes, and molder flame; a lurid sky above, a blasted soil below, and one immense horizon of leaden clouds, hemming in the universe of desolation."

The fallen woman became a dangerous woman, going from a natural state of sexual obliviousness to rabid nymphomania. Because she is dangerous, lost to

society and herself, and an inappropriate role model, the fallen woman was killed off in most of the stories—fictional or factual. However, beginning in the late 18th century a consideration appears and develops more fully in the 19th in which the fallen woman is seen to be a victim of social circumstances and deserving of "rehabilitation."[5] Pity for the fallen woman began to be directed toward broader classes of people as the figure turned into a cipher for social problems. By the end of World War I, the idea of the fallen woman appeared rather silly, even though admonitions to chastity continued to be made for women as they were during the 1980s and 1990s for youth. The sexually active or aggressive female from the 19th century (a product of mostly male authors; Staves 1980) made infrequent serious appearances and slowly, with a resurgence of varieties of feminism from the 1920s on, asserted their legitimacy and celebrated their sexualities, though they were still held in check by the leash of heterosexual reproductive marriage and sometimes by feminist denigration.

For both sexes of all ages, the body is used to signify states of being and relationships as well as to represent cultural values aspiring to cosmic import. Through sexual activities, violence, and disease the body has served as an initiator of judgments as to what is or is not happening to the self and society and to receive the praise or condemnation for the events and attitudes. In the event of a fall, the body is the first to be examined, displayed, and judged.[6] The fall is at least a transformation, at worse, total destruction. The consequences of sex have been displayed as physical and emotional grotesques set in apocalyptic landscapes. Brace compared the meaning of the 19th century Fallen Woman to that of the practice of men

> in some Eastern communities which are rotting and falling to pieces from their debasing and unnatural crimes. When we hear of such disgusting offenses...we know that disaster, ruin, and death, are near the State and the people. (1872:116)

The child is forbidden to come, but it is encouraged to cry. The first requirement for rehabilitation and entertainment is the display of tears. Tears represent both suffering and cleansing. If the perversion of the pedophile is physically reflected in the orgasm as convulsion, the trauma to the child is represented in the contortions of weeping. The disfigurement of weeping reflects the damage done to the body and spirit. Explicit, obsessively focused narratives are placed against each other, one focusing on genitals, the other focusing on the face, both asserting the essence of the object. Appropriateness is specified by crying countenances, neutral faces written off as shock or drugged stupors, smiling and laughing faces are erased, and orgasmic expressions ruthlessly punished.

An old melodramatic tradition, tears personalize and verify value, meaning, and realness. John Boyle exhibits victim pain and suffering in narratives, poetry, and art; remaining true to the religious roots of this imagery, he compared the "laments" of "hidden agony" to the Biblical verses in Jeremiah (Boyle 1985). Stratford opened her book with a sentence that began, "Shedding tears that flowed like a torrential rain..."[7] Patrick Boyle (1994:1) began his first chapter, "As the boy began to cry..." This is actually a variation on the weeping victim, though

Boyle makes use of that as well. His text was a scene in which a 12 year old boy unloads his troubles to a kindly Scout leader, later revealed to be a man who had sex with a number of young males.

Nietzsche spoke of the "painful voluptuousness of tragedy" experienced by audiences as "delicate shudders" (1966:158). This pleasure is what the spectacle of the weeping victim offers. Suffering needs the body to validate itself not only to the sufferer but more importantly for spectators. What better image than that of the tearful child, an image that immobilizes and freezes the unstable and transforming child, offering proof of vulnerability, and insisting on the necessity of control and supervision. Kaminer quotes Eighties recovery expert Joy Miller from a workshop Kaminer attended: "I always get excited when I see people cry. Each tear brings us closer to recovery. Cherish each tear" (1992:96). Suspicions about the beneficence, however, creep in when tears, especially those therapeutically induced, are on parade. Tears "are a cul-de-sac for humaneness. They salvage the memory of a better condition—and promptly drown it," observed Sternberger (1977:184). But the entertainment is too good, too exciting, too useful to forego. Weeping has been for some time the substitute or a cover for erotic entertainment in the Christian West. Speaking of late 18th and early 19th century sentimental culture, Fiedler (1966:56) noted that "tears are the only orgasm possible" for that time. Some gay observers have been especially sensitive to this. Holleran (1988) saw perceptively that scenes of weeping grief-stricken people displayed so often and so prominently on newscasts and talk shows, recovery seminars, or revivals are, for the straight culture, the functional equivalent of ejaculation shots in sex media. Walkowitz (1992:83, 122) and others have recognized how easily journalistic exposés (produced as melodrama) become transmuted to pornography, sharing this characteristic and cultural function with purity rhetoric, philanthropic discourse, and much of the "Us-versus-Them" scenarios.

The gleeful fascination with which the culture wallows in the tortures and punishments of the body is based in self-righteously grounded exhibits of humiliation. Most of this derives from religious influences and assumptions that the "humiliation of the flesh" (narratives of sleaze)—and the related assertion that "the damaged or distorted body...is a sign of a finer, more sensitive soul" (Paulson 1967:239)—are necessary for spiritual development. For others, it is simply a delight in violence.

The most familiar transformations of the body in our culture are offered through images of disease or violence. Aging is also responsible for bodily change and is generally related to disease imagery. The symbolic importance of the child is that it is free from both disease and age (and even gender). But another source of bodily transmutation is desire, and if suffering might be a source of spiritual attainment, then so too might desire. This is a dangerous possibility, one denied with intense insistence in the religious West.

When horror genres revitalized in the 1960s and 1970s, technological advances allowed greater exploration of special effects, and shifting anxieties encouraged the exploitation of fundamental symbols of human intimacy: the child and the family, larded as usual with covert sexual figurations. The religious

association of horror over the body was renewed. Detailed examinations of torture, suffering, and decomposition were resurrected from Christian traditions (Delumeau 1990:41ff), and resumed their obsessive theatrical display.[8] Death was the aspiration of this torment; linear logic tied the suffering to a fearful end. The fallen, whether women or children, had to die (after serving their entertainment functions) in order to reinforce ideas of justice and to calm the fears of a threatened and disgusted populace. Accounts of plagues (including the 1980s AIDS panic) nicely blend death and illness into strikingly sleazy erotic panoramas of suffering.

Baudrillard, noting that death has found a comfortable home in America,[9] saw here a "cult of the body" where the body is "an object of frantic concern, in the obsessive fear of failure or substandard performance." The French critic visited this country during a time of intense health consciousness, a time when joggers, worker-outers, non-smokers, and low-fat eaters were returning to a view similar to the 19th century temple-of-the-body ethos. The search for physical purity accompanied moral cleansing movements of the 1970s and 1980s, providing complimentary images of health and normality to the equally gymnastic sufferings of the fallen and victimized.[10] The athleticism was also seen in the 1970s conception of sex as performance, accompanied and assisted by a swift expansion of amateur and professional figures offering a delightful variety of sexual instruction and of the repair of ethics and aesthetics via therapy and social work. While considered by many a time of sexual permissiveness, the late 1960s and early 1970s with their elaboration of therapeutic authority laid the basis for the next decade's stronger exercise of codified institutional control, one that had received telling blows by the withdrawal of women and homosexuals from the client rosters. Sontag correctly suggested (1978:56) it was a period for the expansion of concepts and categories of illness. Psychiatric imagination and ambitions continued to struggle against criticism and negation of their inventories by replacing ridiculed and discarded diseases with new improved products that expanded professional job opportunities. The body, sexually and otherwise, became an object of democratic concern in the 1970s, democratic in the (lesser) sense that one may be able to do as one wills, and in the (greater) sense that institutions of power were supplemented by broadening professional representation through "lower level" and unlicensed practitioners, many of whom extended older merchandising procedures.[11] Experts of all sorts appeared on the scene and they appeared gratefully, collaborating with the state as it shifted its conceptions of what constituted health and normalcy. Expanding on disciplinary foundations laid in the 19th century, psychology, medicine, and their subdivisions advanced genetic engineering, aversion therapy and behavioral control, surrogate motherhood and artificial insemination as evidence of the progress of the body. Sexology returned to biotechnological approaches, and academically trained regulators transferred their moralities into social work and founded organizations galore to combat youth-peer and youth-adult sex.

Much of this depended upon a mechanization of the body, made possible by developments in the 17th and 18th centuries (Rosenfield 1968; Brissenden

1974:39). The mind and its equivalents of spirit were shunted off as science began its dissection of the human and animal body. By denying a soul to animals, a ready substitute for the living human was offered for experimentation and commercialization. Human corporeality became the subject of developments in surgery and medicine, augmented by an increased pawing through corpses, looking for contents, connections, causes, and cures.

But for many the body was still the housing of a soul. Based on solid traditions of religious hatreds of the body, the edifice was a rather dreary if not altogether sleazy one. Older Christian traditions saw the body as living proof of the brief and futile temporal life of all material things. The body was not a promise of greater development but the threat of degeneration and disappearance. Christian contempt for the world and body found its expression in an increased emphasis on the descriptive detail of decomposition from the Middle Ages through the 18th century. A 13th century poem by Giacomino de Verona speaks of the human body as nothing more than slime, pus, and dung (Delumeau 1990:17, 41-46). Late 18th century Gothics conveyed the sense of the body as a moldering and withering container, threatening to expose and release the inner soul at any time. The Gothic castle was a failing fortress, rotting and endangered by secrets within and forces out of control.[12]

A good deal of 18th century fascination was directed to ruins, real or fabricated. Begun as melancholic depictions of pastoral landscapes in the early part of the century and hardened into horror and morbidity by its close, the interest in ruins reflected feelings of nostalgia, despair over the present, nationalistic hopes, and an uneasiness over the future. The triumph of nature (meaning the obliteration of human aspirations) was promised in such scenes. The sentiment was a dramatic one and presented on a grand scale. Macaulay remarked, "Ruin is always overstated; it is a ruin-drama staged perpetually in the human imagination, half of whose desire is to build up, while the other half smashes and levels to the earth" (1953:100). More broadly, ruins represent challenges to domination:

> ...at the time when we acknowledge the end of a sort of cultural monopoly, be it illusory or real, we are threatened with the destruction of our own discovery. Suddenly it becomes possible that there are just *others*, that we ourselves are an "other" among others. All meaning and every goal having disappeared, it becomes possible to wander through civilizations as if through vestiges and ruins. The whole of mankind becomes an imaginary museum... (Ricoeur 1965:278)

Although the 18th century was still the stronghold of Newtonian physics, the basis was being laid for a view in which formlessness and randomness were crucial viewing guides. A ruin emphasizes the arbitrary yet inescapable deterioration of classic form, and when viewed from certain perspectives seems to announce only loss, destruction, and a final end to a discreet history.

In the late 20th century, the sentiments emerged again, serving the same cultural functions. The ruins in the present case are abuse victims. Ruins, to be most effective, have to have been edifices on a substantial scale. Children are thrown up first of all as monuments. The child, innocent, as a generic anonymous

image is made to represent a sense of a past, glorious and triumphant in its religious and nationalistic cohesiveness. In order to be the hope of the future, they have to be repositories of the past. Emphases on foundations, accouterments, and continuities are placed around the monumental statue of The Child as decorative motifs, much as one can see symbolic trappings around the statues of warriors in town squares. A crucial part of monuments is the institutionalization of respect, obedience, and obligation on the part of all who gaze upon the structure. Living statues are designated as proper role models, as in child beauty contests or Miss Teen pageants. They are celebrated, rewarded, idolized, circulated and displayed, preserved and protected, sacralized. To help ensure popularity, they are also eroticized.

Beginning in the 1970s, there were a number of preservation movements that achieved widespread popularity; they were mostly urban in focus although via folklore projects rural cultures were also collected, protected, and given higher respect. Reclaiming old buildings and areas, collecting and displaying artifacts even only a decade old, and linking one's self to a family and ethnic history became interesting, productive, and enjoyable pastimes. Most of this activity was due to commercial and financial interests, sentimentalization, an increase in the population's mean age, and perceptions of historical discontinuity and neglect (shared by ecology movements). Restoration demands attention to origins and the child is the best artifact of that idea. The neglected (and ruined) not only has to be restored but redeemed; the "original" in form is not only the oldest but a sign of The First Cause, and consequently becomes holy.

The images of the innocent child and the traumatized child have to go hand in hand. Pointed to first as a living reminder of the past, a past that is threatened with disruption and negation, the next step was to display the monument as a target of attack and a suggestion of what was to come. Examples were already in place: monuments and statues of ancient civilization, worn, broken and dismembered, overrun by alien growths, ruins. Like images in 18th century painting and architecture, the panorama of suffering children in the 1980s panic was elaborated (or created when it didn't exist) to please the aesthetic and political demands of the period's heroes. The purpose of the ruined child was to elicit a pervasive morbid and sentimental response that, in its desperation, would serve as the justification for reactionary anger and vengeance. The ruined child was offered as proof of the destructive effects of the previous decade's political and sexual liberalism, an ideal and necessary representation for those disillusioned with the course of society or their own lives.

The greatest image of the ruined child is the dead kid. One of the reasons an association between pedophilia and homicide was asserted so strongly was that it demanded the political and economic expansion of saving and regulating agencies and roles directed against children and the family. Kenneth Wooden, a major agitator of the period, offered this excellent text to a Congressional committee in 1984 as he pled for consideration of the era's "missing children." It's a narrative that combined imagery of the child in a landscape of ruins, drawing cleverly on

rhetorics of sleaze and disgust and, consciously or not, made a nice tie-in to anti-pollution discourses of the time.

> Children in America are being treated like garbage. Raped and killed, their young bodies are discarded in plastic bags, on trash trucks, and left on dumps. ... Like litter, they are thrown into lakes, rivers, and streams—the tender driftwood of life. Some are found on roadsides like empty soda and beer cans, or crushed cigarette butts, or cast aside like broken furniture in dirty, empty houses or stripped abandoned cars in wooded or swamp areas. ... Poor little wilted flowers, plucked from the vases of home and safety of parents, are, in large part, left unburied and alone in the openness of fields... (1985b:55, 57)

To insure that demands for increased surveillance, enforcement and punishment are taken seriously, several motifs have been commonly associated with the imagery of the suffering child. One of the most basic is the assertion that what is represented is "the real thing," that the context in which the suffering child's body is placed is in fact the ultimate reality. This became more and more a function of a collaborative effort between the developing professions and the practice of journalism from the 18th century on. Fictional writers used the excuses of realism to construct narratives that engaged and mobilized sympathetic emotions; journalists and professionals used fictional techniques to construct the reality and worth of their subjects and their social relation to them.

Suspicions have always been present over the veracity of the pedophilia-homicide equation, but it was not until the mid-1980s, when the connection was so vigorously insisted upon that some experts began hedging when pressed for evidence. The replacement for the deceased child then had to become the permanently traumatized child. If the corpse was not available for exhibit, the display of the damaged psyche was sent into the breech. Trauma was given as an immobilization of the child as severe as if the kid were dead. "Arrested development" is an important subtext of the horror genre, reinforcing the imagery and function of a body and spirit caught in the process of becoming (cf. Fraser 1974). The contemporary therapist asserts that she is entitled to penetrate into the private or unremembered self with the promise of revealing the true nature and cause of the material and spiritual grotesque we are presented with in the surface imagery of a weeping child or the dysfunctional adult. The awaited spectacle is the revelation of internal, unseen horror, just as it was in the 18th and 19th centuries when causes of diseases were revealed and explained. However, the traumatized child was not always visible and often had to be accepted on faith.

One of the most striking ways in which the suffering body of the child was displayed was the use of pictures of youth-adult sex.[13] Densen-Gerber had traveling slide shows in the late 1970s in her campaigns against "kiddie porn," and the (Edwin Meese) Attorney General's Commission on Pornography of 1986 featured visuals of children and sex as one of its main attractions.

The children in the slide shows were either nude or nearly so; the use of nakedness in these displays served specific political purposes by drawing on long-standing traditions. In Western religious traditions the unclothed human figure has

signaled sinfulness either as sexuality or as death; the naked child became attached to these associations. The horror of nudity, and hence of the promise or threat of human sexualities, derives from streams of thought in some pagan and Jewish beliefs and from much of Christianity (Davis 1957:172; Miles 1989). This was not always so, nor has the belief been consistent in the major religions, but from the 16th century on, intensifying in the 19th century in the West as extreme disgust, the contempt for the sexual body has served as a platform from which popular and professional discourses have continually flowed.

There has also been a tradition of child nudity seen as "cuteness," reflecting a belief in the asexuality of children. Once the possibility of the sexual child is raised, however, the concern begins to change the meanings of nakedness. Privacy, modesty, innocence, and parental proprietary rights begin to surface and define perceptions of displays (and concealments) of nudity. The nude figure becomes imbued with qualities of powerlessness, vulnerability, and passivity—consequences of a broader social exercise of power in which nakedness has been enforced on subjects to signify inferiority, flaw, and failing, and to conduct rituals of humiliation, punishment, and torture.

To be naked in this context is to be the subject of coercive and damaging power. For adults, nakedness in sexual depictions is largely taken as demonic behavior, threatening and dangerous to all.[14] For children, reattached to a conception of asexual innocence, nakedness in sexual representations had to be taken as prima facie evidence of abuse and assault. Photos of sex, as part of the definition of "pornography," became "crime scene photos." Protectiveness torn from the child was shown as the absence of clothing. The child must of necessity become a martyr. Like the dying child savior of the late 19th century, the image is a powerful one. The full engagement of the body has been, in one way or another, a staple of religious activity, particularly in rituals of commitment (Miles 1989:44f). For a few in the West, there have been religious traditions of physical delight and orgasm. For most others, it has been the indulgence in disgust or shame, manifested in tears or rage.

The suffering child has been amenable to both secular and the sacred views of society. The trauma may, to an extent, be lessened or cured, and the martyr may be resurrected. The religious mentality prevails, however, even in secular translations. The child comes to represent society and civilization in their sufferings, and represents a renewal of older, less rational symbols upon which to work the curative rituals. The child's body in the 1980s resonated with Medieval political theory in which the primary figure of the society (in those days, the King) was the literal embodiment of a divinely ordained social organization; the child was the fear and the hope of the future, the actual figure of the state, and the state moved rapidly to save itself.

IV

The insistence on the sacrifice and suffering of the victim isolates the individual in crucial ways. The specificity of the role of victim is such that the individual has to be initially removed from contexts that had defined them as

victim. After the fact there is the frantic search for "causes." Linear lines are drawn not between actual elements, but through salient points of the imagination, which in turn tries to (re)construct a fading vision of universal coherency tied to a First Cause (God, the pedophile, etc.). The diversion or destruction of inquiry, the denial or suppression of depth, complexity, and variety, the ignoring of contradiction—all are consequences of this reductionism in which literal minds are limited to polar extremes. All states of being, all roles of villain, victim, and hero become escalated, separated, and invested with certainty and finality.

The mythic plots demand that the victim move from fall to resurrection via roles of convalescent and survivor; the hero assists and channels mystical forces as the savior. Survivor narratives are resurrection stories, religious and secular miracle tales, genres as old as human fearfulness. One depends on the other: the greater the fall, the more miraculous the recovery; the greater the triumph, the more powerful the hero. Sleaze narratives assist in this by building a backdrop panorama of sordid desolation. The writing or visual style of sleaze is relentless and aims to produce (along with disgust) depression, despondency, and resignation. Sleaze is most powerful when chances of salvation (relief) is absent or (better dramatically) impotent and defeated. It is in the face of this challenge that the child-saver assumes heroic proportions.

The child, already a figure in flux in a culture obsessed by personal development in a nexus of individualist values of material success, has to be restabilized and regrounded in structures (e.g., family or state) and processes (e.g., scheduled development) that can secure and win the contests over the child's definitions and allegiances. Condemned implicitly along with the offending adult, the stigmatized and blemished child is redirected into a reconstitutive moral career that reestablishes acceptability and a certain amount of authority—but only for those who accept the dictates of the regenerating supervisors. Once the suffering victim is established and isolated, rituals of social integration are seductively offered.

Salvation, in the long Christian American tradition, has called for communal rituals of social reconciliation. Suffering, especially publicly confessed suffering, offers a way for humiliation to become heroism and patriotism. Salvation is the submission to, and exercise of, powers seen as greater than oneself and of more potency than those offered by the villain. Victims testify to this and recount horrors at the same government hearings at which villains appear (e.g., Hernandez 1985).

These contests involve struggles to claim authority for the management and surveillance of the self and other. This administration is done largely through the dissemination and inculcation of texts and images, assisted by entertaining spectacle. Protecting the child against the world, which consists of essentially limiting and predefining the child's experience and knowledge, the moral guardianship of the great 19th century reform movements tried to instill what was to be later seen as the "inherent" ability to tell right from wrong, and secondly, and of no lesser importance, to guide the child toward a realization of the selfless moral heroism of the guardian.

In the 19th century, with which the 1980s hysteria shared so many characteristics, fallen women were required as a part of their salvation to bear witness against the life they had led, to discourage any speculation that such a life may have had its pleasures and possibilities, and to announce their return to the domesticity that was insisted upon as a condition of being saved and cured. So too youth who have been sexually active are called upon to verify trauma and to retire into more "appropriate" states and relations. Baudrillard's observation that American culture has a mania for asepsis is quite correct (1988:33).

Opportunities are seized upon and dramas generated that allow a captivating representation of this cosmic struggle. Building on Puritan roots, American society has turned to the individual to display and chart the success and validity of these concerns. Wilkinson (1983; also Miller 1939, Morgan 1963) outlined a number of factors that have contributed to the on-going interest in studies of American character, of which the child sexual abuse discourses form a part. These narratives, based on stories of personal success and failure, of fall and recovery, reflect concerns with passivity, stasis, and vulnerability to external corruption. More crucially, they tell of the individual's ability (with appropriate help and advice) to regenerate the moral state of self and society by acknowledging the legitimacy of the law, a desire for salvation, and the willingness to entertain the public with accounts of personal struggles.

This is part of America's continual press for historical renewal. The suffering child becomes an exhibit in the cultural museum. According to Baudrillard, the American idea of a museum means that

> everything is worthy of protection, embalming, restoration. Everything can have a second birth, the eternal birth of the simulacrum. Not only are the Americans missionaries, they are also Anabaptists: having missed out on the original baptism, they dream of baptizing everything a second time and only accord value to this later sacrament which is, as we know, a repeat performance of the first, but its repetition *as something more real.* ... All Anabaptists are sectarian, and sometimes violent. Americans are no exception to this rule. To reconstruct things in their exact form, so as to present them on the Day of Judgment, they are prepared to destroy and exterminate... (1988:41; emphasis in original).

At the height of the sex abuse hysteria, David Finkelhor was quoted as saying, "People don't gain status by inventing stories about sexual abuse."[15] At that historical time, faced with an enormous catalog of accumulated political disillusionments, there was a desperate desire to reinstate the hero as a trusted figure. Finkelhor's misperception, reflecting historical obliviousness and sociological naiveté, was intended more as absolution for the acts professionals feel duty bound to perform for the sake of their patients and their careers. Especially for women during a time of fragmented feminism and attacks on feminist gains, this witnessing was absolutely crucial. In the context of the period's ballooning culture of victimage, the suffering body and psyche were ideal loci for the establishment and extension of professional aspirations for authority, status, and power. As a site for what Laqueur refers to as "mastery" (1989:182, 184,

187f), the victimized child offered a self-defined opportunity for rescue. The more explicit texts of mastery consist of cheerleading narratives that boost the self concept into appropriate social positions and directions, and are administered through therapeutic rituals of conversion and devotion.

Less explicit texts assert mastery over the target of the discourse in which humanitarians establish territorial domains and definitions of subject and subjectivity. It is here that the administrators make claims of speaking more fully for their clientele than the suffering victims and deluded villains may presume for themselves (Laqueur 1989:180). Children have proven so far to be the best for this insofar as previous clients have at certain points resisted the care and salvation.[16] Assertions of care and concern became common, especially in the form of how children were administered "loving" care and insistences on how "non-leading" the interrogations were when "disclosures" needed to be obtained and displayed. Such exclamations of affection are absolutely necessary to increase the pathos surrounding the victim, to increase the status of the savior, and to disguise hierarchies of power.[17] It is the kind of domestication of which Tuan speaks:

> Affection mitigates domination, making it softer and more acceptable, but affection itself is only possible in relationships of inequality. It is the warm and superior feeling one has towards things that one can care for and patronize. The word *care* so exudes humaneness that we tend to forget its almost inevitable tainting by patronage and condescension... (1984:5)

The assumption by secular professionals that they may better speak to the sufferings of their subjects than the subjects themselves allows them, like their precursors the anatomists, to firstly thoroughly dissect those delivered to their scrutiny. They emphasize detail in ways that verify the mechanical construction they have made of their specimens. Theories of development combine the body and the psyche in linear routes that call for the production of schedules and stigmata, as well as bureaucratic guidelines for administration so crucial to such enterprises. By outlawing the display, possession, and use of what was referred to as "child pornography," the ontological territory of the child is staked out. Sexuality and the body are again claimed as professional realms. The access to, use, and definition of knowledge is controlled. Though one may take the slide shows of governmental Commissions as instances of show business, it is in fact a display not so much of the materials themselves but of the power to handle them with impunity and to enjoy them without secular or divine punishment.[18]

Further, the assumption of expertise and authority demands that the results of such vivisections be displayed to verify the professionals' technological mastery over the claimed domains, to verify the existence and reality of evil and its effects, to verify their intellectual and spiritual superiority over the general audience and over the suffering victims, and to verify the professionals' allegiance to the institutions that offer reward and security to their status.[19] One example is a position statement published by the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex.

The Society, founded with a somewhat liberal view of sexology, had in the early and mid-1980s refused support to researchers punitively caught up in the sex abuse hysterias. Faced with the increased criminalization of sexually explicit materials, especially those including "underage" individuals, and faced with increasing criticism of professional theory and practice, the Statement had to reconcile their position as researchers vis-à-vis the state. It doesn't argue the basic premises of the laws or the state's assumption of power, but rather complains that the power of "legitimate" therapists and researchers is curtailed in defining, detecting, and treating the "antisocial behavior of sex offenders." In a text that is unusual even among academics for its insistent repetitiveness, explicit sycophancy, and unabashed cowardice, the Society begs for "the right of professionals to pursue their activities in the interest of common good and in the promotion of human welfare." The use of what they refer to as "stimulus materials" is essential, they say, for discovering illegal desires and in measuring how successful they have been in extinguishing them. The word "legitimate" is used six times in the one and a half page statement, and the words "therapy," therapeutic," and "therapist" used ten times.[20] The "Orientalism" analyzed by Said (1978; 1985) as a site for academic and professional privilege and for the Other as a construction of externally dominating desires and investments can be seen in this excellent example from the panic over youth-adult sex. The statement was a pathetic and embarrassing epitaph for a once progressive society.

The exhibition of a victim's inner and intimate feelings and experiences offers two things. One is for the victim herself and is an inflated investment in the position offered by the cultural context of her status and role. In the 1980s, the word "survivor" took on an intensity usually reserved for patriotic or religious devotion, and assertions of the role became enmeshed in the theatrical works that produced it. Secondly, victims on parade offer the professional the opportunity not only for public benevolence but the occasion to express individual morality as scientific practice. The assumption of moral authority allows the care-giver to evaluate his subjects and to selectively approve and disapprove of their utterances. However, while we must Believe The Children, we can be excused from doing so when they disobediently establish evidence counter to the beliefs of the restorative system.

The demand for what can be called a "radical" purity of children can also be a generator of tremendous guilt, both on the part of the children who sense extraordinary expectations, and on the part of the adults who (by definition) have pronounced that any knowledge of sin is sin itself. The emphasis on expertise and authority is not just to regulate children but to maintain a sense of self as free and distant as possible from any implication of sinfulness. This explains in part the emphasis on "objective" experts. This was often used against gay and lesbian researchers of same-gender relations.

The struggle of the suffering victim represents conflicts in systems of power to maintain definitions of what is and can be real, natural, and authentic. If the child can be considered as a ruin, it should be remembered that ruins invite not just

restoration, but remodeling. In the late 18th century and early 19th, some ruins were made to order from scratch, and others were refurbished and strengthened to remain as ruins. In the 1980s, the institution of "integrity tests" (mostly involving the search for drug use, but also applying checks on attitudes and behaviors) was wide-spread. Solidified from 19th century religion and 20th century therapeutics, the concern over reality and sincerity continued with minor interruptions into the late 20th century, with the reaction to youth-adult sex only a part of this historical stream, complicated by panics over drugs and AIDS.[21] The innocent child again became the model for authenticity in the face of strongly felt intrusions and attacks, especially those against the body of the child. Not only sexual representations but the entire construction of market defined facades was of concern to the public and academics alike.[22]

The apocalyptic resurgence called for the highest order of heroism, just as elaborate descriptions of sleaze demand equally strong counter narratives. Spectacles of ruins and gruesome death also contain texts of preservation, justice, and resurrection. Terrot remarked that "despite [white slavery's] horrifying aspects, it gave rise to the highest heroism on the part of those men and women who opposed the traffic" (1960:9). On the contrary, it is *because* of those very "horrifying aspects" (whether true or not) that makes crusaders so heroic and so entertaining. Schroeder noted some time ago that shock effect remains a key ingredient in the display of moral heroism.[23] It is no surprise then that, particularly in times of cultural contests, heroic activity is played out most effectively through traditional genre and popular media. The hero represents a restabilization of moral values and an affirmation that the moral order was before and will be soon again "right" because the images of the deficient victim and the excessive villain automatically define the hero in a middle, neutral ground. Played out through nostalgic dramas of sentimentality, crime, and melodrama, the popular culture renews the forms of the past and refreshes them with contemporary content allowing a backward looking society to feel it is resolutely facing the future. Because of the advanced colonization, and because, as they say, nostalgia ain't what it used to be, the past is reinvented, and the future becomes history before it happens. Previews of coming attractions, even if different from the actual movie (and this is the real risk, that audiences may be disappointed) define in advance the significance of the production. Advanced colonization ensures its on-going necessity. The genres through which fact and fiction are filtered call for the appropriate productions of the conflict, some asserting reality, some not caring—their performance and consumption judged solely on aesthetic values and realization of market share. Coupled with cultural sentimentality, the displays reach epic proportions, spectacles based on deliberate rational engineering and on oblivious moral hysteria.

9

THE SPECTACLE AS HYPERREALITY

I

Given that the sex abuse panic was a product of exaggeration and fabrication, most observers point to idiosyncratic anomalies or temporary insanity as its perceptual source. There are, however, very old currents in American culture that helped construct the hysteria. Two were tendencies toward replication and exaggeration. Some European critics were fond of belittling American culture for its tendency toward "hyperreality," toward the artificial and the "more real than the real" simulated artifact or experience. European cultures, however, can not claim superiority to American representational pleasures for they have produced their own "hyperrealities" for quite some time. Eurasmus in his early 16th century work, *De Copi*, encouraged exaggeration and hyperbole as well as the manufacture of similarities, and Mannerist methods of the early 16th to early 17th centuries promoted imitations and excesses.

Americans have long recognized our predisposition toward rhetorical and ontological inflation. One of the best examples is the tall tale. Sanford thought that the "national preoccupation with size, number, [and] quantity" is based on a yearning for "moral and spiritual grandeur among the world of nations" (1961:111). Though forms of the tall tale exist in other cultures, it is in America that the largely masculinist genre has been so lovingly cultivated. Tall tales are usually associated with boundary disputes or uncharted territories, and the imagination is encouraged to simplify, enlarge, and distort in order to negotiate the demarcations and to protect the self from diminishment or disappearance. And, of course, they are fun.

Many observers in the first part of the 19th century were quite disgusted by exaggeration. Hazlitt complained that the American imagination had to be "excited by overstraining" (1829:126f). Tocqueville said American writers inordinately inflate their imaginations to proclaim "giganticism." He observed that Americans tended to abandon "reality" and create monsters; he was disheartened by "too many immense, incoherent images, overdrawn descriptions, bizarre effects and a whole fantastic breed of brainchildren who will make one long for the real world." Tocqueville saw a codependent relationship between writers and readers: "The crowd seeks nothing...but objects of vast dimensions. ... Writer and public join in corrupting each other" (1969:488f). Reynolds cites John Neal's *Randolph* (1823)

in which Neal urged American writers to produce stories with "vivid and intense...*exaggeration*" (1988:204, emphasis in original). Some writers despaired at the thought of what they had to produce to achieve popularity. Melville grumbled at mid-century that the public wanted "more reality than real life itself can show...nature unfettered, exhilarated, in effect transformed" (1971:158). Poe, Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, and Hawthorn made similar observations (Reynolds 1988:171).

It is no surprise that subtexts of "myth versus reality" are so frequent in moral discourses. This has been reinforced by Romanticism, translated here as sentimentality. It is a tendency to rely solely on images, the consistency among which depends not on what we usually think of as empirical or rational logic but logics of aesthetics. The emphasis on imagery, along with technological developments and massive socioeconomic shifts in the 19th century produced a sharper contrast between what was considered "real" and what was artificial. Distinctions between the "natural" and "unnatural" were more frequently and more widely applied by shocked or excited observers, not the least of which were the newly emerging professionals in psychology and psychiatry.

Critics of all sorts began worrying about not just the artificial, but the illusionary. The manufactured presentation became more than a mere exhibit, it expanded to panorama. The displays were not just of something that had happened, but became happenings themselves. Past and present became less distant as did the "realities" in them. Though they had been a stable amusement since classical times, 19th century displays of the exotic became even more popular, helping to re-define the normal, natural, and real. As the "real" was increasingly encroached upon by the artificial, the false, or the temporary, the real had to become an ideal, one separated to the extent that it seemed unobtainable. By becoming mythic, the "real" became less tangible but omnipresent, mass produced and consumed in quantity. The real was equated with the present, and with its expansion the past was displaced and distanced. Faced with a deflated past and a loud and shallow present, the future became a target for anxiety-ridden hope. The slogan, "children are the future," offered as a self-serving gesture of beneficence, is at its heart the proverbial cry for help.

The 19th century saw the settling in of dependable genres, categories still holding in fiction, the arts, and the professions. Through genre, popular fact was taken to further heights of emotion and imagery. The rise of journalism entailed a focus on the sensational, the unusual, and the tabooed.[1] The word "news" in fact became attached to late 17th century texts of the unfamiliar and sensational, and the phrase, "strange but true!" became at that time expressive of the relationship between institutions of information and entertainment (Hunter 1990:216).

Aside from melodrama, the gothic is one of America's premier narrative forms, whether as fiction or journalism. Fiedler (1966:134), however, holds the writer responsible for genre and he carries on the tradition of criticizing American

excess with a remark that should seem quite familiar to enemies of erotica: "Dedicated to producing nausea, to transcending the limits of taste and endurance, the gothic novelist is driven to seek more and more atrocious crimes to satisfy the hunger for 'too much' on which he trades." Or, as they said in Texas during the financial binges of the 1980s, "too much is not enough!"[2]

Recalling Tocqueville's "giganticism," after World War I Spengler ridiculed America's tendency toward overstatement as "giantism" (1926:I:219, 294f). In the 1950s, Wagner railed against American popular culture, especially crime genre and comic books, because they were "exaggerated" and "desperately unreal" (1954:58, 155). In a similar vein, many have noted the tendency to purposely substitute illusions and spectacles for "reality," whether to expand or to displace it altogether, a trend operating since the mid-19th century. The most famous expression of this has been Boorstin's "pseudo-event:" a premeditated, constructed happening with some vague though not always necessary connection to a baseline reality, an event or actor selected and elaborated upon by information institutions, and an event—especially for the consumer—that is self-fulfilling.[3]

For modern times, it was in the last quarter of the 17th century that there reappeared a high interest in "Wonders"—the strange, unexplainable, mysterious, rare, disastrous, and the unstable. In some measure it was a reaction to the increased emphasis of rational science, but it was also connected to the stimulation of the imagination by the developing form of the novel.[4] The attraction to display appears to be panhuman, and cultural assistance is often given to the inflation of certain representations, particularly where the engagement and manipulation of emotions is intended. The tendency to exaggerate the meaning and impact of images goes back into prehistory and is one of the bases for the continued effectiveness of religious beliefs. Huizinga (1949:66) noted some time ago that ideals are always challenged by reality and to retain a place of power and authority in a society, images to a certain extent *have* to be enlarged in both form and content. American genre, especially melodrama, have been not exceptional in this, just better at it.

Two major American sources of hyperreal spectacles have been commercial entertainment industries and reform campaigns. The differences between the two has often been rather slight. Exposés are a matter of course for those movements in which story and image constructors reveal actors and events considered hidden or secret (implying subversiveness and criminality), their presentations emotionally tied to specific subcultural moral viewpoints.

From the late 18th century onward, several religious agendas generated extensive rhetoric and action for reform. Villains, victims, and heroes were identified from the perspective of specific world-views that felt authorized to codify theocratic objectives for individuals and society as a whole. This is not to say that religion has been on one side and atheism on the other. Historically, there

have been mixes of conservative and liberal elements in reform campaigns, just as there was an alignment between parts of feminism and conservatism in the 1970s and 1980s anti-erotica and child sexual abuse hysterias.

The term "hysteria" means not only irrationality, but exaggeration, delusion, distortion—disproportions of quantity and quality. As consumers of the abuse panic grew tired of its entertainments and as advocates became embarrassed by its exceptions, the culture continued its restless and always interesting search for cheap thrills. Satanism, the ever-popular drug fiend, sadomasochism, and other stand-by images were reintegrated into society as fiction or fact, the distinction not always clear or important. Efforts at representing excess often become swept up by their own self-infatuated systematics and become themselves excessive, partly in an attempt to adequately convey their meaning and partly because they succumb to the powers they attribute to the excessive, that is, its ability to overpower or incorporate. While entertaining for varying lengths of time, such spectacles ultimately reach a satiation point at which doubt, boredom, or impatience occur. At such a point, energy must be directed to newer productions and/or rationales of existing amusements.

A century after the first appearance of concern with illusion, the worry returned in the 1980s. Promoters of adult-youth sexual relations as horrific trauma and terrific spectacle felt abandoned as attention waned. They claimed that child abuse was, despite the complications, qualifications, and scandals, still "real." Even after documenting media exploitation and legal blunderings, Hopkins insisted that child abuse was "real and frightening" (1988). Sensitive to criticism of the hysteria, Lew said that abuse is both real and "common;" more to his interests, he also claimed that "recovery" is just as real (1990:xvii, 16). The jacket copy for Vachss' 1991 novel promoted his fiction as solid entertainment: "brilliant, dark, terrifying, and *real*" (emphasis in the original). A news article appearing late in the period came to the conclusion that rather than always telling the truth (as was promoted in the 1980s), kids may in fact lie and/or may be lead by interviewers. A later issue of the magazine contained reactions from those aligned with earlier 1980s beliefs. Pointing out inaccuracies, Wexler concluded that "The problem of child abuse is serious and real. It is the solutions that have been phony."[5] Kaminer was afraid that over-broad definitions of abuse so popular and necessary among "survivors" would trivialize "real" abuse (1992:26f). Lanning and others regretted that Satanic ritual abuse tales take away from "the real issue of child sexual abuse..." (Watters 1991:68).

Assertions as to what was "real" and what wasn't in the 1980s were found throughout the culture. Coca Cola had to continuously assure people that it was "The Real Thing." Mid-decade television promotions for the program, "The People's Court" guaranteed its viewers that "The decisions are *real!*" A radio ad for frozen juice bars in June, 1986, exclaimed real loud that "They're Real! Real

Fruit! Real Juice! Real Good!!" An ad for Miller Draft beer boasted that "This is as real as it gets!" (August 3, 1988).[6]

"Reality" implies consistency or unity. In *Ronald Reagan, The Movie* (1988:9), Rogin remarked of the period, not entirely incorrectly, that

> The oppositions that traditionally organized both social life and social critique—oppositions between surface and depth, the authentic and the inauthentic, the imaginary and the real, signifier and signified seem to have broken down.

Another commentator tended to agree about the disappearance of a unified culture, and goes on to remark that "unitary discourses constructing very specific subjects have only intensified. The category of the subject remains highly viable in large because it has never been so hotly contested" (Collins 1987:24). It has been said that a coherent American history was not possible after the 1950s; a singular historical vision becomes a plurality of versions, each one marking the real from the unreal.[7]

From the mid-18th century on, what has come to be known as relativism continued to embarrass assertions of certainty and unity. Especially in the last half of the 19th century, two elements consistently undermined claims that had previously been considered profound and unquestionable: variation, which denied "universal" claims, and temporariness, which mocked "eternal" truths. American struggles began anew with particular vehemence after the victory of Ronald Reagan in 1980. At the beginning of the decade, conservative critics began anticipating the emphases of a new administration and the revival of authoritarian activism. Journalist Lance Morrow concluded that the country "needs someone with the intellectual power to devise a new myth or revive the old" (1980:29). Academic William McNeill warned (1982) that "in the absence of believable myths, coherent public action becomes very difficult to improvise or sustain." McNeill complained that when proper myths fail, "obedience becomes irregular, the predictability of human action diminishes, and the effectiveness of public response to changing conditions begins to erode." More directly, Morrow felt there was "too much freedom," a lack of discipline, and too much engagement in "endless social license" (1980:4, 29). Fresh in the minds of these two were the Vietnam war and the counter-ideologies of cultural and political dissidents. Unmentioned but more influential were exposures of governmental and journalistic deceptions which affected military as well as civilian populations; public expression of veterans' disillusionment was particularly hard to take given traditional assumptions of military allegiance.[8] Nietzsche, writing in a time that would seem quite familiar remarked,

> What therefore is truth? A mobile army of metaphors, metonymies, anthropomorphisms in short, a sum of human relations which became poetically and rhetorically intensified, metamorphosed, adorned, and

> after long usage seem to a nation fixed, canonic and binding; truths are illusions of which one has forgotten that they *are* illusions... (1964:II:180)

Advertising aggressively assumed a much more visible and overt presence in the 19th century, and it began to drive not only markets for goods but for ideas and emotions as well. Interaction became premeditated and scientifically calculated, and emotional stakes were escalated; "People were brought to great excitement entirely by arrangement," observed Harris (1973:25). The latter part of the 19th century is famous for the discovery of how to create needs and attitudes via marketing (cf. Strasser 1989). To do this required luck, but more a skill for evaluations of the commercial and political potentialities of internal emotions and thoughts. Joining the religious and secular receivers of confessions was now an array of corporate and academic theorists and technicians who increasingly manipulated social sets. Anthropology was long considered the bohemian of the social sciences, marginal to more sordid and worldly concerns, such as market research or actuarial science. But the discipline is now able to contribute to managing money and power not only by ascertaining the symbols and meanings of a culture, but predicting them as well: "we're working on models that predict the future *symbolic* needs of specific target audiences and how they imply certain product as well as marketing strategies," promised Houghton (1992).

The emphasis on symbols as condensed packages of meaning became more important because the 1980s hysteria was also a time of near-overwhelming information expansion through the spread of personal computers, small press proliferation (especially books and zines), and the linkage of individual computer users and their collectivization via bulletin boards and on-line services. It was a time of the "deauthorization of the text;" the value of "truth" and "reality" collapsed for many into a preference for image and emotion. Cable TV and computers increased the movement toward dominance of visuals as communication discourse. There was a corresponding decrease of text in broadcast and print journalism and the increased use of the "sound bite." One place the text still remained supreme was in professional cultures (though corroding around the edges with the return to biologically-oriented sexology and instrumentation), and in fundamentalist cultures, both secular and religious.

II

The 1980s saw a number of corollary developments that, with precursors in the 1960s and 1970s, helped define and maintain the force and forms of the hysteria over youth-adult sex. They were all loudly and urgently promoted as fundamental crises, horrific threats calling for immediate and drastic solutions. They were, in short, hyperreal assertions.

The period was renowned for its obsessions with wealth and a renewed militaristic fervor. From the mid 1970s, rhetorics of acquisition and aggression

reflected an increasingly belligerent posture permeating many areas of life. Lewis (1991:xiv) referred to the decade as one of "financial terrorism," but he more accurately recognized a greater commitment to "drama" on the part of those seeking financial gains and political, religious, or military domination.

Military games remained the paramount obsession. Ronald Reagan consistently referred to the Soviet Union as "The Evil Empire," asserting that they were the "natural" enemies of the United States, that they were animals, barbarians, automatons, criminals, insane, fanatics, and Satanic.[9] The accusations were similarly aimed at civil wars and revolutions in this hemisphere as well as in Europe and Asia. Noting that the rhetoric of war was heaviest in the mid-1980s, Burns saw in it "a voluminous catalog of misinformation, disinformation, and questionable interpretation of fact" (1987:41; 34ff), qualities not limited to military issues. On the domestic front, the right wing renewed their battle against liberals, joining leftists who had been laughing at the collapse of middle class liberalism since the mid-1960s. "The 1980s experienced an explosive growth in attack politics," said Pfau and Kenski (1990:13), but the method and tone went far beyond the usual Democrat-Republican slapstick theatrics.

The basic ingredients of the belligerence were explicit fears of invasion and domination, a paranoia not unlike the Death Valley Days of the 1950s. Throughout the entire decade, there were frequent depictions of invasion by the Soviet Union (with a few Arab terrorists thrown in). Popular novels stressed apocalyptic visions and "ruthless personal vengeance,"[10] action movies joined fiction's stress on invasion, captivity, and heroic saviors (*Red Dawn*, *Invasion USA*, *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*), and a popular television mini-series showed America as captive and victim (*Amerika*, ABC, February, 1987).

Captivity narratives were pervasive. The most widespread and elaborate were those having to do with kidnapped children, but similar images were tied to nationalist and militaristic discourses. In May, 1979, Iranians took over 50 hostages who were held until Ronald Reagan took office in 1981. In 1983 a US Marine barracks was bombed, killing over 240 individuals; two days later Grenada was invaded to "free the captives." Incidents continued for the next few years which were fully exploited by entertainment institutions (Dobkin 1992).

A wonderful book on the topic was *What To Do When The Russians Come: A Survival Guide*, written by academics Conquest and White (1984) painting a picture of life in the United States under Soviet administration. It is a choice artifact of the 1980s. The position of children was as ambivalent as the surrounding panic over child sexual abuse, then at its height. In the scenario, teens and preteens would be in danger of being raped by marauding bands of drunken soldiers. Preteens will be forced to join The Pioneers, a youth group, where they will be sent to "indoctrinated-infested summer camps and have various solemn ceremonies in which, for example, they dip their richly embroidered flags in the memory of Lenin and take oaths of loyalty to the organization and its aims" (p. 28,

though the authors admit it is much like the American Scouts). On the other hand, as a result of Soviet invasion, most kids will end up "as members of gangs of urchins living on their wits, subject to arrest and incarceration in adult jails as soon as they are in their teens." Those placed in state-run orphan homes will be "indoctrinated in Communist beliefs and, later if suitable, sent to serve in the police and other units" (p. 36). Here, just as in the abuse narratives, the darker threat *of* children emerges from the more overt images of threats *to* children. In America under a tyranny, one must be careful not to say anything that children "might innocently blurt out in front of unreliable acquaintances or known agents of the regime" (pp. 37, 149f). All of this is generally good advice, and since so much of the scenario had immediate applications in 1980's America, wags suggested that it was really a guide to survival in the Reagan era.

One of the best known 1980s captivity narratives was the Prisoner of War/Missing In Action (POW/MIA) crusade that maintained itself at religious levels for many years from the Vietnam War into the 1990s. While evidence of unaccounted for hostages was continually proven non-existent, "the administration of President Ronald Reagan kept fomenting the issue," said Franklin (1992:16). MIAs were depicted as hostages still alive, suffering unspeakable abuse. Children of the missing were sometimes featured as victims to arouse sympathy and aggression. Like data on missing and abused children, POW/MIA figures began to be inflated in the early part of the decade, uncritically promoted by news media.[11] The issue served as a center for a process of "reimaging" that began in the late 1970s in which negative images of the war were explicitly reversed in meaning and projected onto Americans in a number of popular films. Villains were realigned with the political interests of the time, victimage was extended to a whole nation threatened from within and without, and heroism emphasized figures of the Rescuer and Avenger, the character of John Rambo as played by Sylvester Stallone being the best known.

Some of the more interesting captivity narratives in the period were those of individuals who felt they had been abducted by aliens. Stories of contact appeared in the early 1950s but were reported as benign. In the later 1960s aliens develop more sinister airs and "contact" changes to "abduction." University of Wyoming psychologist R. Leo Sprinkle began holding hypnotism sessions in the late 1960s, continuing through the 1970s; the first annual conference for abductees was held in 1980. At this time, memories recovered under hypnosis became more promoted, and reports of "missing time" were established as part of the genre. Distinguishing themselves from tales that appeared earlier, stories from the 1980s are more personal and emotional accounts of kidnapping, and featured sexual abuse and experimentation. Experts began to look upon the narrators of the accounts as traumatized "victims." Professionals believed recollections of the events were repressed partly by psychological defense mechanisms and partly by mysterious manipulations of time and space by aliens. Investigation and treatment featured

hypnosis and support groups, and there emerged a "post abduction syndrome" in 1986 to account for behavior and stigmata. Children appear in the 1980s stories as abductees for the first time, suffering severe psychosexual trauma and showing all the classic symptoms of abuse. In an ironic juncture of historical streams, Jacobs complained that insensitive therapists too often attempt to classify alien abduction as repressed experiences of childhood sexual abuse (1992:251-253, 255, 285), and Mack asserts that reports of child sexual abuse actually mask alien abduction experiences (1994:18). Jacobs believed there was an extraterrestrial "abduction program," a "vast" cosmic conspiracy that "goes on twenty-four hours a day, month after month, year after year."[12]

The corollary to fears of invasion, attack, or captivity is a rhetoric of "defense" and the 1980s contained excellent examples. Franklin (1988) gives a nice outline of the mentality that sees internal and external threats at every turn. Security is paramount once one has postulated a super-enemy; super weapons are mandatory. Images of "impregnable" defenses and protection, and abilities to "penetrate" enemy lines speak to a energetic commitment to rigorous superior/inferior relations. Such preoccupations generate extensive anxieties of considerable intensities. Franklin sees a "sublimated eroticism" in the weaponry fetishism.

The rise of "survivalism," mostly a right wing preoccupation, was also a feature of the 1980s and fit well with the popular idea of the abuse "survivor." Similar to psychological theories of the day that encouraged anger and hatred toward those who supposedly traumatized one, Franklin sees an equivalent on the political front: "In the 1980s, the most popular fiction about nuclear war are survivalist fantasies, mixing virulent anti-communism, sadist pornography, and propaganda for Star Wars" (1988:211). For the 1970s "survivalist," the foe was more a vast, unseen array of conspiratorial forces, such as anonymous manipulators or waves of faceless immigrants, though many were quite specific, such as Russians, Arabs, Blacks, Latinos, or Jews. The task of the survivalist was to resist invasion and trauma by the maintenance of individual strength. The 1980s "survivor" was a post-apocalyptic victim, disfigured, lurching about with a burned out core of being; the emphasis was on recovery and conformity. Closely related was fiction's "New Warrior." Usually male, his wounds were less physical and more symbolic, such as memories of the Vietnam defeat, the resistance of women and homosexuals, and the continuing deterioration of the world order through terrorism, organized crime, or leftist insurgence. The type drew upon classic American heroic images (Gibson 1994:10ff).

Anxiety over imminent nuclear war reached its height in the 1980s. Some of the fears of an atomic holocaust go back to the beginning of the 20th century, connecting to a general mistrust of science that goes back even further, just as the imagery in the apocalyptic survivalist films and novels of the 1980s connect to fears of mobs from the late 18th century. Weart points to the "survivors as

savages" theme which can be associated with the evil children motif, as in Golding's *Lord of the Flies*, though there was often a "victory of the victim" theme in many of these representations (1988:219ff, 408; 224ff). Weart makes some interesting observations on nuclear fears, especially those from the mid-70s through the mid-80s that connect to the sexual abuse anxieties. He says at the core of "nuclear energy tales" are three elements: "a tremendous forbidden secret; a powerful authority who mastered the secret; and a device often personified in a robot or monster, whereby the master caused good or harm" (1988:55). Finally, fear of nuclear contamination reached great heights in the 1980s connecting with still rising concerns over environmental pollution. As in sexual abuse imagery, contamination from these "unnatural" elements caused personal and social distortion, mutation, and destruction.

But for many observers, it was the Vietnam War that seemed to condition much of the imagery of the 1980s. The effect of the war was referred to as "The Legacy," a term also used to describe the supposed after-effects of adult-youth sex. Many people perceived a profound, widespread, and long term destruction of the culture's traditional myths and icons, feeling powerless and impotent. The war was advertised as a test of will, and when it was lost it became a failure of nerve, ambition, and courage, much as was feared happened to "civilization" during the latter part of the 19th century.[13] In both instances, the child became the focus of a desperate attempt at renewal. Personal perceptions of the self, of society, even of "reality" itself underwent considerable alterations during the 1960s and 1970s. Shay (1994) sees escalated images of enemies, a more pervasive sense of conspiracy, perceived betrayals of morality, and the feelings of losing power manifested in the period, elements not limited to veterans. Especially for those who fought, their relationships—as revealed through therapy—indicated symptoms of the flux or disappearance of memory, an unreliability of perception, destruction of trust, and a widespread sense of meaninglessness. Most of these doubts and anxieties were transferred to scenes of adult-youth sex in the 1980s, where the enemy could be directly engaged and destroyed.

Waller feels that from the mid-1970s on, there was a need to find an identifiable, sympathetic, and believable hero who was engaged in a clearly defined and unanimously supported struggle, a cause which resulted in definite and certain victories. The period wanted no repetition of pickets and protests. These desires were reinforced by situations in the 1970s and 80s of hostage taking, "terrorism," defeats, "standoffs," and "hollow victories" (1991:14). People wanted heroes they could trust, a major concern of the time because of the revelations of Watergate and Iran-Contra criminality. There was a double failure to be lived down, that of the military hero, exposed again as a tyrant and war criminal, and the political leader, revealed again as incompetent and corrupt.

The public reaction to AIDS in the 1980s was largely based on media characterizations, as well as to the rhetorical and political uses to which the disease was put. Popular articles on the disease sharply increased from its naming at the beginning of the decade to a peak in mid-1983, dropped a bit, then sharply increased from late 1984 on. Most of the panic coincided with the height of the sexual abuse hysteria in 1983-85 (Albert 1989:43, fig. 3.1; Kinsella 1989; Altman 1986). Much of the panic took the form of gay-bashing, rhetorically and physically. I will never forget the applause with which each AIDS death was celebrated by some Christians, and the silence of the rest of the Judeo-christian world that permitted that. A common theme of 1980s anti-AIDS ads was one used by the Connecticut Department of Health Services, via the advertising agency of Mintz and Hoke. Their tag line, "AIDS. You Never Know Who's Got It," struck many of the same chords found in the sex abuse hysteria on the identity and location of the pedophile.[14] AIDS ads and prevention programs played upon fear and guilt and were consistent with other erotophobic and authoritarian campaigns of the decade, particularly the War on Drugs.

This resentment over AIDS, like the youth-adult sex panic, was used to express positions in broader disputes over sexualities and sexual representations that escalated in the 1980s. Feminists were tragically split by the infamous "Sex Wars" of the early 80s, many retreating to dogmatic and reactionary positions.[15] It was a time during which women's sexual status in general was again attacked from religious and political bases through popular and academic "tired clichés" (Ehrenreich, Hess, and Jacobs 1986:160, 171ff).

Given the return to fundamentalist religion during the 1980s, it is no surprise that a reaction to Satanism also made a highly visible comeback. Besides the contributions of religious mentalities defining social problems, the whole momentum of the child sexual abuse hysteria from both popular and professional sources eased acceptance of beliefs in Satanism. The actual beliefs and practices of this Christian subcult are varied, but clearly vocal opposition and sightings quantitatively exceeded and qualitatively distorted actual practitioners. Victims and supposed former devotees came forward to confess and perform, and to demand immediate and drastic attention.[16] Religious media naturally produced quite a number of works (Larson 1989, Pulling 1989), but the view was also promoted via mainstream publishers (Terry 1987, Kahaner 1988). The 1988 Geraldo Rivera special, "Devil Worship: Exposing Satan's Underground," attracted one of the largest audiences in television history.[17] As attention increased throughout the 1980s, Sandra Baker of the Sacramento, California Child Sexual Abuse Treatment Program, predicted that by 1991 "the courts will believe children when they say they are involved in satanic rituals" (Ross 1986c). The height of alarm was about 1988-1989, and while in the early 1990s there were still pockets of personal and organizational commitment, the fantasy was short-lived. This did

not prevent aspects of the Satanism scare from being encoded into law and the belief does not die out entirely. For many Christians Satan remains a basic tenet of their religion and political activism. Baker's wish is a yearning for the certainty of revelation, and the certainty of punishment.

There was, indeed had to be, a frequent association of Satanism with other popular panics, such as "missing children," child abuse, or drugs. One of the most popular was the sensationalistic coverage of what was supposed to be a Satanic drug cult in Matamoros, Mexico. Nearly every newspaper, magazine, and televised report on the group uncritically promoted the Satanic cult view. Even after officials backed off, most journalists ignored this as well as contrary evidence and continued to inform their markets that the murders were driven by Satanic beliefs.[18] Green (1991:241) said that within two weeks of the April, 1989 publicity naming the Matamoros murders as Satanic, an elementary school circulated an official memo warning of child abduction; children then began reporting rumors of kidnappings, murders, and mutilations similar to (or "consistent with") accounts drawn from children by social workers and prosecutors in ritual abuse cases.

With the publishing of four "instant" books, the Matamoros spectacle was just in time to contribute to both the on-going development in horror genres as well as to a resurgence of the "true crime" genre, called "today's single hottest category in mass market publishing" by Pocket Books Publisher Irwin Applebaum. The genre tapped three popular beliefs and anxieties according to Carolyn Reily, President of Avon Books: "there are murderers among us," "money can't hide evil or buy happiness," and "do I have the potential for this evil in me too?", elements overlapping with the characterizations of 1980s adult-youth sex.[19] At the end of the decade, several works reviewed the documentation on Satanism and debunked the evidence pointing out gross distortions or fabrications of fact.[20]

What were referred to as "atrocity tales" about the effects of new religions and conservative evangelical Christian cults appeared throughout the 1970s, and by drawing on traditional motifs the cult stories laid substantial thematic groundwork for sexual abuse narratives of the 1980s. Specific allegations of child abuse within cults appeared in the late 1970s and continued until the mid-1980s when doubt as to their veracity became apparent, when people became tired of their repetition and inured to their attempts to shock, and when atrocity tales of sexual child abuse replaced them with the promise of newer and greater thrills.

Shupe and Bromley (1981:209f) clearly show the media promoted atrocity stories because the themes made good copy and because reporters shared the world-views of anxious parents and apostates. Media reprinted other media accounts as fact, and produced innumerable talk shows and documentaries supposedly proving the horrific effect on youth of the new religions. Cult atrocity tales had traditional and consistent content, including themes of the loss of freedom and autonomy and the devastation suffered by the subjugated individual. The former allowed the construction of the villain and the latter of the victim; in

both areas, the stories became emblematic of broader social and cultural threats. The cult stories of the 1970s reflected profound anxieties over liberal political and sexual ideas advanced in the late 1950s and 1960s, and dwelt specifically and metaphorically on the violation of individual and cultural symbols. The destruction of the innocence and aspirations of youth, the collapse of the family, confusion in self-concepts, attacks on patriotism, laws, and sexual values, all found expression in the atrocity tales of the new religions (Bromley, Shupe, and Ventimiglia 1979).

The tales were told with a eye toward evoking moral outrage and in so doing encouraged punitive reaction by individuals and the state. Such atrocity tales were transferred directly to the child abuse hysteria for similar purposes, but the results had far more effect than the cult scare stories. Because the entertainment industries escalated their intensities in "evoking negative emotionality" (Johnson 1989) through specific tactics (decontextualization of relationships and individuals, and uncritically allowing full credibility of official sources while denigrating critics), draconian measures were accepted with little complaint or embarrassment by professionals and the populace.

AIDS fears in 1987 were accompanied by the discovery of the first widely recognized computer virus, "Friday the 13th." The fear of transformation into a machine was not helped by the realization that the idealized machine, the computer, was highly vulnerable to random unseen attack. Fears of pedophiles being connected via computers were based in some small way on the idea of two demonic forces in alliance. Home computers in the early and mid-1980s were in an extraordinary period of technical development and market expansion. Large populations, especially middle class office workers and managers, were suddenly faced with baffling and threatening entities challenging their economic status and personal competence. Also at this time there were economic "chip wars" raging with Japan, adding to the decade's racism, angry feelings of victimage and inferiority, and strong resentment against "outsiders." The reaction against the spread of computers, even the very idea of a computer, is also linked to the fear and contempt for the increasing bureaucratization of everyday life for which the computer was at that time symbolic (and had been since the image of the button-down IBM man in the late 1950s and early 1960s). More fundamentally, there were many concerns about the computer and its supposed subculture of geeks and nerds, mutants of human development and identity, concerns expressed vividly in the imagery of computer-linked pedophile rings and what they were supposedly doing to children.[21]

Monsters remained popular, but the monster assumed different forms after 1970. Basic to the genre was what Newman (1988:39) called "one of the oldest Big Scary Ideas:" the Monster whose desire is focused directly on one's body. Some of this was the usual monster-destroys-the-body type, but more often in the

1980s was the theme of the body transformed into a monster, or its subgenre of body-into-monstrous-machine films and novels.[22] The body-into-machine fear is much older than the period of hysteria over juvenile sexual activity, but the late 1970s and 1980s held more images speaking to that concern. An influential 1977 film (*Demon Seed*, from Koontz 1973) featured a computer which begins to think for itself, wants to rule the world, and—the unique draw of the film—rapes and impregnates a woman. Also beginning in the late 1970s but blossoming more in the 1980s was the cyberpunk genre of science fiction. One of the motifs of that school was that of a victimized woman being hardwired into a mechanized killing unit (cf. Springer 1993), a theme tied to the widespread revenge motif in abuse and feminist and militarist texts of the same period.

The man-into-machine has the additional meaning of man-into-automaton, an unstoppable machine either guided by an external evil genius or the machine-goes-crazy theme. A number of such films and novels are sprinkled throughout the 1970s and 1980s; recall Russo's novel (1985) in which children are implanted with electronic devices which at the whim of an outside manipulator makes them sexual and killers. One of the most famous films of the 1980s in this regard was *The Terminator*. The plot centering around the intrusion of a killer cyborg from the near future carried several themes of the period. The cyborg (Arnold Schwarzenegger) was a relentless killing machine, and the Good Guy of the film tries to explain to the unbelieving heroine, "It doesn't feel pity or remorse or fear. It will not stop! EVER!!", much as pedophiles were then being characterized. Violence and destruction of the worst sort is almost always associated with this scenario. The futuristic cartoon machine man, Ranxerox, doesn't hesitate to entertain with graphic destruction, consistent with many comix of the time. It's no accident that his human lover is a young teen girl, and they are occasionally shown having sex together (Liberatore and Tamburini 1984, 1985).

The body transformation theme as an expression of loss is seen directly in the disabling, dismembering, or destruction of the body. Depictions of body damage or destruction had become more commonplace and even expected as a genre element since the televised war of Vietnam and the increased visibility of graphic horror at about the same time (a continuation of the EC Comics period). The 1980s contains the fullest expression yet in American culture of body transformations. As a kind of introduction to this, Reagan's 1965 autobiography was reprinted in 1981. Its title was taken from what he felt was his high point in acting, a line he delivered in *King's Row*. In the film, Reagan's character has his legs amputated by a vengeful doctor, the father of a girl Reagan had been lusting after. Recovering in the hospital, Reagan awakes, looks down at his torso, and cries, "Where's the rest of me?" Carrying this scene as metaphor, Reagan admitted that he continued to seek completeness of self and society through sports and politics. His victory in 1980 allowed a fuller cultural development of this wonderful organic imagery.

One of the most immediate accouterments to bodily transformations we've already glimpsed has been associations of the body and its desires with food. Food as a signifier underwent several changes during the period. Its primary function had been as an indicator and measure of domestic life. Prepared according to long standing traditions of gender roles and consumed in close family settings, the bodily functions of taking in and even of letting out were tied to intimate personal and familial relationships. In the 1950s, however, "fast food" began pulling these relations and their meanings in different directions. Eating out (and "take out") became much more widespread for families, and as a facilitator for those wanting to remain single or childless; single parent families used the option more to maintain their style of family life. Nutritional concerns reflected both doubts about the "realness" of newer foods and the contexts in which they were eaten. Further, in the late 1970s about 10% of homes had microwave ovens, but by 1994 at least 80% had them. Food in its preparation and consumption as signs of personal and institutional health was rapidly transformed. Food as a symbol of bodily functions being transformed or perverted found expression in a variety of horror and comedy genre (mainly through the development of "splatter" and the featuring of vomiting and other excretions), and the anxieties in the late 1980s over bulimia and anorexia, seen by some as a direct result of child sexual abuse.[23] In addition to using food metaphors for normality/abnormality, the association with insistent bodily demands helped tie sexual desires to the reductionism of biological dictates governing behavior.

The necessity of regular nourishment and excretion, and anxieties over their irregularities, added support to the use of formulas we've seen before, such as "x happens every y minutes." In their own way they are a part of the body transformation theme, insofar as the "x" that is supposed to be happening to people is a physically transforming event, either to another disfigured monster or death. It was a transformation from one self to another, a lesser or even a non-self. Popular concerns of addiction, conversion, and corruption were all transformations that had roots in the vulnerable body. "Multiple Personality Disorder" was directly tied to the abuse panic in that most believers saw childhood sex as the cause of MPD. The self could transform into many selves, and some of those selves (according to a few professionals) may even be other animals. To further carry the image, some authorities believed that individuals (usually women) with MPD could even "create biologically separate selves."[24]

One subvariety of the body transformation genre was that involving age. There were a few films turning on the device of the youngster going into the body of the adult and vice-versa, most of which appeared in the late 1980s. *Vice Versa* was the name of two of the films; others were *Like Father, Like Son*, and the better known *Freaky Friday* and *Big*. They offered several opportunities for giggles over sexual knowledge and behavior, especially the classic (mostly masculine) If-I-only-knew-then-what-I-know-now fantasy. Connecting to the "inner child"

theory and "born again" theology of the time, the idea was a recall of 19th century savior children. The child within an adult's body was able to express and act upon moral truths to contest and correct the surrounding corrupt adult society.

Bodily transformations, like the behaviors of pedophiles, were expressed in the languages and images of exploding and erupting, a reversal of crumbling decomposition. The scene in *Alien* is a classic of this sort, repeated in the remake of *The Thing*.[25] The slimy parasite erupting from the host's torso and flying onto the face of an onlooker had been done in *They Came From Within* (1975), a film that also carried a number of themes that reached fuller expression in the next decade. In that film, a modern high-tech apartment complex is advertised as a utopia, but through the experiments of a mad scientists, people in the complex become infected with a worm-like parasite that acts as an aphrodisiac. Cultural taboos are cast aside as tenants start humping anything and anyone, including old men attacking school girls. Children are also sexualized. One scene has a man held down by a groping crowd and a preteen girl bending over him, kissing him with her blood-smeared mouth, a cameo by our old friend, the Demonic Lolita. Fleeing with her physician boss, a young nurse with a very child-like face becomes infected. She says to her companion that she had had a dream in which she was making love to an old and dying man who tells her "everything is erotic," that "even old flesh is erotic flesh," and that "disease is the love of two alien kinds of creatures for each other."[26]

As part of a general revival of traditional narrative genre, the 1970s saw a significant revival of horror tales. There were, however, a couple of major thematic shifts that helped the 1980s configure popular and professional representations of adult-youth sex as part of the newer horror genres. One was a lessening of the science fiction connections that dominated 1950s horror in proportion to an increased emphasis on human interiors and the occult, including the belief, widely expanded in the 1980s, that supernatural evil existed on a pervasive scale (Magistrade 1988:16); some of this was helped by a renewed popularity of the Gothic in the 1970s. That formula played upon anxieties essential to life in the late 1970s and 1980s, such as guilt and despair over political situations, uneasiness over the future, and battered boundaries of gender, sex, and power leading to a deep mistrust of one's self and of others. The narrative use of the unpredictable and the unknowable fit both the genre and the decades. Surrounded by fears of the past, present, and future, dread is the essence of life in the Gothic (Wilt 1980:5).

Along with the emphasis on interior horror came a focus on "everyday" existence. The victim became even more vulnerable to attacks by normal appearing ("innocent") objects and people. There were two approaches to this, both of some tradition. One is the innocent vulnerable one who, against all common sense (and cries from the audience), goes exploring and enters the realm

of evil; it's an old Gothic device but one that encased the innocent or sexually curious child of the 1980s. The other was an increase in the emphasis on the savagery and blood lust of the evil monster. The more mundane appearance of the exterior promised a more demonic and entertaining interior once set loose. With roots in the early 1960s, some of this was present in 1970s horror, but the internal focus and lessening of causal elements were more marks of the 80s.

Logical and natural sites for this new horror were the interiors of individuals and the family, often symbolized by what Solomon calls the "invasion of the house" theme. In each case, the most vulnerable member is targeted, and children were a shoo-in for the role. The fulcrum was the loss of innocence motif which could go either way in horror production, or for more complicated plots, children can often be both the aggressor and the attacked. In discussing the Gothic revival, Wilt anticipated the imagery of the child sexual abuse hysteria by observing that one of the reasons the Gothic seemed to be in renewed popularity was due to "demon energies" between adults and children in the stories: "Some deep struggle for control of the springs of being itself seems to be the issue, some struggle by the parent to unmake or reabsorb the child and thus to stop time, keep power, take back freedom and life where it has inadvertently been given away" (1980:12).

Closely associated with the rise of horror as a view of the world in the 1970s and 80s was a renewal of the interest in the value of fear—for children. On one side was a tremendous interest in the effects of violence on the sensibilities of children, but another side argued for the desirability of teaching children via what was known as "fear arousal" techniques. One of most well-known advocates was psychiatrist Bruno Bettelheim who believed that fairy stories, including those of a brutal and violent nature featuring horrific monsters, are good for children (1976:116ff).

In colonial America, Puritan children were threatened with death from the their youngest years, largely a product of adult anxieties and envy. Samuel Wakeman said in 1673 that children "bear and behave themselves as if imagining their hot blood, lusty bodies, activity, beauty, would last forever" (Stannard 1977:65). For those few courageous children who refused to take the fears into their psyches, Stannard says the adult world thought that "to fail to be frightened was a sure sign that one was either spiritually lost, or stupid, or both" (1977:70), similar to the belief three centuries later that children who fail or refuse to accept the victim label are psychologically even more damaged than the experts first hoped for.

Many others considered fear for children a useful and entertaining genre. In 1984, these lines were deleted from "The Monster Song" sung on the television program, *Sesame Street* after a complaint:

> If I make friends with a friendly monster,
> I'll let him bounce me on his knee.

> I'll let him do whatever he wanster,
> Especially if he's bigger than me.

The lines ran up against an anti-abuse outlook as explained by one mother: kids "don't have to do whatever a big person wants them to, or allow the big person to do whatever they want, if it makes the child uncomfortable" (Anonymous 1984f). The explanation of the Children's Television Workshop was that the lyrics would tell children that they need not fear fantasy monsters.[27]

In 1985, Joan Kahn issued a book of horror stories for people aged 12 and up, and told the reader that

> There are many things in the world around you that you should handle carefully, such as a stick of dynamite with a glowing fuse...and even an hysterical adult that doesn't like you. ... Here's a collection of some potentially really frightening stories that I think and hope will make you nervous... (1985:xi)

While it appears to be completely acceptable—desirable to many—to induce fright (a definite bodily sensation and mental disposition) in children, it is illegal to sexually excite them, either physically or via text or image, punishable with long prison terms, psychological re-education, and behavioral reprogramming. I cite the following from Kahn's book not only because of their supposed horror qualities (which usually mean violence), but also for their sexual themes, unmentioned by the editor.

"The witch's vengeance" (W. B. Seabrook, 1930) features a witch who puts a curse on young men who fall in love with her granddaughter. There is a nice hint of sadomasochistic sex when the rescuer of the heroine spots a strange contraption in the witch's cellar:

> It was a Witch's Cradle. And there was something about the straps that made me wonder...
>
> [The witch's granddaughter] saw me studying it and shuddered.
>
> "Ma'm'selle," I said, "is it possible—?"
>
> "Yes," she answered, hanging her head; "since you have been here there is nothing more to conceal. But it has always been on my part unwillingly." (p. 19)

"The sailor-boy's tale" (Isak Dinesen) has a boy who rescues a bird trapped in a ship's rigging. Later the boy meets a 13 year old and offers her an orange for which he wants a kiss. She doesn't want to kiss him but wants to meet him later. On his way to meet her, the boy is detained by a Russian who gets drunk, grabs the boy, "paws him," gives him a present, and kisses him on both cheeks with "bear-like affection." He leaves the Russian but runs into him later; the Russian again grabs the boy, promising him a good time. But "The odious sensation of male bodily warmth and the bulk of a man close to him made the lean boy mad" (p. 67). The boy kills the Russian and flees. He is hidden by an old woman who turns out to be the bird he rescued earlier; the boys gets away and the old woman foretells a

good life for the boy. There is no indication of guilt for the murder, and this story, originally written in 1942, resonated quite nicely with mid-1980s gay bashing and the ethic of justified homicide for the crime of Bad Touch.

In "The dancing partner" (Jerome K. Jerome, no date), a man builds a mechanical dancing partner for young women who want one that has no faults. He takes it to a dance and gives it to "a bright saucy little girl, fond of a frolic." The machine of course goes out of control and kills the girl. The man is not punished. The "saucy" child of the 1980s who might be "fond of a frolic" is warned, again. With a related message, "The old nurse's story" (by "Mrs. Gaskell," no date) is a Gothic tale of an illegitimate child whose mother was killed by a ghost. The last sentence spoken by a dying woman is repeated twice: "Alas! alas! what is done in youth can never be undone in age!"[28]

A few years later, a horror story collection was issued, not aimed at children but using them as main characters. There was some uneasiness over the endeavor. When the idea of horror stories involving children first came to him in 1986, Graham Masterson felt it to be a little "perverse." His collection of tales about children's experiences were gathered under an exacting editorial policy: "no children to be chopped up." Further, the profits of the book were said to go "directly to the children who need it." There is nothing specific in the book, but Masterson said he spoke to the directors of "several children's charities" (1989:xi). Masterson as a well-known and able horror writer most certainly tried to direct his efforts to battle the evil of child abuse as it was represented in the mid-1980s.

Were children in fact frightened in the period we are considering? The popular press reported in 1977 on a national survey done for the Foundation for Child Development by psychologist Nicholas Zill of Temple University. Twenty-five percent of 2258 interviewed said they were afraid to play outside for fear of attack (40% had been harassed by older kids or adults), and 66% were afraid someone would force their way into their homes and harm them. It was also found that television watchers were twice as likely to be fearful as those who were not great television viewers (Anonymous 1977d). A March, 1986 Roper poll (Kraizer, *et. al.* 1988) found that 76% of the children interviewed were afraid of abduction. Though research was irresponsibly slight and inconsistent, indications are that youth of the 1980s carried significant levels of anxiety. The cries against sexual messages in popular culture distracted quite effectively from the messages of fear and violence generated by all sectors of the culture.

There were a few accounts of childhood trauma suffered at the hands of popular culture, horror stories or not. While reviewing genre fiction, Cawelti recalled the effect of seeing a comedy-horror film:

> I remember still the terror I experienced as a child when I saw the zombie lurch across the screen in Bob Hope's movie *The Ghost Breakers*. Ironically, this was a totally irrelevant response, since the

> portrayal was full of comedic exaggeration, but I was too unfamiliar with this sort of formula to know that, and I was frightened for months. What really scared me was that I became half-convinced that the monster was real, not in the pleasurable sense of suspended belief, but in a terrible confusion of fantasy and reality that left me looking behind doors, fearing shadows, and even being afraid to go to movies.[29]

There is plenty of additional evidence that the 1980s was a "hyperreal" time. In a context that denigrated pluralism, desires for even more variety and for the sensory and intellectual stimulation that comes from that, a decided cynicism and belligerence, and a shift in styles of vernacular expression, all helped produce an admiration of obsession and excess; the most striking part of this was a heroization of mass murderers by some writers, artists, and musicians.[30]

To fully appreciate the decade, we would have to consider the 1980s not through dramaturgy, as it was for 1960s critics; not through Situationism, as it was for the 1970s politically astute; but rather as a cartoon: figures and landscapes drawn with heavy outlines around primary colors on a flat surface, made to move and speak by agencies not their own, all the while maintaining dignified poses while falling flat on their faces. The apocalyptic pronouncement, meant to be solemnly intoned with authority and finality, came out only as a repetitious chattering and stuttering, sweat beads bursting visibly from excitement, frustration, anger, and fear. "The End Is Near" became "Th-th-that's all folks!"

10

CRITICISM AND PERSISTENCE

I

In May, 1993, a couple of television programs took an unusually critical look at a few sex abuse trials. Erin Moriarty of CBS's *48 Hours*, finally noticing the doubt thrown upon children's testimony and the occurrence of deliberate coaching, remarked that "No one was asking that question ten years ago."[1] This false statement was necessary to excuse journalistic practice of the past, to convey the impression that the show was the first to reveal the truth, and to continue to silence critics and erase data available for decades.

Official pronouncements on adult-youth sex were first contested in the late 1970s almost entirely within the gay male community, the best expressions in Boston's nationally circulated *Gay Community News* and Canada's *The Body Politic*.[2] Over the next dozen years or so, the issue was taken up by a broader though still small political community, then passed to general popular audiences, filtered through their own media and professional interests. By the late 1970s criticism from activists, mostly leftists, dealt with issues of personal conduct, cultural meanings, individual rights and freedoms, and social justice. Popular media either ignored or denied these critiques, and I know of no instance where any activist criticism was recognized by mainstream media from the late 1970s through the late 1980s. In the early 1990s, the issues were energetically bandied about in the pages of *Anarchy* magazine, with thoughtful pieces pro and con, but now the usual death threats came from anarchists.

Two important articles by Pat Califia (1980a, 1980b) brought the cultural and political elements to the attention of many gays and lesbians. Effectively disproving professional assertions, she remained a sharp and perceptive critic of the hysteria. Thorstad's "Man-boy love and feminism" (1981; also 1979) is a template of concerns that would continue to be thrown about for the next decade. Califia's and Thorstad's pieces contain data and analyses that would not appear in the mainstream press for years yet to come, and then only in timid, superficial, and severely narrowed form.

There were a few professional attempts to counter the panicked reaction to youth-adult sex, but from the early 1980s into the later part of the decade critics were shouted down, stigmatized, and suppressed; a few were arrested. As always, politicians opportunistically attached themselves to ideologies perceived to be

career-efficient; horrific laws promoted by hysterical personalities based on twisted or fabricated evidence were passed with little or no dissent. A letter from Senator Alan Cranston (D-CA) was sent to a number of people in which Cranston praised his own efforts in fighting pedophiles. Those who wrote him to protest either received no response, or a form letter thanking them for their support. Similarly, activist and scholar Gerald Jones challenged claims supporting a pending California bill and received only a form letter in reply, one assuming that Jones was a supporter. A letter from John Doolittle (R-Roseville) contained the standard clichés, and Jones rebutted these in a succinct and articulate response. Jones tried to attract news media attention to the use of fabrications to facilitate passage of the bill and to the Constitutional issues involved, but no response was to be had.[3]

Critical perceptions in the period were consistent. "Hysteria" was the single most commonly used term: "hype and hysteria," said Elshtain (1985), and a "national hysteria...as virulent and as contagious as the Asian flu," said Rabinowitz (1990:52, 54). The term is a social convention for any sort of similar mass behavior, and has often been used before.[4] Kinsey and his colleagues expressed concern over "the current hysteria over sex offenders" (Kinsey, *et. al.* 1953:121; Pollens 1938:10, 17; cf. Gebhard 1965a, b).

Many elaborated, saying the hysteria was "a war against children" where "no one is safe" (Wexler 1985:19, article title); a "substitute for serious politics" and "a mock exercise of civic virtue" (TRB 1985:42); a "reign of terror," a "panic" run by "zealots" (Carlson 1985); "a peculiarly American phenomenon—the rapid transformation of a genuine social concern into a media fad and political issue" and "a crisis of confidence;"[5] a "fury" (Besharov 1986:19); and "a nearly psychotic anxiety" (Bersani 1988:215). Referring to it as "an age of trial by accusation" and "a national pathology," Rabinowitz (1990:53, 58, 60) reported that former friends and colleagues of those accused were afraid to show support, disassociated themselves from the accused, or turned on them.[6] It was a period when slander, via professional vocabularies, was taken as hard evidence, and indictment or arrest taken as accomplished conviction.

While others were more mild in their criticism, merely cautioning against sweeping generalizations or the misuse of statistics, all insisted that the pedophile was still a legitimate villain and that the issue was "real." The most standard rhetorical tactic used to beg acceptance of the critic as a member of the loyal opposition was to reaffirm the condemnation of all youth-adult sex. Kirp (1985:34) said, "When children are turned into objects for the sexual pleasure of grownups, the perpetrators should be locked up for a very long time. But...matters have gotten entirely out of hand." The TRB columnist claimed the issue of child abuse did not have "competing values [which] must be weighed" because everyone agreed on the issue.[7] Barrie firmly stated that "No responsible person is suggesting that children should be persuaded into sexual relationships. It goes

almost without saying that such relationships are unacceptable within the mores of our culture and our time" (1992:22). Hicks's thorough-going critique of the Satanism excitement stopped short of examining the entire issue. He appeared to fully support the hunt for "real" pedophiles and abuse, conducted by "proper" and "trained" authorities. "Satanic abuse" was an "improper" conceptual development of an otherwise honorable endeavor. Hostility levels must stay at high and volatile levels, but they should be better utilized: "Public anger over the day care allegations...should not extend to child-abuse prosecutions that do not have a satanic tint" (1991a:185); criticism should not be applied to detection and prosecution of what he called "garden variety" sexual abuse. Similarly, Victor said police and social workers should only be guided by the "abundant" research on "sexual molestation" and not be distracted by allegations of Satanism (1993:299). Despite an angry critique of "recovered memories," Ofshe and Watters believed that adult-youth sex is underreported and causes great damage. Any contact with a pedophile is "inappropriate," and they were "rightly horrified by all types of child sexual abuse," approving that "society understandably demands uniform condemnation" (pp. 28, 31f). They go into the usual lament about how real child abuse is slighted by the controversy and was ignored for so long, even though it was supposedly known to professionals and "anyone with a commonsense understanding of human deviancy."[8] At no point did critics acknowledge the professional controversy over pedophilia, nor did they admit the known range of adult-youth relationships and the distortions in contemporary research.[9]

Earlier protests pointed out that most child abuse is of neglect, or is physical or emotional. Recognizing that the media had carried the issue away, Katz (1984) confessed professional guilt at what had happened: "We thought that we could educate the public that sexual abuse is a real, tragic problem," he said. Using a cliché more accurately than he realized, he feared that "We may have created a monster." Katz also employed another of the most common descriptions of the period, "the witchhunt;" Gardner used the phrase in his book title (1991). Wexler (1985) pointed out that people were encouraged to report suspected pedophiles to the authorities, and Eberle and Eberle (1986:129f) quoted a woman who said her local newspaper offered a prize to the one who could turn in the most child molesters.

One of the earliest criticisms that did appear for mass markets had to do with statistics. The report of the Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission (1980) was quite specific in its criticism of figures advanced by Robin Lloyd, Detective Lloyd Martin, and the *Chicago Tribune*, unverified numbers used to justify drastic changes in the laws. It was not until the collapse of the Jordan, Minnesota, and McMartin arrests and the publication of skeptical pieces on missing children statistics that criticism began to appear on a wider popular scale. 1985 is significant for its expression of doubts, however slight and hedging, over the certainty of the facts, issues, and images.

Initially, criticism was centered on statistics of "missing children;" observers often credit articles by Diana Griego and Louis Kilzer in the *Denver Post* in May, 1985 as the first exposé.[10] Others were relatively mild, such as Spitzer's (1986) criticism of figures advanced by Senator Paula Hawkins, John Walsh, and Huebner's San Antonio Texas Child Search. But most of those who took the trouble to investigate were more thorough-going.[11] Once this began, expansion of criticism was unavoidable, though it proceeded with a great deal of caution, avoiding fundamental issues. Figures on abuse were sometimes revealed as extensively distorted, as in Dade County (Florida) for 1986-87 where abuse statistics were shown to be inflated by at least 500% (Anonymous 1988d), but this recognition remained rare.

Among the first complaints were those that said adults were being falsely accused of abusing children, such as family members who felt their being accused was a case of "parent abuse...by a bureaucracy that got out of control" (Schoenfield 1978). Such instances, though they continued to grow at a rapid rate, received little attention from the entertainment media, including general women's and feminist publications. The foundlings of such groups as VOCAL were a consequence of the silence and distortion by the media, officials, and experts who strenuously promoted images of a virulent spread of child abuse and conspiracies of Satanic pedophiles. Early accounts told of the impact on people accused of abuse, and even allowed comments about lapses in the justice system. In the end, however, journalists insisted that even if the system erroneously accused someone, the system will eventually right itself and all will be well (Keeney 1985).

Seeing families being destroyed, Pride declared in the mid-1980s that the country had become "a nation of paranoid busybodies" and that "a plague of leeches" threatened the population (1986:30, 31). Hopkins (1988:42), at least a full decade after reports began first appearing, wrote that a new "terrifying specter has been raised—that of false allegations of sexual abuse," and that the hysteria was "only likely to grow worse." The TRB column (1985) noted how home photos were prosecuted as "child pornography," an exercise that continued throughout the decade. Eberle and Eberle (1986) and Pride (1986) used many false accusation accounts throughout their books. Three years after the incident, Spencer and Brosseau (1990) wrote of a woman falsely accused of day care molestation. "Heartbroken Grandpa" (Landers 1990) recounted how he was accused of touching his granddaughter while he was playing "Pattycake" with her; she had been taught in school to report anyone touching her anywhere on her body. "Canadian reader's" daughter "suddenly 'remembered'" sexual abuse at the hands of her father during therapy, devastating the parents.[12] Kirp (1985:35) and Besharov (1986) were also early critics who realized that most of the reports of abuse were unfounded.

In the critiques, famous cases served as examples. Nathan wrote in 1988 of the New Jersey trial of Margaret Kelly Michaels,[13] and about Michelle Noble and

a co-worker in an El Paso YMCA nursery school case (1988b; also Nathan 1987). Noble was eventually acquitted, but in 1986 she was sentenced to life plus 311 years. Nathan said the case was typical of dozens of such trials resulting in "frenzied sentences." Noble spent two years in jail; her co-defendant was still imprisoned awaiting appeal at the 1988 writing but was released later.

Mary Fischer did a nice job of documenting the McMartin Preschool blunder in its flawed complaints, obsessed police, abusive social workers, ambitious prosecutors, and uncritical and deceptive reporters (1988, 1989; Eberle and Eberle 1993). *Los Angeles Times* reporter Lois Timnick was famous for reporting on prosecution versions but leaving the courtroom when the defense cross-examined. In responding to criticism, editor Dick Barnes replied that "I'm satisfied that our coverage has been fair and accurate." (Fischer 1988:90). Fischer said a change came in late 1986 for reporters covering the trial. But by the fall of 1988, many reporters stopped going to the trial and reporting on testimony and evidence; journalists' idea of striking a balance when bias is exposed is simply to stop coverage. Timnick was not present at all when the damaging tapes of MacFarlane's interviews were shown for the first time.

More accounts appeared in the early 1990s, and while they were more critical in viewing child abuse charges they still held to the "false allegation" limit, that is, all youth-adult sex is abuse but some people are incorrectly accused. A newspaper article reported that only 34% of all reports of child abuse in Texas may have some substance, and that 39% nationally are on the same level of merit.[14] One of the best known was the case against the Souzas, a couple found guilty of sexually abusing their children (then adults when making the accusations). The most notable aspect of the case, the one that drew the first widespread attention to the silliness and destructiveness of such accusations, was that the adult children came to believe they had been molested after one daughter had a dream of being sexually assaulted by her mother. The daughter then read *The Courage To Heal* by Bass and Davis (1988), convincing her that her dreams were "recovered memories."[15] *Newsweek* did a cover story on the case, the author suddenly discovering that there was a shift to a "middle ground" in sentiment regarding sex abuse accusations. It was a "shift" that, though severely limited, had in fact been going on for over half a dozen years. The journalist urged "impartial investigations," but unable to rise above the genre, there was the obligatory sidebar, "How to safeguard your own children." While considering influences producing the "fever pitch" in prosecuting abuse, she makes no mention whatsoever of journalists (Shapiro 1993).

The Little Rascals case in North Carolina received similar attention, although the two part television documentary was of generally higher quality than most. Aired in July, 1993,[16] the programs were able to document coercive, possibly unethical therapeutic conduct (as Lou Fonolleras did in the Kelly Michaels case, all videotapes and notes of the initial interviews and possible later ones were

inexplicably destroyed by social worker Brenda Toppin), and the illegal use of a "profile" from a popular confession article (Nelson 1992) by the jury to "diagnosis" the defendant as a pedophile, ensuring his conviction and sentencing to twelve life sentences. The entire idea of day care abuse was sharply thrown into question by the striking programs and a new trial was ordered in mid-1995 because of irregularities, but they had little influence on journalists, police, and social workers; prosecutors vowed to appeal.[17]

In 1993, NBC continued its style of tabloid vigilante journalism by airing a very short-lived series modestly called *The Crusaders* in which reporters railed against various sorts of evils. In a "special" show aired February 6, 1994, they finally got around to using adult-youth sex for their embarrassing heroism ("We're crusading for the innocence of your children!"). They spoke of "horrendous threats" to children they've uncovered, and bragged that "The Crusaders are out to stop it!" The show was the usual loosely patched collection of clichés, such as the pedophile as stranger abductor and child killer. A wonderful production, the show also used a music track with those high pitched violins that one hears in suspense and horror films. Kenneth Wooden was allowed to lure some kids right before our very eyes (via a hidden camera, adding to the voyeuristic excitement), and FBI agent Lanning was presented as a scientific authority on pedophilia. Other experts featured were almost all police officers, and the examples, including the standard confessing convicted-pedophile-in-shadows device, were said to be from "actual cases."

A few journalists and professionals in the 1990s began moving to a distinction between "false reports" (reporting of any suspicion as required by law later proven to be unfounded) and "maliciously false reports" (such as those that appeared more commonly in custody disputes), but this was rare and most continued their uncritical promotion of older views. Donegan (1993b) listed criticisms which had been expressed for years, using such words as "witch hunt" (retaining the quotation marks), but failed to mention any media responsibility for exaggeration and fabrication, probably because Donegan's own newspaper was a typical example. Wexler (1993) thought Donegan's piece was admirable but urged more far-reaching reforms, without, of course, disturbing any basic assumptions of what constitutes sexual abuse.

A spinoff of the false accusation realization had to do with the children themselves. There were two main branches of this reaction, but until rare appearances in the early 1990s neither received very extensive or serious consideration when abuse was the topic. Both varieties allowed retention of the "abuse is real" claim. One was the "children-are-misled" story, a necessity given the rabid insistence throughout the period on the innocence of children. Rosenberg (1984a) felt that some children claiming sexual abuse got their scripts from television news reports. Eberle and Eberle (1986:266ff) featured depositions of kids saying they told stories of molestation because interrogators kept refusing to

take no for an answer, and kept asking leading questions. Hollingsworth said the Bragas were sensitive to prompting children (1986:52f, 74), but her reconstruction of the first interview contains quite a number of such instances.[18] Joe Braga asked a boy if the villain ever put his penis in anyone's bottom, and the boy then said yes and demonstrated this with the dolls, though he had not brought up the act before in the interview. Hollingsworth therefore insisted that no one "would be able to deny that the little boy's intimate knowledge of sexual activity was the result of anything other than first hand experience" (p. 78). An independent therapist in the Keller case in Austin, Texas counted 89 leading questions in the children's interrogation.[19]

Hopkins (1988) documents how children were led, pressured, and threatened into confessing abuse and naming abusers.[20] *48 Hours* in their segment on the Michaels case ("The End Of Innocence," May 5, 1993), showed kids repeatedly screaming "No!" to leading questions by social workers, police, and psychotherapists; kids saying "They don't even have spoons in school," when asked about the alleged insertion of knives, forks, and spoons into the children's rectums and vaginas; and kids saying that social worker Lou Fonolleras spread stories of abuse to other kids. Ross (1986a) wrote that a child's initial denial of abuse was ignored by the interviewing social worker who supposedly said, "tell it or we're going to sit in this room all day until you do." Another child mentioned in the article told how a deputy sheriff continually refused to believe her denials, "so I had to say they did happen." But even in the face of increasing evidence, and recalling the defense of professional innocence and integrity by David Finkelhor, Roland Summit was quoted as insisting that there existed "no professional in the world that I know of who would come up with a screwball story...[or] implant something in the child that could lead to criminal charges."

The other branch of criticism over children and false accusations appeared with even less notice because it was a more direct revelation that children can and do lie. There were few reports of this before 1985, but they became more acceptable that year in part because the McMartin case was an obvious farce by then and many of the children in the Jordan, Minnesota case admitted fabricating their stories, but also because Cathleen Webb in a widely publicized event in May, 1985, recanted her accusation of rape for which a man had been convicted and placed in prison six years before. A 10 year old Sacramento, California girl was ignored and disbelieved by therapists and prosecutors when she tried to tell them that she had lied about Satanic killings and abuse, but finally was able to convince a judge in the case (Anonymous 1985e). Kirp (1985; TRB 1985) cited a case where a girl falsely accused a California law enforcement bureaucrat, one who advocated stiffer penalties for child abuse. He continued to do so after his arrest, trial, and acquittal. A 12 year old lied about her school principal's alleged advances, ruining his career (Anonymous 1987e). A short piece from Kentucky told how a girl, then aged 10, was made to lie by her mother about her uncle's

"abuse;" the man spent eight years in prison and the girl only felt free to speak up when she turned 18 and was no longer controlled by her mother (Anonymous 1987g). Stearley (1988) gave an account where an 11 year old boy lied about the use of force in sex making it a much more severe charge simply because he wanted to get the man in trouble. A further bitter pill was the grudging acknowledgment that children will lie for the most trivial of reasons. Kirp (1985) cited an instance where girls lied about sex with a teacher because of a low grade, and Bullough (1985) mentioned an instance where a child accused his parents of abuse for making him wash the dishes.

What was erased from the initial criticisms by activists in the late 1970s were two crucial issues that the next decade spent denying and suppressing. While children's testimonies were allowed even if validating error, those affirming children's sexualities were not. Bersani (1988:215) alludes to this late in the decade when he referred in passing to "the battlefield of sexual politics" as including "the panicky denial of childhood sexuality, which is being 'dignified' these days as a nearly psychotic anxiety about child abuse." Barrie (1992) saw extensive resistance in Britain to discussion and research, but the appearance in the popular press of comments such as these lagged quite far behind the criticism by more perceptive observers who continued to be ignored by the popular press.

Also suppressed was the broad issue of children's rights which suffered a severe deflection from momentum built throughout the 1970s. Going hand in hand with the denial and attempts to eliminate children's sexualities, is the issue of consent, an issue at the center of much of the attacks in the 1980s. A newspaper article by Clary (1992) gave the usual journalistic impression that the issue was just then being considered, ignoring over two decades previous of discussion and agitation by activists and a few professionals. Clary does mention that the "victims" (separate cases involving two females, 15 and 16), repeatedly said they consented to the relationships, and further that they did not want their lovers prosecuted. The cases would not have received even this rather mild attention had they been younger. It is of additional interest that the article was not in the main news part of the paper but placed in the "Lifestyle" section, the traditional location for trivialized "women's news." The issue was not the subject of repeated special features and news reports that characterized the attention to "abuse," and Clary's piece remained an isolated mention. There continued the denial and ignoring of positive or indifferent sexual relations between adults and youth on all fronts. This brief appearance was later swamped in the mid-1990s by moving the term pedophile to cover those attracted to mid- and late teens, and a 1995 Alan Guttmacher Institute report provided an impetus to prosecute these affairs as "child sexual abuse."

Besides the denial of positive contacts, the criticism that appeared in the late 1980s and early 1990s offered no contextualization or variation of "pedophilia." For mass markets, the issues remained stripped of political contexts, ones that had

been argued in such eloquent detail by activists for years. The assumption prevailed that youth-adult sex is abuse, no matter the situation or participants, and that The Pedophile is a legitimate villain deserving the most severe of punishments.

A general reaction to victimage emerged in the early 1990s. It was nothing new, a continuation of a critique that began just before the advent of the hysteria.[21] Most of it was conservative in nature and was the kind of skepticism that had often been a first disparaging reaction at complaints by ethnic groups, religions, homosexuals, and women (Sykes 1992). However, there were also emerging liberal doubts in the beginning of the 1990s about the arguments of psychologically-oriented analysts. Most of the doubts were about whether or not as many people had been victimized as was being claimed, as to how severe that "abuse" was, how much influence the incidents have on later life, and how helpless and passive "victims" are.[22] While these were reactionary attacks on the earlier idea of innocence, British feminist Jenny Kitzinger offered a more liberal criticism of "innocence" and the protectionist approach, saying they are used to control children and deny their sexualities.[23]

Late in the 1980s and early 1990s, there was a surge of cases in which people, through therapy, "recovered" memories of abuse that had been blocked because the trauma was supposed to be so severe. This flurry of victimage and their exposure contributed substantially to early 1990s cynicism. Quite a number of civil lawsuits against supposed abusers resulted as well as severe convictions, the Souzas being the most well-known example. Paul Ingram was accused by a daughter of molesting four of his five children on the basis of "recovered memories." There were different versions of how she first came to accuse her father, and there were great inconsistencies in her accounts of when, how, and who was involved.[24]

Richard Ofshe, one of the consultants in the Ingram case, produced a thorough criticism of the "recovered memory" approach. Ofshe and co-author Watters said "devastating mistakes" are being made by this "pseudoscience." Worse, it has created its own exclusive social organization, with adherents mutually reinforcing themselves and stigmatizing criticism. It was "an Alice-in-Wonderland world in which opinion, metaphor, and ideological preference substitute for objective evidence" (1994:5; ix, 8, 202ff, 289ff). They said therapists who induce abreactions (the relieving of repressed affect, expressed as a direct emotional and physical reexperiencing of supposed trauma) are "a new class of sexual predator" and they "deserve moral condemnation" (p. 7). The authors did not suggest, however, that their property should be seized, that they be imprisoned, or that they be made to undergo therapy. Ofshe and Watters did not draw any extended analysis of the movement as connected to more general sex abuse ideologies, though some implication was made that the elicited confessions of adults and

children are based in the same sort of approach. They said when "recovered memory" claims first appeared, no one thought that the claimees may be victims of therapists; the first to criticize were those accused, then those victimized by therapists, then some "mainstream" mental health professionals (p. 13).

Most of the "recovered" cases involved deliberate or induced falsification. In one slightly publicized case, a troubled young woman was placed with a therapist (her twelfth) who suggested to her that she had been sexually molested by her father. The youngster denied this initially, but therapist Catherine Meyers continued to press for this throughout two years of therapy, using family photos to try to prove emotional states and events.[25] Eventually, she told the therapist that perhaps she could remember her father trying to touch her. Later the young woman tried to take this back, but Meyers told her that it was normal to try to recant. The girl continued to "recover" stories, then tried to recant but Meyers again told her she was merely "in denial." Based on the allegations, nine police officers arrested the father and ransacked the house. Without the knowledge or permission of the parents, the girl was committed to Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital for psychiatric evaluation, where she was diagnosed with "Multiple Personality Disorder" with over 60 personalities, one of whom began telling tales of Satanic ritual abuse. The girl said she felt "trapped" in the hospital. She then named her two brothers as victims, but independent evaluators said it was unlikely. Social workers, however, had the boys picked up by St. Mary's County, Maryland Sheriff's Deputies; the preteens tried to flee but were arrested at gunpoint and handcuffed. While in the hospital, the girl was drugged, kept in restraints, and hypnotized over 60 times; she attempted suicide twice. The young woman now says all the stories were made up under the pressure of therapists and psychiatrists. At the time of the publicity, social workers were still trying to keep the family apart.[26]

The belief in blocked memories is especially crucial to those who maintain there is a high incidence of abuse in the population. The reason why not every third person is exclaiming the details of their abuse is because the memories are repressed and can only be recovered through professional guidance. Some professionals still subscribe to the legitimacy of recovered memory, and by 1993 nearly two dozen states had passed laws that allowed prosecution for abuse for up to three years after the alleged victim first *remembers* the molestation (Wright 1994:50 called this "pioneering"). But criticism appeared early on. In early 1992, the False Memory Syndrome Foundation was founded, much as was VOCAL, to provide social and legal support to people who had been accused by their adult children of abuse.

The next few years saw the disputes reach mass markets.[27] In May, 1994, a jury awarded a sum to a man who sued a therapist for planting memories in a relative's mind and who then accused the man of abusing her. In December, 1994, a Pittsburgh jury awarded damages to a couple who had been arrested when their

daughter accused them of abuse; psychiatrist Judith Cohen and Western Psychiatric Institute were found at fault for not adequately evaluating the daughter's claims. Therapists and prosecutors bemoaned the judgments, but in 1993 the American Psychiatric Association had urged a cautious approach to "recovered memories;" similar positions were taken by the American Medical Association and the American Psychological Association in 1994.[28]

For a while in the early and mid-1980s, the "inherent knowledge" school held sway, that is, the belief that children have instinctive knowledge of "morality," which in the right circumstances can be "triggered;" given a choice of sex or no sex, the child will refuse sex. Adolescent hormones complicate the theory, but it was confidently felt that preteens would never choose the carnal path. "Recovered memories" are a variation on this idea. Their reality and rightness must be accepted without question for their origins and purposes are ultimately mysterious, part of the wider natural-versus-unnatural discourse, distinctions defined and structured by particularistic moral hierarchies. Like the drive theory of sex, it believes sexuality and its understanding is scheduled by physical determinants and that children cannot understand ("handle") sexual feelings for immutable biological reasons and are "naturally" traumatized by sexual touch.

One of the better popular books of victimage criticism was by Wendy Kaminer (1992). She rightly realized that the "recovery movement" is rooted in religion, but many others have documented that psychology itself and most popular self-help traditions are culturally, socially, and economically tied to institutional forms of religion.[29] Kaminer said that most self-help traditions are covertly conformist and authoritarian, especially in their method, and are bolstered by a self-cultivated "mystique of expertise" (p. 6); they foster dependence, encourage invalidism, and disempower people. She felt that the movement "may be too confused ideologically to ever pose a serious threat" (p. 163). That particular "movement" is confused to be sure, but when ideologically connected to the sex abuse campaigns (as well as anti-drug and anti-pornography activities), the subsequent kinds of laws passed and the arrests and sentences imposed have been devastating, not just to those affected (including children), but in the long run to the social and political infrastructure of democracy as well. It is in this paralleling and merging of superficially diverse streams of concern and solution that, in multiple impacts, sustain the damage and extract the cost over extremely wide fronts.

A few exposés of psychiatric abuse of children were aired in the early 1990s, forming support to critiques of "recovered memories." In Texas, where the corruption was most widespread, journalists used the same clichés to characterize mental health hospitals accused of abducting children into their institutions: "Profit-hungry medical corporations target children and teen-agers" to place them in institutions for the insurance money (Hendricks 1992). Reforms were permitted (no property was seized and no one was imprisoned), and corporate chains (not

referred to as "rings") of psychiatric hospitals promised to refrain from placing company counselors in public schools, vowing to obtain a second opinion before institutionalizing children under ten.[30]

Critical complaints were also found in a couple of marginal but interesting areas. In one, a promoter of "sex addiction" despaired of losing control of treatment and authority in the field and felt that the concept was being misapplied as the term became popular coinage (Peele 1989). Of more popular interest was the sellable genre of the Suffering Celebrity. Senator Paula Hawkins (R-FL) made a media splash when she announced that she had been sexually abused when she was five (Anonymous 1984d and 1984e, Hawkins 1986). Oprah Winfrey alleged in 1986 of being abused, Roseanne Arnold in 1991 insisted she had been sexually molested as a child by her parents, and a book featuring a number of celebrities disclosing their abuse appeared (Somers 1992). Some of these later became the butt of comedy routines, especially Arnold.

II

Connected with the "abuse is real" view, many critics complained that the incompetence and corruption of prosecutors, police, and social workers hurt legitimate programs and institutions for children. Day care facilities are the most obvious examples, but also included were the reactions of school staff and parents, all becoming afraid to touch children for any reason in any way. Such concerns were at first voiced only timidly (Walters 1975:130), but later criticism was more assertive and slanted to granting permission to "legitimate" figures to touch children because it wasn't "real child abuse."[31] A variety of this was the doubt surrounding the so-called "abuse awareness" programs to which nearly all children were, and continue to be subjected. Many felt they induced fear and mistrust, and deprived children of needed affection. "Arizona Mom" wrote Ann Landers, asking what to do about her son who seemed overly affectionate with strangers. Landers (1989) told her to punish her son and to "make that punishment memorable!"[32] Finally, still maintaining ties to the standard theory of abuse and demonstrating that wonderful circularity which happens so often in these periods, it was claimed that the "awareness" programs may "even inject a premature sexual context into [children's] relations with adults" (Elshtain 1985:24).

Nathan referred to anti-abuse campaigns as "a child protection movement gone mad" (1990a:44). Brown's novel (1991) featured a child fabricating an accusation and an obsessed psychiatrist, a significant reversal of images from the previous decade in fiction. For critics attacking professionals, one of the primary criticisms was that the procedures used to evaluate so-called victims were wrong and misdirected. It should be noted that there were no criticisms of detecting and punishing pedophiles; that was accepted without question. From the beginning, the evidence was quite clear though it took some years for accounts to appear: child saving was all too often itself a form of child abuse, physically, emotionally,

and sexually. Singled out for special mention were accounts of strip searches of children, and the intensive interrogation of children for hours. Carlson (1985) related how "doctors stick their fingers in...little girls' vaginas" in their exams to determine if the girls have been penetrated. Hollingsworth complained that in abuse accusations children had to be physically examined by experts, including insertions into every orifice; she noted the kids were screaming, held down by two or three child-savers.[33] Eberle and Eberle tell the tale of a child brought to an examination in which the doctors left marks and bruises. When the child was taken to another physician for verification, the second doctor pointed to the bruises and marks as proof of abuse and the child was then placed in a foster home (1986:125; 185). Many observers realized symptoms of abuse were seen only after accusations. McHugh criticized the idea of seeing "Multiple Personality Disorder" as a disease indicating child sex abuse, saying "MPD" is a product only of "cultural fashion" and "spectral evidence."[34]

While many examined children understandably began exhibiting symptoms of abuse, an interesting discourse began to grow up around these events that paralleled one used to indict the pedophile. Eberle and Eberle (1993:349) quote "a former child protective services worker" who said she followed up on children who had been removed from their families and reared by the state. According to her, "A lot of [the children] are in the prison system. Some are in the nut house. Most of them just grow up to be inconspicuously dysfunctional cases of arrested development."

Also appearing early on was extensive criticism of procedures that violated the Constitutional rights of parents and, for those who believed in them, the rights of the children (Schoenfield 1978, Barrie 1992). Violations of due process, unreasonable search and seizure, and the seizure of children from the parents were the main complaints. The claim that faith in the system had been shaken because of slowness or inability to recover missing children heard early in the period reappeared from the mid-1980s on in the form of complaints of legal ruthlessness as more and more individuals and families were damaged by the hunt for abusers. Wexler said at the end of the decade that "In the 1990s America faces an invasion of latter-day child-savers. They are destroying children in order to save them."[35]

All this led to criticism of police practices, such as arrest without evidence and/or on hearsay, arrest of citizens who criticized police and prosecutors, purposeful failures to advise accused of rights and proper procedures, physical abuse of parents and children, and leading and coercive interrogation of children. While the criticism of police was relatively mild, allied with them were prosecutors, the justice system, and laws which were subjected to more severe criticism. Articles by Gebhard (1965a, b), based on empirical evidence, represented a brief liberal period in sexology, one criticizing laws for their destructiveness and immorality. Critiques of the 1980s hysteria contained some appearances of liberalism, though most held to the villain-victim idea of adult-

youth sex. Wexler decried the practice of placing families and individuals in a "central register" (1985), a policy that continued into the 1990s. Complaints were mixed with some criticizing existing statutes and wanting more severe laws, while others wanted new legislation and agencies. Many mixed these themes in their critiques, but none appeared to think any revision of anti-pedophile statutes were necessary. A national tracking registry of those convicted of sex crimes became mandated by federal law in mid-1996, unchallenged by professionals, journalists, and politicians.

In the Fells Acres day care case, the kids all denied any abuse but nurse Susan Kelley bribed and led them in interviews that help convict the Amiraults by prosecutor Lawrence Hardoon who insisted that children never lie about sexual contact. After eight years in prison, two women were to be released but prosecutor Scott Harshbarger got the court order overturned (he later became Massachusetts Attorney General). All the news media followed the state's line. Documenting the case, Rabinowitz asked (1995) indignantly, "Can such a miscarriage of justice—if one can use so bland a term for so horrific a tragedy—be sustained by the will of state prosecutors?" Well, yes. Such behavior was common professional practice throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, rewarded by their colleagues and society with promotions and glorification.

Edelman noted how prosecutors used cases as career builders (1988:21), a criticism also expressed through the fictional character of an ambitious and manipulative prosecutor (Brown 1991). Nathan said one former juror said someone needed to investigate why the Michelle Noble case went to trial in the first place. She said the original prosecutor, Debra Kanof, "whipped up courtroom hysteria" by provoking and harassing Noble and making totally absurd statements such as claiming Noble had her breasts surgically altered for an alibi.[36] In the Ingram case, prosecutors tried to keep a report from the defense that found the allegations were false. Richard Ofshe, the author of the report, had to go himself to the judge to get it released. The report was kept from Ingram on the advice of his pastor for fear that it would "confuse" Ingram (Wright 1994:177f). Withholding evidence by prosecutors was common in these as well as other kinds of cases.

In her review of Kelly Michaels' conviction, Rabinowitz said it was "as much a work of the prosecution's feverish imagination as a construction of the law." She observed correctly that "laws can be made to sustain...decrees of fear and superstition" (1990:52f), and that anonymity encourages multiplication of charges and increases their bizarreness which prosecutors will seize on as moral vehicles. Michaels' one consistent supporter was indicted and thereby silenced (p. 58). The judge in the case allowed months of hearsay testimony, then just before the jury was to retire for deliberation the judge instructed them to disregard it. The judge also disallowed defense checks of plaintiffs, sealed the trial transcript, accepted televised testimony of kids, and prevented a defense psychologist from examining the children (despite two years of analysis and counseling by prosecuting

psychologists) because it might be too traumatizing.[37] It appears highly unlikely that any of the police, social workers, judges, prosecutors, or others will be brought to justice, though Kelly Michaels filed suit in 1995 against her prosecutors.

Politicians came in for some criticism insofar as they used the issue to mouth moral clichés, and to the extent that it reinforced their bureaucratic powers. Lawyers were also in for a few jabs. Rabinowitz (1990:59) related how Michaels' case was given to a pool and went unassigned for months because defense lawyers were afraid that it would drag on too long or offend a local judge. Eberle and Eberle (1986) and Gardner (1991) mention lawyers who offered to provide evidence of abuse on demand.

There were two targets reserved for special criticism. One was the professionals who designed the theory and executed the practice against "child sexual abuse." Again, there was no complaint at all of their work on "the pedophile." Critics accepted, even promoted the authority of experts and professionals in their theories of sexual pathology, the usual criticism being that most of them were just poorly trained. Many observed from the beginning that professionals had a substantial interest in controlling the definition of a problem and its solutions. It enhances their influence and power, and it is obviously in their interest to restrict debate and contrary evidence. Barrie told of a student who was denied a grant unless she came up with findings that would enable authorities to "detect paedophiles," and noted how researchers in their studies and proofs are merely mimicking previous work.[38] Rabinowitz said experts "convince parents and children alike that the number of abuses and abusers is virtually limitless—beyond their imagination."[39] Psychologists, psychiatrists, therapists, and the therapeutic process itself were criticized for incompetence, abuse, fraud, and profiteering.

For most critics, however, social workers were the prime target. They were usually the ones who strip searched the children, took them from their families on the slimmest of evidence or an anonymous call, interrogated children for hours, initiated unwarranted searches, asked leading questions and refused to accept answers or facts not corresponding to their theory, inflated statistics, testified in court trials for those they claimed were too vulnerable to trauma, and continued to refile charges after dismissals. Rabinowitz said social workers Lou Fonolleras and Peg Foster (the chief inspiration for Manshel's 1990 book) led in their questioning, encouraged answers they could use, and were threatening after getting negative responses to their questions; they paid little attention to what the children actually said (pp. 57f). A session with Fonolleras and Essex County Investigator Richard Mastrangelo ends with the beleaguered kid yelling, "it's all lies!"[40]

The other major target receiving extensively documented criticism was the entertainment media. Newspapers and television received the most criticism, though many magazines were also condemned. During the early and mid-1980s,

especially on television, there was an enthusiastic media promotion of contrived "crises" over a number of social issues (Altheide 1987). Early criticism came from the Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission who took the *Chicago Tribune* to task for misinformation, and from Rosenberg (1984a, 1985) who exposed television journalism as directly contributing to the construction of the problem.[41] Hardly any of this appeared before 1985. Holloway (1985) criticized the television movie *Kids Don't Tell*, saying the topic (child molestation) had been done and done better, that the film had no new information, and that it was not "terribly entertaining." She asked rhetorically if television wasn't "aggravating an already existing problem, maybe even creating more problems?", but there was no direct accusation of the movie or any questioning of the characterizations of villain and victim, or of the issue itself.

Bullough (1985) said the media portrayed an increase in child abuse when he felt it was actually declining, and the images are merely a "mass hysteria" in the national media. Kirp said the media lacked skepticism. The stories are clichés, and he quoted television critic Howard Rosenberg's plot characterization—"Drug-addicted child runs away after being molested by parents who have Alzheimer's disease and drive when drunk" (1985:34)—as an example of the patch-work mentality used to develop programming. The plots boost ratings, resulting in a "pop culture blitz," he said (p. 35). "It may be that indifference can be overcome and popular interest generated only by turning complex social reality into a simple morality play," he said, but added, "there's not much of a market for ambiguity out there" (p. 35). The TRB columnist felt "A lot of the graphic horror stories in the press are themselves little more than child porn" (1985:4). Nathan said editors and reporters of the *El Paso Times* during the Noble and Dove trials conferred only as to how far to go in reprinting graphic testimony, not as to whether any allegations were worth investigating (1987:30). Von Hoffman remarked vehemently that reporters and editors accepted preposterous statistics on missing kids because there is a "professional ban against taking deep breaths and thinking clear thoughts" (1985:10). Rabinowitz said when she was a commentator for New Jersey's WWOR-TV, she found that "journalists who prided themselves on their skepticism...were outraged by the merest suggestion that the state's charges against Kelly Michaels lacked credibility."[42] She was told by the station's news manager to "forget it" when she planned to air critical remarks about the case (p. 53). She said the media uncritically accepted purposely designed leaks from prosecutor's office because they fit the "current dogma" and supported journalists' reports that pictured Michaels as guilty (p. 63).

An interesting sidelight on the media coverage of the Michael's case was offered by a mother of one of the supposedly abused children, a feature writer using the name of "Patricia Crowley." She found out that a co-worker was assigned to cover the story, and, having insight into institutional practices, Crowley became fearful of being included in the paper's stories but her name

wasn't used. She said the reporter was "nearly as consumed by [the case] as I was," and she discussed the case with her "for hours" at a time, each reinforcing the other's belief in Michaels' guilt. When a friend said *Newsweek* wanted the friend to cover the case, Crowley got upset about "the sensational cover story" that would result. Crowley felt that her friend "would do a fine, in-depth story, sure to make every parent in America hug their child closer and thank God nothing like this ever happened in *their* family," but called her friend and got *Newsweek* to kill the story (1990:140ff, emphasis in original).

Media coverage of the world's longest and most expensive abuse trial was extensively documented by the Eberles. Two kinds of misinformation were noted: deliberate refusals to report on testimony and/or events favorable to the defense (1993:119, 120, 123, 177, 180, 232, 237, 261, 287, 311); and distortion and fabrication by reporters of testimony, statements, and events to make them favorable to the state (pp. 20f, 51, 91f, 104, 117, 118, 163, 173, 241, 257, 289, 299f, 359f, 373f, 390, 398, 409). They report that a twenty year veteran of the *Los Angeles Times* wrote up his own investigation which showed no basis for the charges, but not only did the paper refuse to publish the piece, they suspended him for two days; he later resigned (p. 352). At the January 18, 1990 reading of the verdicts for mistrial (on 13 counts) and Not Guilty on the rest, the media refused to interview defense attorneys—and the Eberles who were acknowledged long term observers of the case—and focused instead on the prosecution and the angry mob, the latter threatening to kill the Buckeys (pp. 353ff). After the first verdict, there were extremely biased shows on *Geraldo*, *Sally Jessy Raphael*, and *Oprah Winfrey* where both audience and guests were all sympathetic to the prosecution (p. 355).

A few perceptive criticisms of media exploitation began appearing in the early 1990s. Miller reviewed as "incredibly biased" the television movie *A Mother's Right* on Elizabeth Morgan who fled with her child and was imprisoned for it. The film led one to believe the father abused the kids when that was in fact never proven after a good deal of investigation. The father was played by an actor known for "unsavory" roles, and the actress in the leading role had frequently played heroic women; only scenes that were favorable to Morgan were played. Miller said the film is "on thin ice in the ethics department," and concluded, "In its zeal to bring the TV audience something better than mindless pap, ABC may have produced something infinitely more dangerous."[43] A less skeptical but still distant review of *Scared Silent* also appeared in 1992. The confused reviewer told his market that the program contained several "myths," such as abuse begets abuse, incest is well reported, and natural parents are the usual abusers in incest (Shapiro 1992). A late-coming "special report" (Armbrister 1994) detailed the persecution of 14 year old Bobby Fijnje, a child care helper caught in a burst of tales and accusations by preschool children. The article suggested misconduct by Judge Norman S. Gerstein, along with the usual cast of obsessed social workers and

prosecutors from the office of Florida State Attorney General Janet Reno. Pointed out as responsible for creating a near disastrous frenzy was the Miami news media, particularly the sensational exploitation of the case by WCIX-TV (CBS) reporter Giselle Fernandez.

After reviewing the numerous occasions of media bias during the McMartin trials, the Eberles asked, "Could all of the people in the mass media have been that uniformly stupid?" (1993:354). Well, again, yes. I have made my point about institutionalized ignorance in the culture's information institutions already, but it is important to recall that journalists are hired by businesses not for their critical capacities, self-awareness, or social consciousness, but for their ability to successfully manipulate cultural clichés and to promote themselves as trustworthy personalities in order to maintain market allegiance by providing entertainment that is appealing and believed to be true by consumers. This is how market shares are captured to provide the main interest: advertising revenue.

With their doubts of what was real and what was not, public belief and confidence in the popular media during the decade seems to have been mixed, with polls showing different levels of acceptance. Generally, public confidence in most major cultural institutions was rather low (Gilbert 1988:15). Gallup polls indicated that the higher levels of confidence in newspapers dropped from being held by 51% of the population to 35% in the 1980s. However, a survey by the Media Analysis Project of George Washington University indicated that in 1986 "there is no credibility crisis for the nation's news media" (Anonymous 1986c): 79% said media workers "care about the quality of their work," 72% said the media were "highly professional," 55% believed the media "get the facts straight," and 54% thought the media were "moral." As one might expect, this survey received more publicity than others showing lower levels of confidence. Most people trusted television for their news, and during the 1980s, the country wanted to see "more stories about families, morality, and God" (Gilbert 1988:231). They had in fact been deluged with these themes for over a decade embedded in the tales of child sexual abuse. Some critics of the time were less gullible. A few noted obvious shifts in the news industries during the 1980s in which journalists aligned themselves more with the Reagan administration's views of the world, and in so doing became less critical, placed more unquestioned reliance on official sources and expert figures, and favored conservative individuals and interpretations (Boylan 1986, Hertsgaard 1988).

The 1980s saw the rise of "reality" and "tabloid" television. A style of representation became popular in which real or simulated documentary photography (in the form of hand-held or hidden cameras) took a prominent place, and dramatic treatments of real individuals in the form of genre stereotypes were used more. Investigative journalism glorified itself via exposés that escalated confrontation, with reporters posing as moral heroes. Shows such as *A Current Affair*, *20/20*, and others were popular initially but began to decline later (Zoglin

1988a, 1988b). Due largely to economic reasons, about half of such shows were eliminated by late 1993; a Fox Network executive explained that his network had "a difficult time selling reality" (Anonymous 1993c). "Reality" police shows in particular became a marker of the 1980s, such as *Cops* and *Real Stories of the Highway Patrol* remained popular into the 1990s, as did such shows as *Unsolved Mysteries* and *America's Most Wanted* which supported the entrepreneurial vigilante so popular at the time. The development was parallel with the expansion of the exposé panel show, such as *Geraldo* or the *Oprah Winfrey Show*. The term "infotainment" became even more popular and accepted as a descriptor of what was appearing on television and in newspapers. Throughout the period, more emphasis was placed on genre entertainment, stereotypical personalization, and emotional engagement using fear, hatred, and pity (with an emphasis on tears). Aesthetic criteria governed news characterizations of people and events.

Even some within the business began to feel uneasy about the increasingly vague demarcation between fiction and reality (Zoglin 1988a, Baer 1992), as if it were something new. In fact it has always been a feature of the industry since its earliest days. The political turmoil of the late 1950s and 1960s pressed journalists for more socially responsible and truthful reporting, and an inflated self-concept of the journalist as hero carried from the 1970s on through the coming decades. The primary criterion remained entertainment, however, and reporters continued their tradition of constructing engaging dramas. For non-fiction, this meant the invention of dialogue, events, and even characters in the service of the telling of a good story.[44] The true-crime genre, the staging of almost all child sexual abuse cases, was particularly susceptible. The presentation of subjective states added legitimacy and authority. Crucial in the debate was the veracity of statements (which could be presented as thoughts) placed in quotation marks.[45]

After Janet Malcolm's (1983a, b), presentation of Jeffrey Masson's theories of Freud's cover-up of sexual abuse, he filed a libel suit in late 1984 against Malcolm, the *New Yorker* magazine, and Knopf. The suit brought to the surface the criticism of journalistic practice, and tied it to the child sexual abuse issue. Masson said he was misquoted and that quotes were taken out of context to make him appear egotistical and dishonest. He alleged invasion of privacy in that he thought, apparently unfamiliar with journalism, the articles were to be on his research, not his personality and private life. Even though Malcolm did place in quotation marks a statement Masson never made, the judge ruled in favor of Malcolm and the other defendants. In 1991 a Supreme Court decision allowed altering of statements, as long as there is no change in "meaning;" further, the Court gave reporters more leniency than book authors. The decision simply confirmed and strengthened long standing practice. Advising writers on the law several years before, Goldfarb and Ross remarked that news producers "are permitted to satisfy the curiosity of the public as to its heroes, leaders, villains and victims, and those who are closely associated with them" (1989:133). All are fair

game, and the authors further advised that "a limited amount of inaccuracy, fictionalization, and even invented dialogue is permissible" (p. 138). This was confirmed by David Kaplan of *Newsweek* when he said "Journalists routinely must whittle down the essence of a quote" (1991:49). Those criticizing journalistic behavior were not complaining about exceptional practices but normal functioning and marketing.

The earliest criticism was explicitly political, and throughout the period, those critics who did come forward and whose writings did make it through editorial filters sometimes offered comments on the general political situation to which the hysteria related. Most critics were leftists of various sorts or liberals who saw the panic based in conservative religious and secular ideologies. Bullough saw "anti-feminists" using the hysteria for their own ends (1985). Elshtain believed the child abuse campaigns were an attack on non-conventional family forms (1985). Wexler thought the "myth of classlessness" ("they could be anyone, everywhere") diverted attention from the economic bases of abuse and neglect. Nathan pointed to "right-wing profamily moralists," but correctly observed that liberals and feminists were equally responsible and were collaborating with their traditional enemies in supporting and expanding the panic (1987:23, sidebar).

Less frequent, less visible, but perhaps more enthusiastic were those critics of the right; they were among the first to speak out in popular criticism. Wooden testified to a U.S. House of Representatives committee that a "national paranoia is on the rise, and an army of child-saving charlatans is marching over the newly-turned soil of parental fears."[46] Carlson named socialism, liberalism, feminism, and homosexuality as bedrock of the hysteria, all of which were attacking "traditional values" with an "anti-family ideology."[47] Though she said she used to be in "the far left wing of the feminist camp" (1986:34), Pride criticized the issues from a religious right view. In her opinion, the abuse industry is anti-family, anti-religion, and relativistic. She said the reason so many youth are "unwillingly defiled" before age 18 is because the popular culture encourages "fornication" (pp. 25, 37). All in all, she says, the "*child abuse hysteria is a self-righteous coverup for anti-child attitudes*" (p. 140, emphasis in original), evidence of which is seen in the rash of "child-monster" movies and books starting in "the Sixties," a period especially abhorred by conservatives. Like Carlson, she saw abortion and "pornography" as child abuse. These encouraged sex without reproduction, beyond "normal man/woman sex," promoting sex with "anyone or anything," making children likely targets (pp. 147, 141).

Criticism of religious leaders was rare for either the right or the left, even though many clergy made much mileage on the issue of child sex abuse. Barrie related how British religious leaders refused to discuss the issue with him, or anyone for that matter, some complaining that it was "advocacy" to take any position other than condemnation. Toward the end of the 1980s, a number of evangelists were finally revealed to charlatans or corrupt, or merely human. Their

ridicule allowed more criticism of anti-abuse heroes, several of which had already fallen from their pedestals.

III

First was Judianne Densen-Gerber, found to be misusing her institution's funds, and said to be negligent in her treatment of the young inhabitants of Odyssey House (Komisar 1979). Los Angeles Detective Lloyd Martin's sensationalistic presentations and inflated statistics (and possibly intradepartmental rivalries) finally caused him to be removed from the police force (Love 1982). The highly vocal head of Texas Child Search, Inc., Carolyn Huebner, was accused of trying to take out a contract for the murder of her husband; it was found that her exploits and abuse statistics, including her own history of abuse, could not be verified.[48]

Early on, a number of child saving groups came under scrutiny for illegal or unethical activity. Child Find, Inc., of New Platz, New York, was accused of failing to deliver promised services and of exaggerating statistics; other organizations were accused of giving kickbacks for referrals (Blumenthal 1984, Anonymous 1984g). Gratteau and Gibson (1985) went further in their critique and listed, by organization, fraud and the exploitation of fear in the "missing children" issue; they said products and services that are supposed to protect kids play upon the unease an anxieties of parents and citizens. Their article included the cover illustration of a brochure from Missing Children Information Services, Inc., of Lexington, Kentucky showing "a half-naked girl, her eye appearing bruised and blackened, shackled to a bed frame," one carefully staged using the daughter of a company official.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s the exposure of Rev. Bruce Ritter centered on accounts of his sexual contacts with some of the teenaged men who came to his highly touted shelter, Covenant House.[49] Ritter's case was sensational enough but while many acknowledged accusations against him, they ultimately blamed "permissiveness." Some went further and tried to use the events to continue attacks on standard enemies. Clinical social worker and psychotherapist Paul Waller said "a cover was provided for Father Ritter and his accomplices by widespread liberal tolerance and rationalization for homosexual pedophilia and pederasty."[50]

The fall in the late 1980s of Charles Keating, Jr., for his criminal financial activities supported a more critical look at anti-abuse and anti-pornography agitators. An energetic critic of the 1970 report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, Keating was instrumental in censoring erotic media via his group Citizens for Decency Through Law (CDTL), and for the hallowed tone, justified by the protection of children, with which he promoted himself and his causes.[51]

Another popular professional youth expert and child saver, psychiatrist Bruno Bettelheim, was exposed for his physical and emotional abuse. Immediately after

his death, a few memorial tributes were written, as in the *Chicago Tribune*, a publication that promoted itself as a pioneer in rooting out child abusers,[52] and in a whitewash article in a popularly-oriented sociology magazine (Fisher 1991). Just as these appeared, however, several letters and articles were published from those who had suffered under Bettelheim's rule. Pekow (1990) was at Bettelheim's school from age 11 to 21 against his will, and Angres (1990) who was beaten as an inmate at the school said that many knew of his "terror" but no one helped, and many covered it up. A woman wrote to tell of how youth at his Orthogenic School were not allowed to leave the institution, and how she was pulled by the hair from a shower and beaten naked in front of her dorm-mates; another letter writer wrote as a witness, verifying the event.[53] Instead of Believing The Children (the doctrine had been generally scrapped anyway), David James Fisher of the University of California at Los Angeles Department of Psychiatry and the Los Angeles Psychoanalytic Institute contemptuously and viciously dismissed the letters from Bettelheim's victims. The magazine's editor, Irving Louis Horowitz, rushed to defend professional reputations and Fisher's "profile" of Bettelheim. Both Fisher and Horowitz wondered why criticism wasn't aired when Bettelheim was alive, apparently ignorant of the socio-historical situation that defended professional sanctity and practice, encouraged any activity if performed under the aegis of "therapy" and child saving, stigmatized or silenced criticism, and directed punitive attention to Outsider figures.

One of the ways criticism was expressed during the period was through satire. Part of the mockery of the later 1980s was of the discredited hero. A 1992 sketch of the comedy troupe, "Almost Live!" featured a bit about "Fallen Stars of the 80s," set as a commercial for a trading card series. Most figures on the cards were political or financial personalities (a free Ronald Reagan card is promised), but a special "Sleazy Evangelist" series was available.

After the 1740 publication of Richardson's *Pamela*, a novel which fixed the persecuted maiden as a genre role, there appeared rather quickly in 1741 several satires establishing an "anti-Pamela" genre. Satires of victimage contain two main streams of criticism. One is sexist in intent, meant to belittle or deny the brutalities inflicted on women by men. The other is more authentic satire, barbs at exaggerated or invented sufferings, the kind of satire that is always aimed at pretentious posturing.

The use of traditional images for the emotional manipulation and ideological exploitation of adults and children became boring enough to be comedic material by the mid-1980s. It is important to note that satires were not only of the abuse images but also of journalistic practice. Radio personality Ian Shoales was one of the earlier in the mainstream media to lampoon entertainment industries with his routine, "Flipping the dial," broadcast in December, 1984 (Shoales 1985:148). Film director John Waters, viewed as a connoisseur and producer of the shocking, recommended ("if you want to get really creepy") stopping by the McMartin Day

Care trial in his 1985 tour of Los Angeles.[54] Cartoonist Berkeley Breathed (1988:73) belatedly ridiculed the "missing children" scare with a *Bloom County* strip for November 21, 1987. Junior journalist Milo asks his editor if he recalled "all our sensational, panic-causing stories about the Great Child Stealing Epidemic," telling the editor that "THERE NEVER REALLY WAS ONE!" "Great Scott!," cries the shaken editor; "run a correction below the tide schedules on page 109!" Musto (1988), reporting on New York City amusements, mentioned a "Child Pornography Ring" party at the Danceteria club where customers bought dates with sixteen year olds with play money.

In the early 1990s, cartoonists felt more courageous in taking shots. The cartoon strip "Dilbert," by Scott Adams for October 3, 1992, has Dogbert asking Dilbert if he has ever had a strange dream or nosebleed. The man replies yes, and the dog says, "It's clear you're suppressing memories of being abducted by aliens," and offers to use hypnosis to recover the memories. The man asks, "What if the hypnosis itself makes me think it happened when it didn't? I'll be ridiculed for life." The dog responds, "That's a risk I'm willing to take." An installment of Breathed's *Outland* shows Opus confessing that "I am a victim victimizing other victims with verbal victimization."[55] Bill Watterson's Calvin says to Hobbes that "Nothing I do is my fault," then runs through the vocabulary of contemporary theory ("dysfunctional," "not self-actualized," "addictive," "toxic codependency," etc.). With his usual smugness says, "I love the culture of victimhood."[56] A cartoon by Pete S. Mueller shows a man with clenched fists straddling a man on the ground who says in surrender, "OK! OK! You're a victim!"[57]

Beginning in the mid-1980s there was a resurgence of club comedy generally, with the advent of the Comedy Channel on cable television, a spread of standup comedians and comedy clubs, and a growth in production of not only traditional children's cartoons but those for adults as well. Through these, more and more of the sacred images and icons of the 1980s came in for satire. In mid-1991, Suspicion Productions of Boulder, Colorado, issued packets of "Have You Seen Me Trading Cards."[58]

As the 1990s progressed, more cautious criticism appeared in popular media. While Gardner (1993) refused to see flaws in contemporary conceptions of "sexual abuse" or "pedophilia," he maintained the whole system was at fault. While he referred again to a "witchhunt," he incorrectly saw the situation beginning in the early 1980s, making a "third great wave of hysteria."[59] A more biting critique was offered by Rabinowitz in her review of the made-for-television movie on incest, *Not In My Family* (1993), to which she gave her "Sycophancy Unlimited Award." The film featured the emergence of long-repressed memories of sexual abuse. While she did not appear to have any doubt over contemporary negative ideas of youth-adult sex, she referred to the climate as one of hysteria and delirium, connecting the film's images with traditional genres of entertainment and more

specifically to the promotion and acceptance of contemporary self-help "inner-child" texts and therapists.

Others remained unconvinced or confused, such as Cartwright who saw the hysteria as "a mythic expression of deep-seated anxiety over complex changes in family and values" (1994:152). Despite his critical approach, he could not bring himself to fully doubt Satanic accusations. Victor expressed both a classic liberal view and a version of 19th century sociology when he excused "rational and decent people" struggling with "problems of everyday life" (1993:226). Nathan and Snedeker (1995:ix) felt that by the early 1990s criticism of the hysteria had become "fashionable." This was true only in respect to issues of "ritual abuse," "recovered memories," and less so to "missing children." Adult-youth sex was still hunted (invented by some in entrapment schemes), and prosecuted with all the viciousness initiated in the 1980s.

When the conviction of Kelly Michaels was overturned on appeal,[60] one columnist was drawn back to the certainty and simplicity of the 1980s. She admitted that in child sex accusations, "all involved...need to proceed with an unusual degree of sophistication and caution." But she firmly rejected the witch trial analogy. Ignoring the accumulating evidence of professional misconduct and corruption and of popular historical traditions, she flatly stated that the idea was "a cheap and easy metaphor that implies malevolent hysteria" (Quindlen 1993). While listening to his reporter document the injustices of day care abuse trials, moderator Hugh Downs of *20/20* ("Truth on trial," September 8, 1995) asked if the "witchhunt" was over, and comforted by the reporter's affirmative answer, conveniently forgot his own 1984 show on the McMartin preschool which helped construct that same predatory frenzy.

AFTERWORD

The variety of motives, affect, and conduct that bring youth and non-youth relationships to physical expression is of such complexity, and perplexity, that humane scientific work will most likely be in disarray for some time to come. It will be easier, safer, and more profitable to continue to justify cultural practice and defensively smear the contacts, actors, and relationships with the broad strokes of a monochromatic sealant. The interests of church and state support this through a return to 19th century medical forensics, conceptualizations eagerly buttressed and exploited by institutions of popular entertainment. But the course of sex research methodologies continues in some quarters to give fuller expression to lines laid down in the early 1960s, a reclamation bubbling from the on-going putrefaction of a moribund concept of "sexology."

Children's sexualities appears to be the next fertile field from which to sprout professional careers. In a paternalistic and authoritarian culture, the study of these desires and behaviors calls for little change in personal and social concepts of the investigator and expert, and can allow for the easy continuation of nearly all the present systems of authority and control which now outline and anchor definitions of "the child." As it has for over a century, interests of discipline and domestication promise to determine and dominate official information.

So too with investigations of that 19th century zombie, "the pedophile." A science in the context of a culture still struggling with a "heterosexual-homosexual" dichotomy has little chance or little interest in devising concepts and methods of research that would offer anything strikingly divergent from the security of design and expression now plead for so eloquently and desperately by professional societies. The task of inquiry into these characters and relations call for simply starting over, undertaking intellectual, emotional, and material risks beyond the relatively high levels usually called for in American culture. Added to ordinary professional politics, personality spats, and scientific fads, threats from the police and the press continue to distract and inhibit the collection and production of texts and the investigation and documentation of sexual lives. Social forces unfazed by and uninterested in empirical evidence continue to accumulate legislation and case law that discourage or restrict conscientious research efforts, and criminalize heterogeneous personal and social conduct (at this writing, an appeals court has declared that teens "do not have a Constitutional right to sex").

Commitment to the work continues.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. Anonymous 1984c; Guilfoy 1985. See also Loveland's (1985) bitter and angry letter to Michael Dukakis, then governor of Massachusetts.

2. In Rome some females married at 12 and were considered adults by 14. Males went from childhood to adulthood anywhere from 14 to 16, and sometimes an older woman would take a young man at puberty as a lover to "initiate" him (Veyne 1987:20ff).

3. Ozmont 1983. Treating individuals that young as adults can indicate an egalitarian attitude or a general disregard. During the long and brutal Christian wars of the Reformation, children were tortured and murdered in theological disputes, and even eaten as food during the many severe famines. See Kunzle 1973:81, figure 3-17, *passim*; Hufton 1974.

4. Morgan 1942; Farber 1972:59. Coitus with a girl aged ten or younger was a capital offense in 17th century Puritan society, prosecuted under broader statutes against "sodomy;" sex with older females could be prosecuted by charges of rape (Thompson 1986:74f). There appears to be more actual abuse in the industrialization and urbanization of the 18th and 19th centuries during which there were more preteens in a fragmented labor force. By that time, people aged 12-17 were learning fewer real trades and skills, and an active slave trade developed for "redundant" children (i.e., poor and illegitimate), sanctioned by economic and religious leaders (Mitterauer and Sieder 1982:107).

5. Ideals of health became more pronounced in the last part of the 18th century and continued throughout the 19th, concomitant with urban development and the necessities of disease regulation; health became tied to ideas of progress and growth, physical beauty, personal character, and specific religious views. Ads aimed at women promoting removal of body hair as necessary for "cleanliness" appear in the 19th century, and in the 20th expanded to promote disgust first at underarm hair (1915-1920), then (1920-1940) leg hair (Hope 1982); the depilitation made adult women more pedomorphic.

6. What appears to have happened is that marriage, urged by a short life span, allowed young and mid-teens to begin (if they hadn't already) sanctioned sexual (reproductive) activity. As life expectancies lengthened and youth were kept in school and at home for longer periods, permissible ages of sociosexual activity and marriage moved out to the late teens or beyond. The sexual abilities of pre- and young teens have remained physically stable, and most likely erotic interests in those ages have also remained fairly constant, but expression was disallowed (both as activity and as representation). The rise of "Lolitaism" was in large measure a product of this suppression.

7. Spacks notes that theories of development have more to do with "the realities of public power" than with inevitable internal programs of biosocial progress. Placement, authorization, and exercise of power are all made easier and done at the same time theory is constructed; "our psychology confirms our sociology," she correctly observes (1981:290).

8. Demos 1986:96. The terms "adolescent" and "puberty" are closely tied to biological referents. The more popular term "teen-ager" came into use during World War II and is a bit further away from reproductive capacities (especially for females), referring more to social and cultural meanings. Popular references to "teens" often include preteens.

9. Veyne 1987:23f. Free-ranging groups of preteens and teens were sometimes seen in Europe, especially after dislocations caused by war or disease; most came from poorer classes from the 14th century to as late as the 17th (Hufton 1974:27ff). Bands of homeless and parentless children have become common in many South American, African, and Asian cities.

10. This period was marked by increased sensitivity to visual images and their effect on the body, especially erotically, in which there was a "fear of beholding the image of woman" (Camille 1989:308). Intense sentimentalizing indicates a fear of certain images hidden behind the adoration.

11. Kübler-Ross 1985:xvii, 96, the nice round figure typical of 1980s statistics. In 1994, the Children's Defense Fund announced that 50,000 children a year are killed by firearms (Cable News Network, January 20), the theme of harm to children shifting to concerns of guns in schools, juvenile violent crime, and the need to censor violence on television.

12. See Macaulay 1953, Jackson 1980. 1970-1980s "splatter" genres are closely related to this, and journalism has always emphasized the crisis and disaster approach. In 1987, I noticed a video for sale entitled: *Spectacular Disasters!*, with the nice advertising blurb, "A Cavalcade of Calamities to Excite and Horrify." In the 1990's Fox television network became famous for its series of "reality" specials on the order of "World's Most Spectacular Police Chases," "World's Most Spectacular Police Shootouts," "When Animals Attack," "When Animals Attack, Part II," etc. In the mid-1990s, the term "news porn" was applied to such productions, though the difference from "normal" journalism is one of degree, not of kind.

13. Evidenced in part by an increasing appearance of baby-talk in literature (Avery 1965) and its encouragement as appropriate parental discourse, extending to women who were simultaneously infantialized. This continued well into the 20th century, seen in the language quality of Betty Boop, on through Marilyn Monroe and others.

14. Avery 1965:179. This may be what Fiedler had in mind when he spoke of such figures as "monsters of virtue...[a] symbol of the rejection or fear of sexuality" (1966:24). They are monsters not only because they are exaggerated and grotesque, but also because the subtext, fear of the sexual child, shows through in loud disavowals that children are *not* sexual, can *not* consent, do *not* lie, and so on.

15. Much of the literature for children featured extensive doses of "race-consciousness, xenophobia, and imperialism" (MacDonald 1974) which helped form children's view of themselves as potential victims.

16. The very idea of witchcraft demands inquisitional procedures because it is so difficult to prove in the usual senses. The legal precedent in those times of not allowing a minor's testimony was overruled specifically for cases of witchcraft, similar to the reversal of Constitutional guarantees accomplished in the 1980s for allowing alleged victims of sexual abuse to testify through intermediaries.

17. Masters (1962:68) says thousands were executed for this, some as young as 3 or 4, if you'll pardon the journalistic phrasing.

18. Monter 1976:127; Seth 1969:13. See also Midelfort 1972:144; 25% of some German executions were of children (p. 182). Hale recounts a famous incident where children were stripped naked and beaten publicly on the steps of a church (1947:26).

19. Sangster 1963:146. Schorsch (1979:21ff) also found a number of suicides for 12 to 14 year olds in the 17th century.

20. The idea of inherited sin survives, sometimes appearing in unexpected places. In 1970, feminist Robin Morgan recalled when a black baby girl was taken out of a hospital incubator too soon because the parents could not pay for more time. She then looks on her playing infant and exclaims, "my white male blond baby's tiny hands already are stained with the delicate blood of his little black sister!" (1977:143).

21. A third of youth would in fact die before age 21 from diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles, whooping cough, mumps, smallpox, yellow fever, and influenza; inoculations (initially resisted by clergy and physicians) did not begin seriously until the mid-18th century.

22. March 1954. A film of the novel was released in 1956. Golding's *Lord of the Flies* appeared in 1954.

23. The books cited as most responsible for this include Blatty's *The Exorcist* (1971; film 1973), Koontz's *Demon Seed* (1973; film, 1977), Koenig's *The Little Girl Who Lived Down The Lane* (1974; film 1977), Straub's *Julia* (1975), Cline's *Damon* (1975), Seltzer's *The Omen* (1976; film 1976 and sequels), and Saul's *Suffer The Children* (1977).

24. Kellerman 1985:76. He suggests that sharks, snakes, and other "slimy, venomous things that hid in the silt" are "evil." Similarly, in his report on sexual abuse, Thomas took us into the mind of agent O'Malley as he mused about the possible biological roots of the current threat to civilization: "it was all part of a new evolution in which evil had its own metamorphic intelligence that was creeping across the world, swamping it in dirt" (1991:49). Compare this to the scenario by Eisley in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 2

1. Childhood sex in autobiographical accounts is an interesting but unexamined source. Milgram and Sciarra (1974) have older texts; Porter and Weeks (1991:47f, 57f, 138) and Baker (1994:21-75) are samples of future possibilities. Picano (1985) is a wonderful example of what is valuable; he mentioned later (1993) that his testimonies drew hostile reactions from publishers and reviewers. See also Moore 1984:210-229.

2. *Child Protection Alert* 10(9), p. 3. This is an extremely interesting remark, the implications of which have been hurriedly explained away, and actual data, examples of which I have seen, have been withheld from exposition and analysis. These artifacts, like visuals, are tremendously upsetting to those who have constructed fantasies of children's innocence and/or those with sexual anxieties.

3. Golden (1990:96). It may be that the image was ribald to audiences of the time, but our concept of "pornography" does not appear in classical Greece, nor would the episode have evoked the moral indignation typical of Golden and Christian culture. Given the fact that, at this writing, possession of whatever is called "child pornography" is a felony, it seems rather careless to label *Wasps* "kiddie porn," no matter how specious the term might be.

4. Charlton 1984:151. A look at the paintings, however, shows how subjective perceptions of the sexual are; the paintings appear to be neither unpleasant nor sensual.

5. In Bade 1979:30. Bade also shows the use of *femme fatal* illustrations in children's books in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

6. Wilson 1988; for a broader view of the excluded see Young 1966. Another 19th century invention is "gerontophilia," a sexual interest in individuals significantly older than oneself, though I have never seen this applied clinically to youth interested in older sexual partners. To do so would attribute a self-conscious desire to youth, its implications of autonomy intolerable to the adult world.

7. Walvin (1982:135-148) sees in the movement an intent toward "exploitation;" Eckardt, Gilman, and Chamberlin (1987:239) say "child pornography" was a direct result of the "cult;" and Jordan (1987:270f) refers disparagingly to "votaries" "simpering over nymphs." Kincaid (1992) provides a good deal of pertinent background information, but relies too easily on old images and theories; his perceptions of the 1980s hysteria are accurate.

8. Kincaid (1992) contains a number of references. Timothy d'Arch Smith (1970) has boy-love literature from the period, and some texts on females were collected in aristoff's booklet (1992). The so-called "cult" still needs a great deal of serious integrative research. When the popular culture of "pedophilia" is analyzed, one stream worth attention is the similar spiritualization of the child. Boy-lovers may draw on classical Greek imagery and poetry, or medieval Sufi traditions which encourage a spiritual celebration of the erotic unity of being (as do contemporary adjustments through the wonderful energy of Hakim Bey (1993). Girl-lover poets and essayists can be just as mushy.

9. The photos were to be reproduced here but after refusal by one printer for fear of being prosecuted, and after consultation with the photographer and legal advisors, I have pulled the prints. Perhaps in more enlightened times this charming and valuable set can be made available. It should be noted for historical reasons that since the early 1980s, especially for those of us in marginal positions, the design, execution, and presentation of research, writing, or other creativities have had to take into account the risks posed by arrest, seizure, and prosecution by the state and the stigmatizing and instigation of vigilante activity by journalists.

10. Cohen (1984) is one of the few to try to directly address Carroll's alleged pedophilia (cf. Thomas 1983); Nabokov's *Lolita*, for all that has been written on it, has not been attached to such discussions. Whether or not one is excited by a certain image derives from medieval Christian theory in which "...perceptual cleanliness is a form of spiritual class-consciousness which makes the image arbiter of the viewer's capacity to behold it;" viewing was a "trial by imagery," noted Camille (1989:205). An acceptable image revealed only God to the beholder who was without sin; those who were sinful were locked into the image itself and viewing became idolatry. Images remain artifacts of moralities, subject to legal and political regulation (p. 341).

11. Vanderknyff 1991a. A follow-up (1991b) outlined the debate among artists caught up in the hysteria. Like academics and other professionals, artists wanted exemptions from the law only for themselves. None suggested a questioning and rescinding of the laws, nor did any acknowledge a kinship and alliance between "artists" and "pornographers."

12. Andelin 1965:179-205. Morgan recommended similar costumed performances in her "Total Woman" seminars and book (1973:95).

13. Anonymous 1993l. By 1995, however, there was a retreat to a more conservative position. Bryson's article (1995) with accompanying photo-spread offered contrasts, conveniently labeled "Too young" and "Too old." Reporting that high school and college women were shopping girls' departments, and although "What's hot is a pouty, hormone-charged antifashion fashion statement fresh out of fourth grade," the classic schoolgirl look was modified for proper 16 and 17 year olds. Suggested transformations were to move pigtails lower, replace knee socks with bobby socks, and replace saddle shoes with two-tone wing tip Oxfords. The short plaid skirt could stay.

14. Overbeck 1993. Goodman some years before (1985) had taken a few shots at junior fashions that emulated Madonna's lingerie look. Tipper Gore (1987) happily pointed to Goodman's article as an example of offense taken at the sexualizing of youth, but Goodman's piece is at heart a sympathetic recognition of the desire of many young teens to rebel and shock, an understanding not evidenced in Gore's indignation.

15. Miller 1994. Use of such models was thought to be progressive by some agencies, in that other models were the usual voluptuous images of womanhood long criticized by feminists. Like the radical appearance of Twiggy in the 1960s, the androgynous look was thought to be less insulting. Rooted in part in Cyndi Lauper's "street urchin" look (see her 1984 video, "Girls Just Want To Have Fun"), the 1990s also saw a distillation of a "tomboy look," some of it a mainstreaming of the honorable lesbian and gay traditions of gender bending. Styles and roles continued to mix and match; reviewing the film *Tank Girl*, Gleiberman (1994) referred to star Lori Petty (then age 31) as a "baby-doll tomboy punkett."

16. Garfield 1995, imagining the voice to be "a John Wayne Gacy type."

17. Designers of the ads supposedly shared a "queer sensibility" influential in artistic and commercial work; part of this may have reflected a more positive attitude toward sex, toward the sexualities of youth, and a distaste for hypocritical heterosexual myths of sex, youth, and family. See Chapter 10 for 1980s satire and critique.

18. The ads are in *YM*, *Rolling Stone* [#715, August 24, 1995]), the *New York Times* (September 3, 1995), pp. III-2, IV-2, and *Advertising Age* 66(35-September 4):34; television coverage made sure clips and shots of the ads were shown. Klein's apology is in the *New York Times*, August 28, 1995, p. A-5. The American Family Association tried to take credit for ending the campaign, but when the ads were withdrawn the campaign had run its course anyway. Elliott pointed to two contemporary events that may have contributed to the reaction. One was the July, 1995 release of the film *Kids* in which young teens are engulfed by drugs, sex, and rock 'n roll (while most of its actors were under 18, the film was not available for theater viewing for anyone under 18 without a parent or guardian). The other was the reactivation of the fear for the innocence of on-line youth and the potentiality of exposure to sexual images on the Internet and BBSs; the cover of *Time* featured an illustration of a young boy looking aghast at a computer screen, full in the face of the magazine viewer (Elmer-Dewitt 1995a).

19. Anonymous 1989b. Gainsbourg was 18 at the time, an indication of the historical variability of "Lolitaism." Lyon (b. 1946) was said to be 14 when the movie was made though most observers thought she looked 18; she was 16 when it was released in 1962. Sinclair's book has stock studio stills, but one can take more delight in her moral outrage: "Humberts" are "libidinous lechers past their prime, in search of fresh young blood and fresh young lives to feed upon" (1988:133).

20. Fink 1992. The film is based on the 1984 autobiography of Marguerite Duras. Although Fink's note is not as reactionary as it might have been a few years earlier, the title to the piece still reflects the common U.S. view. For her "debut as magazine writer," Brooke Shields (1992) wrote a review (she majored in French literature), saying the age of the female is 16 in the film. Duras was played by 17 year old Jane March about whom a number of rumors circulated (that the sex scenes were real, that she was a virgin before the shoot, etc.). March (called "Annaud's Lolita," Blinken 1992) came to the United States to promote the film but wasn't able to go out much: "You've got to be 21," she said. The film is available uncut (at this writing) on video but no one has been arrested and imprisoned for distributing or possessing "kiddie porn."

21. Billy Wilder claimed to have presented "the first American movie about pedophilia" (Zolotow 1977:107). The comment was published at a time when pedophilia was becoming a topic of discourse, and it entirely possible that Wilder may have intended some implication in the film. But

perceptions of sexual interests depend upon more than age different partners. The contrast in the film is part of a tradition of sex farce dating from classical theater, and it drew upon "screwball comedy" then popular. Further, audiences at the time were sold on star presence, and people went to see a movie with Rogers and Ray Milland in it; it is unlikely they came away feeling they had seen "a movie about pedophilia." The use of age different attraction was not received with the obsessed moral rage developing in the late 1970s; while the actors played around the attraction (to the delight of viewers), there never was any doubt about the happy (and proper) ending.

22. Nabokov 1977:19. Some of this was prefigured in Nabokov's *Enchanter* (1987:48f) in which the narrator sees "undulations in [the] subterranean streams" of a 12 year old. Most current legal codes charge abuse if there is a three to five year difference between partners and/or if one individual is preteen. Nabokov's view differs significantly from popular conceptions of a "pedophile" as one attracted to all minors.

23. Sonenschein 1984. In popular visual entertainment, nearly all were females. In sexually explicit media, however, it appeared to me that there was much more material in circulation admiring young males than females.

24. Farris 1985:122. Farris has another sexual child in the book, coyly described in a shower masturbation scene (1985:253).

25. Lewin 1988:35, 91, 256. Such surveillance and apprehension became common, though sometimes embarrassing to officials. An Arizona law designed to "require schools to report to police any student who [teachers] have reasonable grounds to believe has been a victim of sexual abuse, sexual conduct with a minor, sexual assault, sexual molestation, commercial sexual exploitation of a minor, incest or child prostitution" was taken to mean any sexually active student, a logical extension for this mentality (Anonymous 1989c). The latest twist to come to the belated attention of the popular media was the use of private investigators to, in the words of one headline, "trail troubling teens" (Anonymous 1993h); drug use, gang membership, and sexual behavior were the top three concerns parents want monitored. The article gave the impression that this was new, but it was only a slight variation on the long-standing use of such people to track children in custody disputes, the use of "deprogrammers" in the cult panics of the 1960s and 1970s, and the use of public and private search personnel and technologies in the "missing children" scares of the 1980s.

26. The idea of "hypersexuality" is a restating of the old concept of "nymphomania," a concept too attractive intellectually, erotically, and financially for most clinicians and other moralists to let die.

27. Director Katt Shea Ruben was accused by some feminists of promoting child sexual abuse. Other films of this sort include *The Girl* (Clare Powney), and an older film, *Pretty Poison*, starring Tuesday Weld, based on Geller 1966.

28. The comment came from a tape of Fisher and Peter DeRosa having sex, broadcast on national television. The full comment, made while he was trying to prompt her into more display for his taping, was quoted by Eftimiades: "Anything. I'm wild. I don't care. I like sex" (1992:74; another "I like sex" comment supposedly made to a friend is on p. 155). However, when DeRosa tried to interest Fisher in group sex or SM, she demurs (Fisher 1993). The tape was made surreptitiously and DeRosa sold it to ABC's *A Current Affair*. The producer, Steve Dunleavy, showed the tape to some of Fisher's high school peers, then sold it to other journalists. The clip was promoted as "The Lolita Tape," although no one was arrested, prosecuted, imprisoned, or had property seized for making, possessing, or distributing "kiddie porn."

29. Anonymous 1992f, 1992g, 1992h. The complaints were also secretly taped by another friend of Fisher's and sold to ABC's *Hard Copy*; Bradford 1993:69.

30. About 50 million households saw at least one of the films (Thaler 1994:82-85). *Casualties of Love: The Long Island Lolita Story* (told from Joey Buttafuoco's viewpoint, starring Alyssa Milano), *The Amy Fisher Story* starring Drew Barrymore, and *Amy Fisher: My Story*. The latter NBC film, starring Noelle Parker, was told from Fisher's point of view; the opening scene shows Fisher in her room, the background of which is full of the standard innocence/sexual icons, stuffed animals. NBC modestly devoted a large portion of its tabloid program *Dateline NBC* (December 29, 1992) to show how they filmed the story. While Joey Buttafuoco was claiming to never have had an affair with Fisher, his father defended him by attacking her: "That girl makes poison ivy look good" (Fisher 1993:235), begging the obvious comparison to the demonic lolita film of the same name, starring Drew Barrymore who also played Amy, completing some kind of cosmic circle.

31. The ads featured a young female in sunglasses recalling the 1962 *Lolita* film ads. In the film the young woman is 14 (played by 15 year old Alicia Silverstone), an age still within the margins of tolerance but just enough on the edge of permissibility to be entertaining. The "older" man is 28, an age causing no concern.

32. Carter 1979. A British film was made of the story with Red as an adult, losing the impact of a threatened female child, suddenly and craftily becoming sexual by her own desire and to her own advantage. England was having similar hysterical reactions to adult-youth sexual relations.

33. Dahl 1982:22-24. In another tale (pp. 27-30), one of the three little pigs calls Red for help to save him from the wolf. After blowdrying her hair, she arrives to shoot the wolf again and makes another coat. The last little pig thanks her but Red shoots him and makes a traveling case out of him. The bit had been done some years before by James Thurber (1940:5).

34. *Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom* 39(1-January):33, 1990. The female in the book is actually a much safer 14; the lowering of the age by the panicked parent is an example of infantializing in the period. The feelings she has for the older man (70) are a mixture of deep affection, devotion, and respect, along with what the cautious author intends to depict as the first stirrings of physical appreciation. The emotions are directed partially to the man because he's there and she likes him very much, but also due merely to the generalized heterosexual disposition many girls come to enjoy. There is certainly no intention of any relationship, and the "lust" that panicked the parents is at the most what I'd call Lust Lite.

35. Her remarks were ambiguous; masturbation was "something that perhaps should be taught." She said she meant "teaching *about* it," while the reaction thought she wanted to teach techniques. Neither was unacceptable.

36. Anonymous 1992n, Bouza 1992:85. A later survey showed only a slight decline in age at first intercourse (Laumann, *et. al.*, 1994:324ff). No "sexual revolution" is shown by that data, and age at first coitus remains in the late teens for most youth (except Black men); 19% of the females had had intercourse by age 15 in their study.

37. McCoy 1988:80. The frequently used word "experimenting" or "curiosity" were phrases, like "sex play," used to trivialize youth's sexualities and to deny conscious and deliberate sexual activity, especially among preteens.

38. I have a photocopy of her column entitled, "Now boys need to say 'No,'" but my correspondent did not give the newspaper. The date is given as December 11, 1984 but I do not see the letter from "Texas Parents" in her column in other newspapers for that date.

39. *Gay Community News*, August 10, 1985, drawing from a report appearing in the *Front Page*.

40. Anonymous 1985c, plus unpaginated reports sent to me from the *San Jose* [California] *Mercury News* (February 23, 1985) and the *Miami Herald* (February 24, 1985).

41. Anonymous 1982h. Other news reports quote the judge as saying, "unusually sexually promiscuous young lady" (Anonymous 1982i; Royko 1982).

42. Blanchard 1929:543. Wilson and Harris (1979) indicate the policy continued to hold wherein unruly youth, especially females, were labeled as "promiscuous" and subjected to pelvic exams, vaginal smears, pregnancy tests, and institutionalization. They also note that when young females express an interest in older men, the result was often a court referral.

43. Anonymous 1983e. The idea of "rings" is related to an American anxiety over group sex, whatever the age or gender of the participants. Data on children's abilities to socially organize their sexual events support the fact that sex not only occurs in specific socially defined contexts but also is related to youth's social and psychological management. Kids (peers and non-peers) and adults (sexual partners or non-partners) are defined socially, culturally, and sometimes economically as to permissible routes in and out of, and degrees of, sociosexual activities. Further, much of this necessarily involves non-sexual elements such as personal identities, status, roles, and cultural styles of behavior and artifact.

44. Fraenkel 1973:230. She was sentenced with a 19 year old Polish woman who, being of lower racial status, was sentenced to 15 months.

45. Fraenkel 1973:241ff. A U.S. film, *Swing Kids*, considerably upped the ages of the rebellious youth, once again erasing the sexual or political activity of pre- and young teens.

CHAPTER 3

1. Russell 1988:24, 35; White 1972; Friedman 1981. Christians began official destruction of pagan images in the 6th century, the genitals of which were especially targeted for erasure (Camille 1989:19; see pp. 92ff for Christian body-hatred).

2. du Maurier 1894:255. Amy Fisher was promoted by her attorney, Eric Naiburg, as "the gullible victim of a Swengali" (Fisher 1993:221). Hollingsworth said (Cuban) Frank Fuster's denial of abuse charges was "in a heavily accented stage whisper that resembled a vampire in a low-budget horror film. Nay-verrr. Nay-verrr. Nay-verrr" (1986:380); she ridiculed his accent with sinister ethnic associations (pp. 411, 518).

3. Cf. Maccoby 1982:166-171. Part of the pedophile's profile is that he "moves often."

4. The passage usually cited deals with the question of whether or not Jews can be "defiled" if they have sex with young people. The passage says that sex with "heathen" females can be defiling because they are capable of sex from the age of three years and one day; heathen males can cause defilement from the age of nine years and one day (Bytwerk 1983:144, citing the "Abodah Zara").

5. Trachtenberg 1943:50f. A related bit of European folklore of the time, present as late as the 19th century, was that intercourse with a young virgin would cure syphilis. Some rituals were said to call for the smearing of Christian blood on the genitals of Jewish children. In May of 1890, posters appeared in Paris warning mothers not to allow their children out because Jews needed their blood for Passover (Wilson 1982:552). The accusations were not devised solely for the application to Jews. Christians accused heretical sects of such practices as a matter of course; Franciscans said Dominicans used the blood of Jewish children for worship. There were also 19th century Islamic accusations of Jews using Muslim children for such purposes (Davey 1907:398).

6. Protests about the statement were because the rituals supposedly involved Jews, not that such rituals were imaginary or fabricated.

7. An interesting genre that appeared prior to these cults and overlapped a bit with them were images meant to portray Jesus as a fully human incarnation of the major deity. There were many paintings and drawings of Mary and others with the usual naked baby Jesus, but the adults are symbolically or actually fondling the infant's genitals. Later images depicted the adult Jesus (there are no images of the teenaged Jesus) fondling himself or with a prominent or erect phallus. Displays of these representations are generally uncommon in Europe and extremely rare in the United States. See Steinberg 1983; his book appeared during the escalation of the abuse panic and advancement of the religious right making it the target of sharp condemnation.

8. Bytwerk 1983:101, citing a 1937 guidebook for German teachers. See the plates in Boberach 1982:74f showing German children being taught how to recognize a Jew; Cecil 1972; Bytwerk 1983, plate 24; and Szajkowski 1977, figure 101 (p. 39), and plate 98 for illustrations from the 1936 pamphlet, *Don't Trust a Fox on His Heath or a Jew on His Oath.*

9. Bytwerk 1983:148ff; Mosse 1964:141. See also Bartov's chapter, "The distortion of reality," 1991:106-178.

10. Lindemann 1991. The Frank-Phagan story remained popular. In the 1937 fictionalized movie, *They Won't Forget*, Mary Phagan is played by 17 year old Lana Turner. The 1980s also promoted a reexamination and exposition of the affair: Phagan 1987, Frey and Thompson-Frey 1988; a 1988 two-part television movie, *The Murder of Mary Phagan*, replayed the event and its aftermath.

11. Pearce 1953; Sanford 1961:93. The equation of exotic with erotic became fixed in the 19th century, not uncoincidentally along with the idea of genre itself (Sternberger 1977:50, *passim*). The desire for purifying comes largely from Calvinism (Kibbey 1986).

12. Similar images still obtain about poor Southern whites (see McIlwaine 1939). Known usually for endemic incest, unshaven hillbillies are famous for the gruff taking of girls for wives, as in the 1941 exploitation film, *Child Bride*.

13. From the *New York Daily News* of April 4, 1864 (Wood 1968:61). Racial purity was widely accepted as desirable in scientific circles by the 1850s.

14. Dixon 1905:304, the basis for *Birth of a Nation*, released a decade later. Heroic images of Clan riders were deleted from most prints of the film for many decades.

15. Miller 1969:185. The laundry was supposed to have hidden tunnels underneath where children were kept; Catholics were also commonly thought to have tunnels linking convents with other

Church units to provide secret sexual access between clergy and nuns, and to serve as burial grounds for raped and murdered children (Jenkins 1996:25).

16. Based on the story "The chink and the child" (Burke 1917). Sax Rohmer's [Arthur Sarsfield Ward] Fu Manchu series had appeared in 1913, and most English and American pulp fiction and film of the time featured evil Asians.

17. See Kunzle 1973:175, plate 6-25 for a witch of 1669 seducing a boy and a girl in Germany. Witches were supposed to be especially intent upon depraving their own children.

18. Miles 1989:76; see also Himmelfarb 1985, Camporesi 1988, Hsia 1988, Delumeau 1990, Highwater 1990:111ff.

19. Hegel noted how enthusiastically Christians took up the display of the agonies of their martyrs, continuing the spectacles they previously decried as immoral; "the delirium of religious passion is quite consistent with an appetite for gross and barbarous spectacles," he said (1956:339). Christian emperors of Rome continued the games and expanded the number of crimes calling for death in the arena. The most famous text is the 16th century *Tortures and Torments of the Christian Martyrs* by Rev. Antonio Gallonio. Resonating with 1980s horror trends, the book found renewed popularity and was reissued featuring illustrations by cartoonist S. Clay Wilson, John ("Killer Clown") Gacy, Charles Manson, Richard ("Night Stalker") Ramirez, and others associated with suffering, torture, and death. See also Chapter 8.

20. Schorsch 1979:40, Stallybrass and White 1986:149-170. Radbill (1980:9, and later editions) accepts this as universal fact, depicted as "perversion" and "depravity."

21. Fairchild 1984:182. She believed that whether master or servant, those youngsters so initiated would have difficulty forming "normal heterosexual relationships" (p. 175).

22. *Don't Bother To Knock* (1952, with child-woman Marilyn Monroe), *The Nanny* (1965), *The Babysitter* (1980, with former child star Patty Duke Astin), and *The Hand That Rocks The Cradle* (1992, with Rebecca De Mornay). Schneider (1992) reviews the latter film, giving examples of child abuse by sitters that made news in the 1980s.

23. Boswell realized the difficulty of dealing with ancient texts and their meanings, and indeed he has been criticized for exporting 20th century meanings to medieval thought. His monolithic view of youth-adult sex as "abuse" adds even more complications to the sense he tried to make of positive and negative evaluations of homosexuality and of children's sexuality.

24. Fraenkel 1973:217, quoting Reich Legal Director Hans Frank; the 1980s term for this kind of thinking is "predisposition." Before the historic Republican successes in the late 1994 elections, Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich (R-GA) said Democrats were "the enemy of normal Americans" (Devroy and Babcock 1994).

25. "Queers attacked at holocaust memorial," *Gay Community News* (June 15, 1985), from reports in the Santa Ana, California *Register*.

26. English and Pearson 1945:378. This statement was retained in the second edition of 1955, but because of new research beginning in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the remark was dropped in the 1963 edition.

27. The term is limited historically but replacements are always found. "Rings" and "networks" later became popular among conspiracy devotees; Rueda (1982) included the North American Man-Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) among his tangle of subversive homosexual organizations.

28. Guides to ethical conduct often appear in the development of sexual subcultures. Adult-youth relations have had their share of ethical admonitions, some published, some circulated in typescript or electronic form. Most of the ones I've collected are from boy-love perspectives (Rossman 1973, 1976:193f; Anonymous 1975; Jones 1976a, 1976b, 1977; Nichols 1976; almost any issue of the *NAMBLA Bulletin*), though some have been aimed at girl lovers or both (Anonymous, "Guide to better child loving: child lover's handbook," *Love* #39 [no date, mid-1970s], pp. 751-755; "Uncle Ray's raunchy rules for realizing romper-set romances," typescript, early 1982; "How to have sex with kids," Howard Nichols Society, 1983). Some are quite serious, while others are humorous or satirical.

29. From an unpublished lecture, San Francisco, October, 1986.

30. *MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour*, October 23, 1992, "Gay rights—Oregon. Right or wrong?" See also Tuller 1992. The "manifesto" referred to is probably a text used to "prove" the subversive threat of homosexuality. Robertson quoted (1993:170) what he called "a pledge of the homosexual movement:"

> We shall sodomize your sons, emblems of your feeble masculinity, of your shallow dreams and lies. We shall seduce them in your schools, in your dormitories, in your gymnasiums, in your locker rooms, in your sports arenas, in your seminaries, in your youth groups, in your movie theater bathrooms, in your army bunkhouses, in your truck stops, in your all-male clubs, in your House of Congress, however men are with men together. Your sons shall become our minions and do our bidding. They will be recast in our own image.

Robertson said vaguely that this text was "recited on the floor of Congress" and "has been repeated often." The text had been circulating among fundamentalist political groups, its origin unknown. It could have originated from the religious right itself (as have similar "documents"), or it could have been constructed by wags meaning to bait their opponents into irrational frothing (as has also been done). The text was not "recited" in Congress (by gays, it was implied) but entered into the *Congressional Record* as an "extension of remarks" (Volume 133, #124, July 27, 1987, pp. E3081-E3082) from an earlier printing in a Catholic weekly, *The Wanderer* (Michael Swift, "America: is this the gay declaration of war?", June 25, 1987). The *Congressional Record* excerpt, entitled "Militant wolves in sheepish drag, no longer!" was submitted by William Dannemeyer.

31. What Williams calls "compassion" demands rehabilitation and prison terms; all drug users "must be stigmatized," he said.

32. Cited by Brecher 1972:321-334, "How to launch a nationwide drug menace." Brecher's work has been actively denounced in anti-drug rhetoric but remains an admirable example of nonhysterical and rational inquiry and recommendation. Unfortunately, his critical abilities faltered considerably when he reviewed the ways in which the state dealt with sex offenders (Brecher 1978).

33. Rivers 1986:17. The bombing of a federal building in Oklahoma City in April, 1995, in which an estimated 26 children were killed, provided journalists with another opportunity to use traumatized children to represent certain political values. A photo of a firefighter holding a dying one year old became an international icon for the event and its official meanings (*Newsweek* cover, 125[18-May 1], 1995); damaged teddy bears were also used (Kent and Key 1995; Irving 1995). See note 44.

34. Edward Said has presented devastating critiques of the manufactured evidence, inadequate data, and biased theory that characterizes much of the current political-scholarly work on terrorism and nationalism (Said and Hitchens 1988); see also Alali and Eke 1991 for entertainment images of terrorists and their victims. One of the major tasks of journalism is to divorce "terrorist acts" from political contexts and histories; similar tactics are used on sexual "perversions."

35. Kahn 1987:58. It should be noted that American book publishers were cowed by right wing assaults and refused to publish Kahn's book, and the FBI and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attempted to suppress Matusow's book (Pessen 1993:151).

36. The ape-like Hun carrying off innocence, youth, and femininity was a take-off on what was then a very well known award-wining 1887 sculpture, "Gorilla," by Emmanuel Frémiet (shown in Dijkstra 1986:291, plate IX, 21).

37. See the June 7, 1985 issue of the *National Catholic Reporter*. The topic increased in popularity (*Judgment*; Harris 1990; Rossetti 1990, Anderson 1992, Berry 1992, Sennott 1992, Sheler 1992, Burkett and Bruni 1993, *The Boys of St. Vincent*). By 1993, a few priests convicted of sex with minors received sentences as great as those given to others (Anonymous 1993a), though other sentences still appeared to be of considerably less severity. Freethinker Annie Laurie Gaylor (1988) enthusiastically joined the fray but her unthinking acceptance of the period's banalities shows her using pedophilia as a marker of moral inferiority just as religious activists similarly used ideas of homosexuality and sexual representations.

38. Shupe and Bromley 1982. "Children" in this hysteria were usually people in their late teens and early 20s. By the 1980s "deprogramming" was considered permissible to use on younger individuals. Deprogrammer Rick Ross was said to deprogram "children as young as five" (Madigan 1993:80).

39. "...evidence suggests that the trauma of deprogramming not membership in the cult produced emotional distress among former cult members" (Melton 1986:235).

40. See Nathan 1990a, and Tobias and Lalich 1994 for accounts and ties to the 1980s child sex abuse themes. Singer and Lalich (1995:254) claimed sexual abuse was "promoted" in some cults but gave no examples. The resurgence of horror genres in the 1970s made fertile ground for the growth of

these images; films like *Brotherhood of Satan* depicted a Satanic cult after kids, and *The Believers* included child sacrificing witches. Constantine (1995) retains 1980s imagery and claims pedophile conspiracies are real and widespread, though the ultimate villains are the CIA and the Pentagon which have organized and run cults since 1963; physical and sexual abuse is used to program children and adult members.

41. Shupe and Bromley 1982; Shupe 1987:215. The most famous "deprogrammer" was Ted Patrick (1976); many of his methods have been utilized by interrogators of children in abuse cases. Texts on how to get your child to believe in religion (Berends 1991, Fitzpatrick 1991) have been largely ignored both legally and academically, despite a long history of child evangelism (Sonenschein 1982). Greven (1990) makes some initial explorations, but his work is embarrassed by a naive parroting of psychobabble. A view of religious belief and practice as abuse and mental illness, while never a dominant position of secular psychology, has remained a troublesome subtext, threatening to follow empirical bases to emerge as official theory. Popular blips infrequently surface to quiet deeper troubles, particularly when they involve children. Arthur Caplan, Director of the Center for Biomedical Ethics at the University of Minnesota (1992) acknowledged horrendous abuses, but urged "the utmost sensitivity and caution" when approaching religious beliefs, a warning conspicuously absent from approaches to human sexualities. One of the texts aimed at "recovering fundamentalists" referred to damages done to youth by some religions, but made allowances for clergy and parents who "believed they were doing the right thing;" confrontation with religious abusers was briefly mentioned but there was no encouragement of criminal prosecution or civil suit (Winell 1993:201). Finally, I must mention a ring of New York magicians and entertainers whose mission is to evangelize children, known as Klowns for the King.

42. Spiegelman and Conway 1979a. Delgado also felt that actual or potential psychological trauma was sufficient reason to override First Amendment concerns, an argument made with a slight variation but more success in the prohibition of child sex visuals.

43. For example, Rasmusssen 1976, Underwood and Underwood 1979. The decade was also a time to reprint similar genre accounts from the previous century, e.g., Young 1972.

44. Madigan 1993:289. A former associate of Koresh's claimed he had knowledge of sex with 12 and 14 year olds (Breault and King 1993:62f, 72f; Madigan 1993:113; 110). The Oklahoma City bombing occurred on the anniversary of the raid on the Branch Davidian compound. While there was extensive use of the Oklahoma children's deaths, no such concern was manifested for the Texas children. Hearings in July, 1995 on the raids were heavily politicized, with Democrats especially concerned that law enforcement not be "tarnished." One of the first witnesses was 14 year old Kiri Jewell who testified that she had sex with Koresh when she was 10. The hearings succeeded in verifying Koresh as a pedophilic demon, ending quietly with no judgments against the FBI or ATF.

CHAPTER 4

1. Sometimes children appeared as little drunkards themselves (Gough 1887). The savior child used effusive and unconditional spiritual and physical affection to save the father and the family. Sánchez-Eppler (1995) sees this as an eroticization of the child and part of a patriarchal plot to sanction abusive incest; temperance stories are full of "pedophilic conventions," she says. Conspiracies are fun, but the temperance child is more a product of theatrical melodrama, religious and secular moralities of the movement, and a general 19th century historical sacralization of the child; further, most of the stories, written by women for other women, carried gender-role based conceptions of devotion and affection.

2. The following material on anti-tobaccoism is from Tate 1989.

3. Children sometimes also played a savior/truth-speaker role in anti-drug texts. In one, a dope fiend meets a 10 year old and praises her beauty and purity in ecstatic terms, along with a briefly mentioned "inherent precocity," but is shaken when he finds her to be blind. Returning later to the town, he finds she is dead, struck by lightening—"deflowered," he said. He mourns the loss of beauty in the world and muses on its implications for his sordid and wasted life (MacMartin 1921:147ff).

4. It was a story often told by Rev. Bruce Ritter, advertising his Covenant House operation, based on an incident in which a 12 year old prostitute either leaped or was thrown from a hotel roof (Raab 1977).

5. Anslinger and Ousler 1961:29. See Sloman 1983:59f for some of Anslinger's anecdotes of Blacks and young white teens on dope.

6. Trebach 1987. Reinarman and Levine (1989:115) call it "an extraordinary anti-drug frenzy" by the press and politicians. This was also at a particularly nasty height of the AIDS scare (1983-1985, Kinsella 1989) in which needle drug users were blamed as heavily as homosexuals for the spread of the disease.

7. In mid-1996, Cooke sought a return to reporting after years of exile, but journalists reacted with pompous indignation, a New Orleans *Times-Picayune* editor comparing her reemployment to "a day-care center hiring a convicted child molester" (Nolan 1996).

8. The following is from *Drug Prevention Curricula: A Guide to Selection and Implementation*, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Department of Education, 1988, cited as *Drug...*

9. A similar flyer appeared in Virginia in early 1990 (Hicks 1991a:329). Tales of LSD tattoos had circulated earlier (Arax and Billiter 1987, Kolata 1988), and while shown to be false, the tales have a great deal in common with other contemporary folklore, such as Halloween threats of contaminated food (or razor blades, Best 1990) and to the "poisoned needle" rumors about White Slavers (Anonymous 1914).

10. Aside from critics pointing out the simple-mindedness of placing all drugs and drug users into monolithic categories, a small number of popular accounts were published that exposed the inflation of statistics, as was happening for "missing children." Garrett (1988) indicated the DEA staged phony drug raids which were glorified by an uncritical news industry, and T. Johnson (1991) mentioned exaggerated or fraudulent figures of seizures. The so-called "crack babies" flap was promoted from the mid-1980s into the 1990s; babies born to crack-using mothers were supposed to be irreparably damaged for life. Though exposed as another pseudo-issue in the early 1990s (Greider 1995), the imagery continued to be useful to liberals and conservatives alike.

11. Roe 1911:167; the woman was 17. In terms of the aesthetics and intents of this rhetoric, what he means "is best *when* imagined."

12. Roe 1910:84, 169, 183, 216, 218; one is referred to as "only a little girl," p. 117. Roe 1911:159.

13. Connelly 1980:127. The sculpture is shown on the cover of *The Survey* for that year; cf. Merriman 1913.

14. The traffic in Asian women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries has been documented by Gronewold 1982. Some were for prostitution, but many were sold as wives, and some were family-arranged marriages. A very few others may have been women on their own but perceived as sexual outlaws. Davey (1907:103, 121f) remarked on the trade in Turkey in which children and women were kidnapped and sold for wives and/or labor.

15. Sloan (1988:80-86) reports a 1914 film *Traffic in Soles* featuring Max Asher, a well-known actor and producer who may have directed the film. An anonymous (1916) reviewer wrote of the pious *Is Any Girl Safe?* that "it will be interesting to observe how long the zeal of the anonymous social workers will burn when the box office ceases to show a profit." Even a few newspapers were trying "to extinguish the conflagration of hysteria;" one writer deplored the popular mind which "revels" in the stories and the commercial exploitation by the mass media (Anonymous 1914).

16. Roe 1910:92f, 106. It was a long-standing concern. The independent young woman of a previous generation was also seen as one who "craves the stimulus and hollow gaiety of the wild life she has led" (Brace 1872:117).

17. Roe 1911:260. The "beasts" were those who engaged in non-marital sex and fans of erotica. Another wanted to "slaughter the evil herd" (Mrs C. Harris 1909:21).

18. Rev. Bruce Ritter (1977:253) also pleads, "For God's sake, gentlemen, for the sake of the children, do something about it!"

19. Billington-Greig 1913:434. She was herself a runaway at 17, virtually alone in a time of intense domestication; to the annoyance of family advocates, she gave a number of reasons why youth would want to flee the family. Barry (1979) cited this article and noted that Billington-Greig left a women's reform group because of its dogmatism. This was to happen to American feminism in the early 1980s when a fundamental split over issues of sexuality came between right and left wing feminists. Barry, identified with the right wing, took no heed of what Billington-Greig plainly documented or her historical lessons .

20. Most scholars date the anti-masturbation hysteria from the late 18th century, when Tissot first published *Onanism*. But the concern began to appear as early as the 15th century when the Church increased pressure on its subjects to confess their private behaviors and thoughts, and when masturbation was looked upon as far worse than rape; during this time the Church lowered its allowable age for confession from 14 to 7. Some authorities believed that people were not able to commit sins of lust until they reached puberty, but others later in the 16th century "lamented" the fact that preteens were often guilty of lust; Bossy 1975, Tentler 1977:70, note 2.

21. Foucault 1980:120. Haller and Haller saw Victorian sexual concerns as "transitional" rather than "regressive" (1974:xiii).

22. Haller and Haller 1974:134, quoting a 1883 book by John Kellogg.

23. Haller and Haller 1974:60. Experts believed that if females received the same education as males, they would suffer "neuralgia, uterine disease, hysteria, and other derangements of the nervous system," as well as consumption, scrofula, anemia, leucorrhoea, amenorrhoea, dysmenorrhoea, chronic and acute ovaritis. Girls beginning puberty should avoid exercise, "brain work and all forms of mental and physical excitement" (Clarke 1972:18, 22f, 47f) in order to give their reproductive systems a chance to mature.

24. Haller and Haller (1974:184ff) and others indicate that, as part of the effort to restrict women's physical development and independence, it was suggested that bicycling women of the mid to late 19th century were in fact doing it only as a way of masturbation.

25. A Physician 1876:108f. Fowler (1869:60) said girls were addicted to masturbation, and Tissot speaks of addiction to masturbation (1784 edition). See Chapter 7 for more on sex addiction.

26. Barker-Benfield 1976:274. Tissot almost a century before described a 7 or 8 year old boy whose masturbating frenzy brought him to death's door.

27. From Spitz 1952; Hare 1962; Duffy 1963, 1982; Macdonald 1967; Comfort 1970:69-113; Engelhardt 1974; Hartman 1974; Barker-Benfield 1976.

28. Including autopsies; Duffy (1982) says that at least two deaths were officially attributed to masturbation by medical authorities. Most research was geared to show how masturbation caused insanity; a 1848 report said that 32% of the admissions to a Massachusetts asylum were due to masturbation. Few challenged this; those who did "became pariahs of the profession" (Haller and Haller 1974:203), as happened in the 1980s (cf. Ofshe and Watters 1994:12, 31, 200, *passim*).

29. Recalling the 1980s assertion of "food abuse" by abused children and pedophiles, it was believed in the 18th and 19th centuries that certain foods "inflamed" one to masturbation: gravies, fish, jelly, oysters, meat, tea, coffee, chocolate, alcohol, tobacco, salt, pepper, mustard, cloves, caraway, ginger, and mace; the masturbator could also be betrayed by her craving for clay, chalk, and charcoal. Haller and Haller quote W. F. Morgan, M.D. from the *New York Medical Times* (1896) as saying, "Very few young men can use cheese, or eggs, or asparagus...without being annoyed the following night by erections." Morgan advised against eating watermelon for that can cause sexual excitement, "a fact said to be fully appreciated by our colored brethren" (1974:105, 197, 200).

30. Barker-Benfield 1976:170, quoting John Todd's 1835 *A Student's Manual*.

31. Krafft-Ebing 1965:68. Clitoridectomy was used as a cure from the early 19th century to its last uses in the United States in the 1920s, though it is still practiced in Africa and elsewhere. Popularized by Isaac Baker Brown, who became the head of the Medical Society of London, it was abandoned not because of its savagery but because most experts denied the importance of the clitoris in female sexuality (Kern 1975:101f). The Zambaco article, out of circulation for a century, was reprinted in 1981.

32. Noted by the edition's editor, Robert Bremner, in Comstock 1967:x.

33. Inciardi (1986:22). Later, he says (p. 211) that those who refer to him as a "fascist" or "arch-conservative" are "atavistic liberal thinkers." Am not.

34. Connelly (1980:114) refers to White Slavery literature as an "exotic" genre. One of my points is that all of these hysterias draw necessarily upon traditional images insofar as the movements share similar purposes. They are classic and conventional rather than exotic, just as the panics are not isolated blips of temporary insanity, but the emergence of cultural forces always present.

35. Hoover's articles of 1955 and 1967b are almost the exact same text, updated only by the substitution of a few figures; the word "recently" is retained to several of the cases.

36. Hoover 1947, 1955, 1967b. Sixty years earlier, Comstock (1880:416f) had complained bitterly about liberals and freethinkers who defended smut dealers with "mawkish sympathy" and no concern at all for what a hundred years later would be called "victims of pornography."

37. Magie 1853:42. A very similar theme is found in the anti-pornography pamphlet, *Cliches*, from Morality in Media [no date; 1980s], New York.

38. Similar accusations came to bear on popular story tabloids that appeared in profusion in the first half of the 19th century. A critic in 1843 remarked that "crime [is] the consequence of the atrocities in literature" (Noel 1954:19, 25).

39. Watt 1957:44, Barker-Benfield 1976:329, note 9. The *camera obscura* in the 17th and 18th centuries called for the user to be in dark enclosed spaces where they could experiment with perception and representation in radically new ways, encouraging fantasy and redefinitions of the self and reality. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, a popular form of entertainment was the ghost or "specter-show;" ghosts or "phantasmagoria" were popular preoccupations (aided by widespread readership of gothic novels), and encouraged fantasy and the imagination. This was not necessarily new then but here it was figured as a *rational* exercise, an exploration of the possibilities of the mind. Specters and ghosts were on the one hand not believed to be real, but on the other were "real" in the sense that they were actual products of various states of mind (insanity, creativity, etc.). Known as "the rationalist paradox" (Castle 1988), these mental figures were "real" largely because they were the product of one's efforts, similar to "recovered memories." Later in the 18th and 19th centuries, there were in some homes very small compartments used for the private reading of novels, and in texts of the time there was criticism of what was called a "closet culture," the development of secret places where hidden selves and activities were developed (Hunter 1990:157f). Knowingly or not, gay metaphors of the closet, now firmly a part of the American lexicon, had its usage established long ago over fears that unsupervised situations engender forbidden desires producing uncontrolled selves, especially among youth.

40. John Todd, 1835, *A Student's Manual*, in Barker-Benfield 1976; Brown 1940:7, quoting a 1798 critic. About 160 years later, the same concern was still being expressed. Cannon [no date] warned young girls against the reading of romance magazines and novels because "seldom does one encounter anything like normal wholesome love."

41. The quote is from a 1632 text (Wickham 1963:95). In 18th century America, theaters were often seen as dens of inequity, and during the Revolutionary period a number of cities banned plays and other theatrical performances, usually because they were rowdy and violent, though there are also references to some sort of sexual sins being represented (Harris 1973:36). The view was not universal; 19th century France held some concern for the virtue of young girls at fairs, festivals, and the like, but the feeling was not as morally outraged and apocalyptic as it was in England and the United States.

42. Quoted in Leonard 1964, predating Densen-Gerber's perception by some sixty years.

43. Blumer and Hauser (1933) and Charters (1933) are publications of the Payne Studies on the subject of films and youth; see also Skal (1993). The main focus was on crime and the new genre of horror film, although all films were censored after 1933.

44. Fans were female as well as male; Barker (1984:42, 209, note 6) says that in 1954 England, 66% of horror comics readers were young married women. Skal cites an American survey that said most of comic book readers were adults but 40% of everyone in the US over age eight was reading them in the early 1950s (1993:230).

45. KENS-TV (CBS), San Antonio, Texas, newscasts from November, 1994 through early June, 1995.

46. *America's Missing and Exploited Children: Their Safety and Their Future*, 1986, Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, p. 30, *passim*. The Board also insisted that children's right to protection definitely did not include freedom from custody. In 1992, 11 year old "Gregory K" sued for separation from his parents so he could be adopted by his foster family. He was allowed to, but Florida appealed the "divorce," and in late 1993 the courts ruled that minors cannot divorce parents on their own.

47. McBee 1985; see also Gore 1987. The PMRC originally wanted ratings for albums, much like commercial films; "X" would denote sex, "V" stood for violence, "O" for occult references, and "D/A" for drugs and alcohol. The ratings would apply only if the lyrics were seen to promote these amusements, not if they were against them.

48. Anonymous 1992j. The same month, Hillary Clinton was shown on a CNN *Headline News* broadcast (November 23, 1992), arm in arm with Barbara Bush as members of the newest anti-pornography group, "Enough is Enough." They claimed to be against "hard-core pornography and child pornography." The broadcast showed visuals of very young children playing in a schoolyard, with a voice-over saying that "One in four girls will be sexually abused before age 18." The visuals then shifted to show covers of commercial "kiddie porn" and nudist magazines, giving the impression that they were still in circulation even though they had been suppressed for fifteen years.

49. November 29, 1989. Similar images were used every year at that time. Needless to say, there is no evidence at all for the "70%" figure from the cited 1990 letter.

50. A similar incident had been used in the November 23, 1988, appeal letter, only then it was said to involve "a dozen sixth-graders experimenting with homosexual sex in a boy's room." Shaw and Froomkin (1989) had their exposé headlined, "5th-graders accused of forcing boys into sex acts," but since only the police are quoted, one can not tell what the situation actually involved.

51. Sussman 1990. He begins with an anecdote about an unnamed newspaper that tried to spread the story that "Christian Dior had come out with sexy brassieres for 4-year-old girls, presumably Lolitas in training;" there is an illustration of a girl in makeup wearing the "demisole" in question. See Klein 1993 for a broad survey.

52. Mandese and Fahey 1992. The authors note all the networks are vying for market shares, and Fox, leader at the time, was doubling its hours of children's programming for the 1992-1993 season to 20 hours a week.

53. Spethmann 1992. One-on-one interviews are recommended to reduce "peer pressure," but Cindy Clark, owner of her kid-oriented marketing agency, said "By interviewing kids alone, their more vulnerable sides are more easily brought out."

54. Winski 1992. A Pizza Hut official in charge of marketing to children is quoted as saying Nickelodeon "makes it their business to know kids and get inside their heads." Nickelodeon at the time was the largest producer of original programming for children.

55. Donaton 1992. Youth magazines have intensified research to increase sales and attract advertisers; "we know what buttons really seem to push the sales on newsstands," said the publisher of *YM* magazine, Alex Mironovich. In 1995, *YM*, aimed at ages 12 up, was heavily criticized for carrying the infamous Calvin Klein jeans ads characterized as "kiddie porn."

56. Kurnit 1992. A sort of How To Have Commerce With Kids manual, with tips such as "Know your niche, position your product, talk the talk, pictures sell, put it to music, move it along, don't preach, make it fun, groups are dynamic, be new but familiar."

57. "Reach him where he lives," "His first day job is kindergarten. Modern can put your sponsored educational materials in the lesson plan. If he's in your target market, call us..."

58. Promising access to "23 million kids in school," along with corporate sponsors and the Discover Card.

CHAPTER 5

1. Kaufmann 1984:97, Fig. 8; p. 100, Fig. 10c. Girls were not represented as the playmates of satyrs and pans probably because of their lower social value.

2. Hoffmann 1987:17. This account was attributed to Marcus Cornelius Fronto (100-166?) by Minucius Felix in the first third of the Christian 3rd century (*Octavius*, Chapter 9, paragraphs 5-6, in *Ancient Christian Writers* [G. W. Clarke, ed.]; p. 65; New York: Newman Press, 1974). Most of what we know of Christian sex religions comes from critics, Christian and pagan. These sects were all exterminated as heresies in the course of Christendom's bloody internal power struggles. See also Walker 1983:120, 129.

3. Calvin 1982:279; he was raving against groups he believed to be descendants of the Free Spirit movement, especially 16th century French Quintinists whom he called Libertines.

4. From *The Spiritual Espousals* by Jan van Ruysbroeck, a 13th century priest and inquisitor, reprinted by Vaneigem 1994:147f. The reference to men is misleading as many leaders were women.

5. See the forum on *Les liaisons dangereuses* in *Eighteenth Century* (volume 14, number 2, 1990, pp. 39-107). Brami's article deals more specifically with libertinism, especially 20th century conceptions. Earlier modern novels, primarily those by Samuel Richardson (*Pamela* [1740] and

Clarissa [1749]), had already established the codependency of images of the aggressive evil sexual male and the vulnerable suffering asexual female.

6. Sixteenth century playwright Torquato Tasso, drawing on elements of the 13th century poem, *Romance of the Rose* by Jean de Meun, proposed "If it's pleasing, it's permitted." The saying remains a popular attribution to libertinism. Hayden, in her docudrama of a child supposedly victimized by ritual abuse (1991:294), attributed the saying "Do what thou wilt" to Alistair Crowley. Horror writer Clive Barker was quoted as saying, "Whatever you want to do, do it" (Winter 1991:31) and indeed, a lobby poster for Barker's film *Hellraiser* has a line that reads, "There are no limits." Barker claimed this was true of his own work (Barker and Etchison 1991:47), but later he moved to the Maybe-There-Are-Some-Limits position (p. 57, especially for people under age 15), saying the philosophy is responsible "for fulfilling many abnormal sexual or violent urges." An April, 1993 television commercial for Reebok sport shoes took consumers to "Planet Reebok" where the philosophy was "no limits," "no boundaries," "no rules," "no stopping," "no barriers," and the slogan, "No Slogans!" A 1980s commercial for Nike footwear, "Just Do It" (seen on t-shirts, with a variation, "Just Do Me"), also carried some of the meaning of this variety of libertinism. Leo (1995) lists similar commercial slogans from the early and mid-1990s.

7. Perhaps best expressed by late 19th century dramatist Frank Wedekind as "The flesh has its own spirit." Wedekind was known for the sympathetic depiction of adolescent sexualities in his plays, and his works were occasionally banned and he was imprisoned for offending some sensibilities.

8. Cf. Brissenden 1974:86ff. Sentimental periods also seem to be periods of renewed fundamentalist religious fervor.

9. Though most seemed to have had no quarrel with sexual violence. Indeed, like the 20th century pedophile, the villainous intensity of the Libertine's image may be significantly reflective of a projected guilt over broader mistreatments and injustices, and an attempt to deflect attention from them, whether the denial of women's rights in the 18th and 19th century by liberals or wide-spread child abuse by heterosexual parents and child savers in the 20th (cf. Jordanova 1980, Greven 1990).

10. Cf. Turner 1985. In the 16th century there arose a general type we would recognize as "the fiend." Cast as a criminal, the character was frenzied and out of control; highly dangerous and destructive, his path was marked by brutal gratuitous violence and murder. A subtype that was to gain popularity was the prominent citizen hiding a fiendish character within himself. Established more fully at this time also was the idea that there was a necessary connection between the fiend and illegitimate sexualities (Papke 1987:27ff).

11. Dika 1990. The film *Victims for Victims* was one of several that helped configure victim roles. This particular film is interesting in that the star plays herself in the film, a victim of a stalking fan who attacked her with a knife. "Victims for Victims" was also the name of a support group for victims. The first law against stalking was passed in California in 1990, and by 1993 most states had similar though often ineffective laws.

12. Cominos 1972. Hardwick (1974:182) makes a similar point that inflated imputations of innocence overshadow any sexual transgressions by the supposed victim, a tactic used extensively in the 1980s.

13. A line from *Daranzel*, an 1800 melodrama quoted by Grimsted (1968:178).

14. Near exact imagery remains popular and one is used in the film *Nekromantik*; see Kerekes 1991 for illustrations.

15. One of the best expressions of this was the combination of Nicolas Roeg's cinematography, Roger Corman's direction, and Vincent Price's acting in the 1964 film of Poe's tale.

16. Sanford 1961:106f. As early as the 1670s, the emerging Libertine image helped add a sexual element in the conflict between the sudden expansion of American urban centers and the largely rural populace (Novak 1977).

17. Foucault (1980) suggests the sociological idea of "deviance" (still a subject of academic social science specialization) arose in the 18th century as a strategy for distancing classes, racism, and colonialism.

18. For Professor Raschke, "Satanism is the ideology of decadence" (1992:135), and popular culture was "the culture of decadence" (p. 347). "Neobarbarism" is his term for the self-indulgent variety of libertinism, "the plenary, pleasurable, and guiltless exploitation of the 'darkest' proddings of human existence" (p. 138). He also referred to several character types as "rakes" in his irate exposé. For Leo (1995), the 1995 Calvin Klein jeans ads were "decadent."

19. Nordau 1895:18, using the term coined by Maudsley in 1874. These are the origins of Emmerman's (1985a) cliché of pedophiles as "borderline psychotics." Included in Nordau's "borderland between reason and pronounced madness" are individuals known as "graphomaniacs:" "semi-insane persons who feel a strong impulse to write" (p. 18). His book, one of many he wrote, is over 560 pages of dense, footnoted text, quite appropriate for his subject and in line with Germanic styles of scholarship. Emmerman—author of a great many articles on the subject—quoted a psychiatrist who claimed pedophiles are driven to write "treatises." Just about any critical text was scorned during the 1980's hysteria. Upon learning of this manuscript, one indignant television news cameraman asked me why I felt "compelled to write such books." I suggested he get an expert's opinion, preferably one who had published on the subject.

20. Nordau 1895:557; 266, 551. The pornographists for him in this case were 19th century Realists, such as Zola and Ibsen, as well as writers like Nietzsche.

CHAPTER 6

1. One type of representation that could have been valuable to study is cartoons depicting adults and children with sexual overtones. Reisman's presentation (1991:98-137) provides nothing of value. Her federally funded project was extensively criticized and ridiculed (Thornton 1985a, 1985b) for its inflated budget, because it didn't definitely say whether or not the cartoons "caused" child molestation (Arlen Spector, R-PA), or because of general incomprehensibility (Howard Metzenbaum, D-OH).

2. His coat is unbuckled as well, a signifier of sexual deviance (as with a trenchcoated exhibitionist), or of sexual readiness. The trenchcoat in 1930s film became associated with the heroism of the private investigator, but dragged through the sleaze of film *noir* and hard-boiled fiction it emerged in the 1950s as a shabby and soiled sign of the pervert.

3. Reproduced by Freedman 1987:93. There is a garbage can in the picture and the setting appears to be in an shadowy alley, heightening the thematic elements of marginality and danger, as well as the pollution of cleanliness, health, and innocence by dirt, filth, and odiferous waste; compare to the similar cover of the Executioner novel (Mertz 1986). One should also take a look at the cover of the 1947 magazine; it is a head shot of a young girl ostensibly blowing up a balloon but her cheeks are drawn in and she is in fact sucking on the nipple end of the red balloon.

4. It has appeared in various forms in film serials (*The Iron Claw*, 1916, "The Clutching Hand" in the *Exploits of Elaine*, 1915, *The Clutching Hand*, 1936), was a standard visual device in "Yellow Peril" films in the 1930s (the elongated fingernails supposedly characteristic of decadent Asians are also used with many clawed *femme fatale* figures), in novels (*The Clutching Hand*, by Arthur Reeve, 1934), comic books ("The Claw" in *Silver Streak Comics*, 1939, and in *Hell Rider Comics*, 1971; "Klaw" in *Fantastic Four Comics*, 1966), innumerable political cartoons from the right and left, in polemical media such as commercial and classroom anti-drug films, and so on. An outdoor advertising billboard from the 1950s showed two huge knarlous dark claw-like hands reaching for a frightened young girl holding a doll; the slogan on the board reads, "*Make* our Homes and Streets SAFE! VOTE REPUBLICAN" (Henderson and Landau 1980:50.

5. Citro 1987. Both Johnston's and Citro's works featured children who could see lurking evil where no one else could.

6. Vol. 2, #4 (November/December), 1986, p. 5. The cartoon is an illustration for a story on a South Carolina child removed from her parents in 1984 in a flagrant disregard of due process. A subvariation from the same source is the cover illustration of VOCAL's newsletter for March/April, 1987 (vol. 2, #6), showing a weeping adult male behind bars, "drawn by an inmates mother" for "Operation Inmate" in which people were solicited to write to people who felt they had been wrongfully imprisoned on child abuse charges.

7. See *Ms* magazine cover, August, 1977; also used were extreme close-ups of faces, as in Rooney 1983. A great deal of the representation of child victimage takes off from the iconography initiated by Walter and Margaret Keane in the early 1960s. Known as the Big Eye school of painting, the Keanes featured usually female children with greatly disproportionate eyes who were tearful or sad, thin or delicate, and often alone. Greatly criticized by the contemporary art establishment, the figures are now part of the American iconic imagination (see Parfrey 1995).

After World War II, ads for relief organizations began to use such photographs and are by now an ad genre frequently seen in magazines and on television. This aesthetic figured in some of the WPA photographs of America in the 1930s and photos from World War II, but the exploitation of children's appearances was not as focused as it was in later marketing and propagandistic campaigns. Engravings for magazine and book illustrations of the innocent 19th century child genre also carried some of this, but the depictions were borrowed from theatrical conventions.

More direct roots of the tradition were established in Britain and the United States in the late 19th century. Most well known was London missionary Thomas John Barnardo. He began photographing boy street urchins in 1870, opened his first home for boys in 1871, and at that home opened his photographic department in 1874. According to Barnardo, the purposes of these photos were firstly, to "trace the child's future career," and by a striking contrast between the "before" and the "after" document the beneficence of charity and the heroism of his efforts. Secondly, Barnardo said the photos were valuable "to make the recognition easy of boys and girls guilty of criminal acts, such as theft, burglary or arson, and who may, under false pretenses, gain admission to our homes," an aspect of considerable importance to his contributors. Barnardo's critics complained that

> The system of taking, and making capital of, the children's photographs is not only dishonest, but has a tendency to destroy the better feelings of the children. Barnardo's method is to take the children as they are supposed to enter the Home, and then after they have been in the Home some time. He is not satisfied with taking them as they really are, but he tears their clothes, so as to make them appear worse than they really are. They are also taken in purely fictitious positions. (quoted, and the above information, in Lucie-Smith 1975:42-44)

Barnardo also devised schemes to ship children to Canada to be adopted by frontier families, similar to the "Orphan Trains" operations in the United States (see Chapter 7). More seriously, Barnardo used what he called "philanthropic abduction" wherein he felt justified in kidnapping children from families he didn't feel were raising them properly; he was charged nearly 90 times with this in court. Banta and Hinsley (1986:103f, plates 99 and 100, p. 105) cite an unpublished paper by James Guimond which noted how American Indian and African-American children, seen as constitutionally "dependent" or "under-developed" races, were taken to the Hampton Institute in Virginia from 1878 through the early 1920s, and photographed in the same before-and-after style to show the benefits of training in "industry, thrift, and sobriety."

8. This kind of exhibition is certainly not new. One of the more famous was the "Degenerate Art" show displayed by the German National Socialists from the early 1930s to the early 1940s. Adolf Ziegler, President of the Reich Chamber of Visual Arts, was explicit about the intents of such displays: "What this exhibition offers inspires horror and disgust in us all" (Barron 1991:45, 180ff). The promotion of voyeurism is an acknowledged part of purification campaigns.

9. A variety of this image involved the representation of "evil," "bad," or criminal children, especially in the late 1980s, coinciding with a rise in evil-clown imagery. The jacket illustration for Magid's and McKelvey's book (1987) on criminal children featured a teddy bear with its leg cut off. Here the teddy bear still represented innocence but of a damaged sort, similar to its connection with the supposed consequences of youth-adult sex. A further variation is when the icon is inverted to represent evil hiding within a facade of innocence. Films featuring killer teddy bears (a variety of the Toys From Hell device in horror) from the period are *Bloodbath at the House of Death* (1985) and *Dolls* (1987); *Child's Play* (1988) featured a demonic doll as a further variation. There are also sexual teddy bears, often dressed in garter belts or leather, giving new meaning to that little smile.

10. Landers 1992b. The toy would be "confusing" to children said Debra Haffner, head of the Sex and Information Council of the United States (SIECUS), in Lawson 1992.

11. Fischer 1988. The ad (*Los Angeles Times*, May 1, 1984, p. VI-12, Figure 6.1) boasted how Satz worked with the police to construct a story that would "provoke public outrage." They did their work well.

12. The reception of Get-Well-Soon-Teddy bears as representatives of innocence and purity has not always been cordial. Teddy bear burnings have been reported (Anonymous 1991a).

13. A twist was the 1980s popularity of "Garbage Pail Kids," toy figures of grotesque children packaged in little plastic garbage pail containers. Related to toy genres of monsters and action figures, they may be a materialization of the assumed distorted children produced by various villains, the pedophile for one, but also the abortionist; a graphic of what was supposed to be an aborted fetus in a

waste bucket was one of the main visuals of anti-abortion campaigns. More broadly, the Garbage Pail Kids may reflect the subtexts of fear and hatred of children that always seem to underlay vigorous self-righteous child saving movements. On the other hand, they may have simply been a repudiation of the innocent hypercuteness attributed to children by the Cabbage Patch dolls and the general theory of the day. Less burdened with theory, most kids got a kick out of them just because they were gross.

14. See Cohn 1988. Photos or videos of heroic undercover cops are also popular but often their faces are blanked out, a striking but appropriate display of faceless omnipresent authority.

15. This was an explicit assertion of the "ritual abuse" school. See the Morality in Media booklet, *Clichés: Debunking Misinformation About Pornography and Obscenity Law* [no date; mid to late 1980s], New York: Morality in Media, Inc.: "To flood the airwaves and these children's sponge-like minds with indecent programming is somewhat akin to placing a stumbling block before the blind instead of seeking to chart new pathways toward higher aspirations."

16. Wordsworth 1981:II:900-901, written in 1846 around the time of the emergence of the *London Illustrated News*.

17. Parades in so far as they ask for allegiance and make assertions of power can also be marches, and vice versa, marches can be parades, as in Gay Pride performances in which protest and liberation demands in marches became community celebrations. Further, satires and counter-parades can be easily coopted and absorbed within the conventional culture. So too can coopted parades become domesticated instruments of conventional meanings. Again using the Gay Pride parades as an example, several have become notorious for excluding NAMBLA as participants as well as other groups and styles felt to be too damaging to gay aspirations to respectability.

18. There are significant exceptions to this in both museum and gallery work. Public complaints over sexual or political elements may cause exhibits to change or close. Such reaction to the exhibit are about not only the subject or form of what is exhibited but the authority of the exhibitors as well. Such exhibits in any case, however resolved, are launched initially and resolved on the basis of social assumptions which I've mentioned.

19. Foucault 1965:70; see also Tuan 1984:83, Baldick 1987:10ff.

20. A line from Wordsworth's (1959:260) "The Prelude, or Growth of a Poet's Mind" sketched at Bartholomew Fair in 1802.

CHAPTER 7

1. Goldstein 1991:23. He also mentions the 1980s medical horror novels of Robin Cook which featured "a lurking leviathan that assaults the unaware at play," often using mentally confusing tricks and disguises.

2. The original title of his book, *The Sexual Addiction*, was changed in 1983 to *Out of the Shadows...* to avoid embarrassment of potential buyers and to increase sales. A second edition was issued in 1992.

3. Early critiques appeared in the gay press in 1983-1985 (cf. Sonenschein 1985) because the idea of obsessive sexuality had long been used to try to justify control of homosexuality.

4. Dwight 1818:IV:249, 250. The term "habitual" was used throughout most of the 19th century as a synonym for addiction. "Indulgence" is another word implying luxuriousness, decadence, and perversity.

5. Young referred to the anonymous author of *My Secret Life* (1888), which contains a number of tales of adult-youth sex, as a "sex addict" (1966:26).

6. Complete with accompanying pins, patches, and certificates. One could also meet other "fiends" and "correspond with other CREPS," invited by the infamous Crypt-Keeper (Daniels 1975:186-192).

7. Freund (1972) demonstrated that what he calls "normal" males usually react erotically to visuals of the buttocks of 8 to 11 year old males and females.

8. Older forms of monsters eventually become quite domesticated. While there were some legal disputes over the theatrical use of the Frankenstein monster in the 1950s, Dracula, the Wolfman, and others finally became packaged, as trademarks, as "Official Universal Studios Monsters" in 1991, images requiring licenses for their use. Similarly, Freddy Krueger, lead of the *Nightmare on Elm Street* films from the mid to late 1980s, was "once a loathsome, murderous pedophile," but by the late

1980s was admired, "adored and venerated," and "a Psycho-Icon for the 80s" (Balun 1989). Monsters, perhaps because of being heavily invested with so much personal and cultural baggage, tend to totter and take a pratfall in relative short periods of time. But the cores remain and when new ones must be constructed, they are—because they have to be—familiar. And, of course, if there were fewer monsters, there would fewer victims and heroes.

9. Boyle 1989:129f, 146f. Many late 19th century accounts featured cruelties to children, and Boyle sees a parallel with the 1980s, believing Victorian sensation literature and journalism "challenged" an official denying culture (pp. 132f, 185, *passim*). He thinks this is good, but Boyle does not see how the sensationalism is more often a part of a process that defines the respectability and heroism of the reporter which the official culture uses, in Boyle's own words, for "a self-righteous and selective discrimination which in turn provides a reinforced ideological base from which wholesale exploitation, even slaughter can be justified as a necessary adjunct to progress" (p. 22).

10. Hayden 1991:63: "an ideal script for a horror film;" p. 84: same, plus wondering if the youngster had access to horror films "or worse, some of the pornographic ones;" p. 199: her boyfriend says her suspicion "sounds like the plot of a bad novel;" p. 223: a colleague ties the Satanism Hayden is thinking about to horror films, "seamy" books, and "sensational newspaper reporting;" p. 293: "horror-film madness;" p. 295: horror fiction; p. 297: "a nasty mix of Steven King and *National Enquirer*;" also p. 302.

11. See Rabinowitz 1995. Violet and Cheryl Amirault were freed in 1995 when a judge granted a motion for a new trial, but in early 1997 the Massachusetts Supreme Court reinstated their conviction and they were returned to prison.

12. *Exploited and Missing Children: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice*, pp. 1-17. United States Senate (97th Congress): Government Printing Office, 1982, pp. 9; 7f.

13. Doe 1985. The Chairperson was again Arlen Spector. His belligerent and contemptuous questioning of witnesses was televised nationally when he interrogated Anita Hill in the 1992 hearings on her allegations of sexual harassment by Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas. Spector was briefly a Republican Presidential candidate in 1995, describing himself as a "social libertarian."

14. O'Brien 1986:xvi. As a reward for her contributions to the decade, she was invited by Ronald Reagan to the White House to witness the signing of the Child Protection Act of 1984.

15. O'Brien 1986:xvii. She also included a note on how her subjects were obtained. She approached prison counselors and had them "ask if any child molesters would consent to be interviewed" (p. xvi). In her interview with "Charlie," she said to him, "I don't know anything about you except you volunteered to give me an interview," and "I don't know why you were arrested or why you are here. Did you molest children?" (pp. 4f). Many might consider this to be deceptive and unethical practice.

16. Confessing pedophiles at government hearings were used to present such accounts; Ferguson 1985, Smith 1985.

17. "X" 1985:117-143. Some believe this to be one of the influences on Nabokov for *Lolita*.

18. "Secrets of a child molester," March 10, 1995, Arts and Entertainment network. Moderator Bill Kurtis said the man claims to have had affection for his partners, but he said "experts know better." Authorities for the show were a therapist and a policeman; consultant for the program was Nicholas Groth.

19. *Exploited and Missing Children: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice*. United States Senate (97th Congress): Government Printing Office, 1982, p. 16.

20. Donahue has referred to his audience as "the jury" (e.g., April 3, 1995); in the Amy Fisher excitement, Geraldo Rivera held a "trial" of Joey Buttafuoco on his show, and *A Current Affair* held a "trial" of Fisher (Thaler 1994). Donahue started his show at a local station in 1967 but it was during the 1980s that the genre found popular and commercial success, a time of widespread dissatisfaction with the justice system, fear of crime, and the challenges of a more visibly pluralistic society. By late 1995, however, the shows began receiving criticism for their "trashiness" or "pornographic" content, one major argument being that children would be harmed by viewing them (Brady 1995). In mid-1996, Donahue taped his last program though many others continued.

21. This often is part of youth and sexual subcultures, parts of which often overlap. Bill Brent, editor of *Black Sheets*, devoted an issue to a reclamation of sleaze as part of the reinvention of sex positive attitudes and behaviors (vol. 1, #2, 1993).

22. Spacks 1962:111, quoting Percival Stockdale in 1778 on Gray's use of European folk themes.

23. Walker 1964:29. Literal belief in Hell declined theologically by the late 17th century but continued to find secular expression in law, medicine, journalism, and psychology. Fundamentalist religions with their emphasis on apocalyptic futures often use such views to justify social practice.

24. Rapid uncontrolled growth gave rise to erratic city layouts, perceived as "labyrinths." Enclaves of race and religion fed fears of invasion, subversion, and violence. Labyrinths and mazes evoke mystery, terror, disorientation, disguise, surreal confusion, and ambiguity—all attributes attached personally to inhabitants (Maiorino 1991; Sedgewick 1980).

25. There is a very long tradition in literature, religion, and politics of constructing character types for moral instruction and entertainment. Theophrastus wrote of such in the fourth century of the Christian era, and medieval Christians renewed the endeavor, reestablishing a relation between character types and the policies of moral authorities. Later, there was an emphasis upon the physical properties of character (such as physique, head shape, resemblance to animals), based at the time on 18th century medical theories allowing authoritative classifications of normal versus abnormal.

26. Platt 1977; Taylor 1981; Katz 1983; Pleck 1987; Walkowitz 1992.

27. Giamo (1989:40) reproduces one such illustration from *Darkness and Daylight, or Lights and Shadows of New York Life* (1891) by Helen Campbell, *et. al.*

28. Stansell 1986:66; 195f. An advertising blurb from the late 1850s described one of these works, promising the reader that "the *Vice* and *Villainy* of this immoral city will be revealed, and those who are deepest dyed in Crime and Cruelty will be exposed." The genre extended to non-fiction as well, and from the 1830s on, facts were fitted or invented to cohere to genre requirements (Noel 1954:48, 12).

29. Rosenberg 1971:236, 241. Between 1854 and 1930 over 100,000 children were sent on what are now called the "Orphan Trains." In 1987, the Orphan Train Heritage Society held its first convention, its membership riding with 1980s uncoverings of child abuse and the decade's promotion of victimage.

30. One of my favorite depictions of sleazy urban elements is from Heimel (1991:156):

> They are everywhere, they are a plague on our houses. They spring from the deep abysses of this city's rancid darkness to frighten the simple citizenry. Their eyes gleam red with eager malice as they prowl and drool through the gutters and alleys of our streets. They are a poisonous epidemic, leaving disease and decay in their wake. They are a scourge.
>
> Couples. I hate them. They make me puke.

CHAPTER 8

1. The use of everyday objects as instruments of horror is a common device. It is also a stable of comedy. That is one reason the panic imagery of dope and now youth-adult sex has been perceived as camp and slapstick. The use of everyday objects and one's relation to them is crucial in cultivating "recovered memories" based on the same horror aesthetic.

2. The escape motif became important in 19th and 20th century writings. It is a fundamental American image, seen during the 1970s and 1980s in tales of POW/MIAs that were supposed to be held captive in Southeast Asia. See Bluefarb 1972, Franklin 1992, and Chapter 9 here for American invasion (and capture) panics in the 1980s. There are usually two sorts of alternatives to The Return, engines running the dramatic tension of abduction and captivity narratives. One, the more explicit, is that the victim will not return because she is prevented from doing so by force or death. The other, usually not considered, or written as a vague threat, is that the victim doesn't return because she takes up with her captors. Going native was a major theme in many 17th to 19th century captivity stories, as it was in sexual abuse non-fiction texts.

3. See Starr 1965, Sieminski 1990. Staves (1980:114) notes that 18th century novels are full of tales of young girls who have been raped and/or abducted from their homes, and Noel (1954:154) says that 75% of the adventure stories in the weeklies of the late 19th century featured abduction and captivity.

4. By the mid-1980s, the phrase "[insert name] Dearest" had become popular shorthand for a demonic base hidden by an effusive facade of parental benevolence. In 1993, Fox aired a short-lived show revolving around a man and his father entitled *Daddy Dearest*; the phrase referred to the father (Don Rickles) who was insensitive, loutish, and emotionally abusive. The show was a situation comedy, documentation of sorts that the meanings and values attached to such concepts in the early and mid-1980s had shifted, much as tragedy becomes farce.

5. Thompson 1956:132ff. One of the best examples is Crane's *Maggie*. The book was written in 1893, but privately printed under another name because no one would publish it, not so much for the plot (there were many Fallen Woman stories), but because the girl is more internally strong and because social conditions were so criticized.

6. One of the many amusements offered to fashionable upper class folk in the 19th century was tours of homes for fallen women (Staves 1980:117).

7. Stratford 1988:13, telling her tale of "escape from bondage and captivity" (pp. 16f). It was a bonus tale, a buy-1-get-1-free offer, the story of a suffering child, overlain by how that child, now an adult, suffers again by its retelling. A similar value is added to Crowley's book; she detailed her daughter's suffering from alleged abuse and then added that she too was molested as a child (1990).

8. See Boss 1986, Ebert 1981. For good surveys of films from the "splatter" era that coincided with the child sexual abuse hysteria, see McCarty 1989, and Schoell 1985. Deeply contextualized in ideologies of sleaze, such films were rated according to their ability to shock and disgust, the criteria of good entertainment in this subculture. Films receiving the highest awards from Joe Bob Briggs during the 1980s were *Make Them Die Slowly* (1987:307f, a 98 on the Vomit Meter) and *Demons* (1990:169ff, a 97 on the Vomit Meter). In his section, "The glorification of ugliness," Medved noted a number of films which deal with cannibalism, and especially vomit and urine (1992:108-173, nearly 3 dozen films, mostly from the late 1980s). Morrison, offering examples of horror novels, comments that much of the body transformation horror in the 1980s "is repulsive...and terrifying, and it invariably leads to disillusion and degeneration followed by a (sometimes tragic) reaffirmation of the status quo" (1991:174f).

9. Baudrillard 1988:31, 35. Not exactly an original observation, the society was characterized by many Americans as a death culture during the Vietnam war.

10. See Green 1986 and Grover 1989. The normal healthy body defined and celebrated at this time was for many also a reproducing body and most anti-abortion rhetoric reflected this. It was also present in some pro-choice narratives, reflecting elements of the sex-as-infection and disease ideas from earlier times when the fetus was spoken of as a parasite. And, of course, the anti-drug hysteria was based on ideals of the natural body performing without chemical assistance. Related discourses also came from resurgences in ecology and the widespread popularity of genealogical interests. All of these combined to produce a tremendous emphasis on regeneration, a secular expression of Christian salvation.

11. Professional representation was also affected by large numbers of individuals leaving traditional niches and career paths from the mid-1960s through the mid-1970s, and the rise of "unaffiliated scholar" movements. These aspects of professional change and commercial activity remain unexplored by academic sociologists, largely because the challenges they represent are still too close to home for dispassionate analysis.

12. See Sage 1988. The idea continued into the 20th century via horror novels and film that featured beasts within the body, possessed children, invaded houses, and so on.

13. Slide shows were staples of feminist anti-pornography groups, and some offered tours of stores and movie theaters where sexually explicit materials were available. Also popular during the period were slide shows by anti-abortion groups. Frohock relates how he once asked a Right To Life spokesperson to speak before his class in the early 1980s. The representative wanted to show slides, including "dead fetuses, mutilated fetuses after abortions, some with limbs and torsos severed, chopped up, organs mangled by suction abortion and thrown on the floor or in trash receptacles" (1983:6); similar pictures were used by the groups when picketing. During the Vietnam War, pictures of war deaths and injuries were often seen at demonstrations, especially the My Lai murders.

14. "Victims of pornography" narratives were popular and essential components of this drama. Some of this idea was expressed in 1984 Senate hearings under Arlen Spector, and many were featured in the 1985 Meese Commission hearings. Films and documentaries of the deadly

consequences (from murder, suicide, or disease) of prostitution and/or acting in sex films were promoted in the 1980s, especially on television.

15. Pienciak 1984a. Similar claims were made about "recovered memories," that is, that people would not deliberately choose to recall memories of sexual abuse and assume a victim status, therefore the memories were true.

16. The resistance of women, ethnic groups, and those with varied sexual interests are well known. Gay writers and scholars have sparsely documented the iatrogenic nature of psychiatry and other rehabilitative ideologies, though Duberman (1991) takes a valuable step. The "disabled" also resisted in the early 1980s (E. Kemp 1981), further narrowing the pool of available and receptive customers and further embarrassing would-be helpers and savers. Some portion of this market was reclaimed by "recovered memory" theories.

17. Greven offers similar texts from Christian cults which justify the administration of "controlled severity by the loving hands" of parents (1990:36, 61, *passim*).

18. Causal links have always been used selectively. One example was the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography which, after asserting inevitable contamination from exposure to pornography, attempted to pass laws against various sorts of sexual expression. Exempted from this doom, however, were Commission members themselves, some of whom boasted of how many sex pictures they had to see in the course of their heroic duty, yet they denied they were damaged by the experience.

19. Narratives of sleaze are absolutely necessary in that they set the agenda for rescue and repair, and most particularly for the rituals of cleansing and purification for both victim and villain. Behavioral science arose in close association with religious ideologies (Greven 1990:97, 108ff) and its forensic interests are easily activated by the moral views of its practitioners. Ethnography especially was associated with the functions of confession in which, as a colonial exercise, examined thoughts and practices were articulated and documented by and for an outside governing agency (cf. Klor de Alva 1988).

20. Society... 1989. The statement was written in January, 1988, by Robert Francoeur, approved by the Society's "Committee for Scientific and Professional Affairs" (chaired by Richard Green), and agreed to by Society President Donald Mosher, Executive Director Deborah Weinstein, and William Farrell, photographer of nude children.

21. Trilling 1972; Halttunen 1982; Wilkinson 1983; Orvell 1989; cf. Sontag 1989.

22. Moore (1990) registered concern over children's cosmetics and deodorants as well as rumors of a "Lolita-bra" that would transform or obliterate children's bodies.

23. Schroeder 1938; Edelman 1988. The appearance of shock-appeal as part of the Gothic is based in part on the pessimistic cultural context of the time in which there was widespread suspicion that nothing was real. Child abuse imagery in its Gothic form was a reflection of this in the late 20th century; see Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 9

1. It should be noted that there are types of "the tabooed." One is those subjects or individuals so labeled but used extensively and often playfully by the culture to demonstrate what it means by the forbidden; the category is also used for entertainment and to demonstrate heroic qualities of those (such as clowns) allowed by the culture to deal with dangerous topics. The other is that which is actually fearfully rejected for mention and exploration, such as positive or inconsequential adult-youth sexual relations. Both of these types, often attributed to divine dictates, are products of human sensibilities and are subject to historical fluctuations.

2. A related good-ol-boy 1980's wisdom was "moderation is ok if there's a whole lot of it."

3. Boorstin 1961. Almost a decade before, Wagner was writing in England on "pseudo-environments" (1954:186).

As part of the concern over personal and social authenticity, Halttunen (1982:24) found pervasive fears over the influence of a new phenomenon of the 19th century, the celebrity. It was also a concern with the greatly increased influence of popular culture upon the young. Present in the unease over this new entity was a debate about whether or not celebrities were "real" people and led "real" lives. Further, it is now debated as to whether or not being a celebrity is desireable as adoring fans

become stalking threats. Goldman (1984) believed the "fan hysteria" started December 30, 1942 at a Frank Sinatra concert, with young girls screaming, fainting, etc. Goldman saw the "emergence of a new breed of lonely, love-struck fans who spent their days locked in their rooms, mooning over photos, composing letters or simply conjuring up fantasies about the objects of their desires." Ehrenreich, Hess, and Jacobs (1986:10ff) think that the Beatles were the first celebrities to lay claim to the sexualities of females aged 10-14. But Elvis and others did so well before the Beatles, and some of the 1920s and 30s crooners may have been as influential as well on young teens. These anxieties recall 19th century fantasies over the young reading novels, imagining scenes of romance or ruins, and masturbating.

4. The first public museum opened in 1683 (Hunter 1990:385, note 25). Along with the growth of scientific displays (largely of human mastery over nature) came an increased interest in the occult (aided by the decline of organized religion and the rise of freethought) such as spiritualism or Gothics, and an interest in the criminal and the disastrous. These latter two themes formed part of the basis for discourses of sleaze, as dystopian counters to the neatness of mechanistic science, economic exploitation, and administrative regulation, and as avenues of expression for feminist sensibilities.

5. Cramer 1991; letters from Wexler and others are in the April 1, 1991, (vol. 37, number 3) issue of *Time*, page 8, and in Landers 1991a. Wexler wrote earlier in 1985 that "The problem of child abuse is serious and real. It's the solutions that are phony." A companion article in the same magazine also contained a similar view: "I do not mean to belittle the problem [the experts] have rushed to address: It is real" (Elshtain 1985:24). Academic Elshtain, like her journalistic colleagues, had previously claimed incorrectly that "Today 'kiddie porn' is a regular item in hard-core porn shops," and raged with all the usual liberal banalities against the genre, assigning theoretical assumptions to one and all:

> Here is a nightmarish fantasy world in which the consumer of pornography enjoys a rare illusion of personal power, engages in the pretense of elusive familial tenderness while venting a deep rage, and escapes the perils of adult intimacy in an era of changing sex roles. (1984:19)

6. It continued into the 1990s, when an ad from the Points of Light Foundation promoting volunteerism urged people to "Feel something *real!*" (February 18, 1993). A television ad for Breyers ice cream insisted that "The difference is *real*!" (May 17, 1993). During a period of huge popularity of modem-linked communication, the Discovery channel advertised a contest in which viewers could win a "Real Life Adventure;" "This Is *Real!*" they exclaimed as they urged viewers to "Get Off the Internet" (November, 1994). "Virtual reality" was also attracting a good deal of excited but uneasy attention at this time. The July-August issue of the *Utne Reader* (#82, 1997) had several belated articles on realness and reality for their perplexed readers.

7. FitzGerald 1979:12-16. This became especially clear when in the early 1990s history texts submitted for use in Texas public schools, the nation's largest textbook market, were said to have over four thousand factual errors (Anonymous 1992m; well known Texas text reviewers Mel and Norma Gabler counted 8000 errors).

8. See Lifton, "The counterfeit universe," 1973:163-188. Other armies and nations in other times have fallen back on an increasing reliance on mysticism, self-fulfilling prophecies, increasing demonization of enemies, and an increased adherence and enforcement of ideology.

9. Ivie 1984. Ivie realized that the imagery of savagery is well suited to "the function of victimage."

10. Brians 1987; he correctly observed, "The brutality and violence of these books would be hard to exaggerate."

11. Franklin 1992:48ff, 96, 99. One of Franklin's most interesting examples is of a 1985 excavation of a B-52 crash site in Vietnam. He has a news clipping in his possession which contained the identity of two survivors who were captured (both later released after a few months). This identification in the United Press International (UPI) dispatch would have tended to discourage belief in any POW/MIA from the event. Franklin's subsequent search of other news databases showed no further identification or mention of the two airmen, only a vague representation of the event that worked the other way: to keep alive the doubt of the fate of POW/MIAs. When Franklin returned to review UPI's electronic database, he discovered that the identification of the airmen and other important elements had been purged (pp. 170-176).

12. Jacobs 1992:310. Jacobs, believing he discovered a "hidden world" filled with "secret lives" (p. 29), either ignored the saturation of the culture with abuse and abduction narratives at that time (he's an academic historian), or denied any media influence or collective behavior (pp. 38, 42, 287f). Harvard psychiatrist John Mack (1994) likewise appeared unaware of other cultural sources of the tales and seemed oblivious to the economic and political struggles in which the abuse/abduction narratives were contextualized. Mack's work was challenged and investigated by Harvard officials after he appeared on a popular television show promoting his research, although fellow Harvard psychiatrist Judith Herman's promotion of "recovered memories" received no administrative review. Others were critical, and in another interesting joining of abuse/abduction discourses, at least one came close to accusing abduction tale-tellers of child abuse. Reviewing Strieber's book, *Transformation*, Novak (1988) felt "It's alarming that Strieber has involved his son Andrew, 9, in a potentially troubling fantasy and that he would risk hurting his wife and son..."

13. Hellmann 1986, Dittmar and Michaud 1991. Wilkinson (1983) recognized an extensive genre of "failure of nerve" texts defining the 1980s, covering timidity in politics and economics as well as in military assertiveness.

14. *Advertising Age*, vol. 59, #47, p. 40, November 7, 1988.

15. See Vance 1984, Duggan and Hunter 1995. Victor said the "child advocate frame" which promoted abuse theories had only a surface relationship to feminism (1993:223). The influence of such people as Florence Rush, Louise Armstrong, and many others cannot be ignored by anyone researching the issues, and the splits within British and American feminism had been raging for over a decade before Victor made his mistaken implication of a unified feminism.

16. Long after the height of the panic, *Ms* magazine featured as its cover story a pseudonymous account of a devil cult "survivor" (Rose 1993). The magazine, aligned with the more reactionary wing of feminism, suffered even more ridicule for printing the article without any supporting evidence whatsoever, its only statement to the reader being, "Believe it!"

17. October 25, 1988, NBC. An earlier show (May 16, 1985) was "The devil worshipers," co-produced for *20/20* by Kenneth Wooden, Christian activist and one of the primary promoters of the Satanist scare. For experts, the program presented two police officers (one was Sandy Gallant, former political intelligence agent), and an evangelist. Wooden distributed a guide to ritual abuse (including a checklist of stigmata) to over 3500 prosecuting attorneys around the United States and remained active with his "Child Lures" promotions. An article on Rivera's show (Boyer 1988) noting that sponsors were reluctant to be associated with the topic brought a reply from Wooden (1988), pointing out his expertise on the subject and claiming "violent crimes committed in the name of Satan have become a flood of child molestation, ritual torture, and murder." The Geraldo show continued to promote Satanist conspiracies (e.g., June 28, 1995, recommending the book by Fox and Levin [1994]).

18. As is typical in any panic, this escalation applied to all elements: abduction incidence, extensiveness of Satanism, frequencies of homicides, and of course, drugs. Applebome (1989) and Woodbury (1989) spread the Satanism scare and changed the supposed drug traffic by the Matamoros sect from half a ton of marijuana a month to a ton a week.

19. Feldman 1989:24. Like child abuse cases, courtroom trials are as much an identifiable genre as any mode of fiction (Hariman 1990); prosecutors and reporters especially play upon standard plots and images to define and enforce their views to send people to prison.

20. Alexander 1990, 1991; Hicks 1991a; Richardson, Best, and Bromley 1991; Watters 1991.

21. Concerns in the 1990s shifted emphasis. Lee (1994) warned parents that children need to be supervised in their use of on-line services and to consider the networks a world of strangers. Two anxieties augmented the singular fear of the cyberped (my term, sorry). The overt fear was that kids would "stumble upon" sexual images and be traumatized; the covert fear of course was that kids would seek these representations. The 1995 "Communications Decency Act" purported to restrict access to sexual images said to be immediately available to minors via the Internet. Flawed figures from a study by Marty Rimm in the *Georgetown Law Journal* were further distorted or fabricated by politicians, and *Time* magazine again found itself trying to excuse its misinformation (Elmer-DeWitt 1995a, b). The other fear was a similar anxiety over youth: "on-line addiction." To this end, Lee listed stigmata on the "on-line addict:" the kid is up all hours at the computer, "you walk in the room and the child logs off immediately or blanks his screen," the child gets on "some kind of e-mail mailing list," and the ever-popular "negative change in everyday behavior."

22. An enjoyable variety of this could be called the man-in-the-monster-machine thing. The first "Monster Truck," Bigfoot, was developed about 1974 by Bob Chandler, and by the early 1980s displays and competitions were widespread and expanding their popularity. Grotesque trucks on humongous tires, named with horror and homicidal themes, relished crushing rows of passive, out of date, ordinary cars—much like post World War II demolition derbies but with the 1980s attitude of belligerence. Also at this time the transformer toy gained considerable popularity. Action figures, mostly male, changed ingeniously into and out of machine and/or monster shapes.

23. Studies associating eating disorders and any sort of adult-youth sex began appearing in the mid-1980s; see Thompson 1994:46-68.

24. Psychiatrist Frank Putnam and others, quoted in Goleman 1988a. The parallel with the premodern witch is nearly the same. Witches could also turn at will into animals, disguise themselves as other humans, and so on. A cadre of sorts has developed among those diagnosed with MPD, a variation of the Mental Patients Liberation Front movements of the 1960s and 1970s (diluted by the Eighties "Survivor"); they refer to themselves as "Multiples," taking pride in display and performing their many selves and resisting "full integration"—a truly post-modern way of being.

25. In the remake, where the thing takes over a person and remolds their body in a goopy transformation, the result is much like the idea from the 1978 *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*: "It likes to hide itself." "I don't know who to trust," says one character. Also in tune with the times, the hero replies, "Trust in the Lord."

26. It strikes me that much of the anxious imagery of body transformation that appeared in the 1980s had roots in not only horror traditions (especially from 1950s horror comics, 1960s Italian horror film, and American film from the late 1960s onward), but also in widely viewed sex films from one of their golden ages, the early to late 1970s. Images of the body were shifted significantly then as nudity, sexual postures, genital detail, coital closeups, ejaculation and other fluids and excretions, and other body elements made the private and intimate into images that were publicly revealed and socially shared; related too is the brief flurry of experimentation by many with group sex at the time. In the comedy "explosion" from the mid-1980s, personal bodily functions and sexual feelings and events became the basis for most of the humor. The comedic use of this material (an old show biz tradition) was tied to commentaries on ways of conducting affairs, especially in the context of anxieties that went with relationships in a time of AIDS.

27. See Twitchell (1985:30, note 14) who agrees with the deletion because of a "greater awareness about child molestation," but he says the society fails to appreciate "the social utility of horror."

28. Kahn 1985:133. Johnson (1992) recognized an increase in horror and crime fiction for youth aged 8 up. She cited pop psychologists who said kids like the experience of being thrilled while still feeling "in control" and being able to experience aggression without "going all the way," as psychiatrist Lenore Terr put it. They saw no cause for concern; besides, "books force kids to use their reading skills." A brief television report in 1993 again raised the issue of horror texts for children. Youngsters were shown reading aloud violent portions of the novels, but the report was light in tone, the kind of fluff tagged onto the end of newscasts (CNN *Headline News*, August 15, 1993). One can only imagine what would happen if erotic fiction were written for these ages.

29. Cawelti 1976:48. Campbell (1992:68) recalled that as a boy he "suffered from sleepless nights after seeing *Snow White*." Horror actor Robert Englund (Freddy Krueger) saw *The Bad Seed* when he was nine and said of Patty McCormack's character, "For years I was frightened of girls with pigtails" (*Entertainment Weekly*, October 21, 1994, p. 82). In the 1930s there was considerable anxiety over the real or imagined effects of movies on children; a number of educators offered accounts of students who appeared to be disturbed (or excited) by horror and crime movies, genre then in full development (see Skal 1993:202ff).

30. See Black and Parfrey 1988, Toomer 1988, and Black 1994 for developments from the late 1970s through the 1980s.

CHAPTER 10

1. "The End Of Innocence" (May 5, 1993) on the Kelly Michaels case.

2. Gays and lesbians were by no means unified in supporting critical examinations of adult-youth sex. Gay media could offer the same careless reporting common to their straight colleagues. A detailed letter from Tom Reeves (1982) documents the false stories spread by the *Boston Globe* and radio stations WEEI and WRKO, stories uncritically accepted by *Gay Community News*. See Bearchell 1985 on Canada's 1984 "Badgley Report;" *Sexual Offenses Against Children* asserted that 50% of Canadian women had endured "unwanted sexual acts." Given the expansive definition, the figure may be too low, but it was used politically to mean youth-adult sex. A later mainstream article on the Canadian hysteria (Amiel 1988) noted the influence of British forces on Canada but said nothing about American sources.

3. Letter from Cranston, September 21, 1983; citizen reply, October 4, 1983. Letter from Doolittle to Jones, August 10, 1989; letter from Jones to Doolittle, August 18, 1989; Jones press release, August 18, 1989. Doolittle, like Cranston and many others continued to claim that "the child pornography industry" was rapidly expanding, and that half of all commercial sex magazines were child pornography. In 1991, Cranston was mildly reprimanded by the U.S. Senate for taking $850,000 from banker and anti-erotica crusader Charles E. Keating, Jr., to intercede on Keating's behalf in his savings and loan rackets.

4. The idea is basically one developed within the new sciences of human behavior in the 19th century, drawing upon 18th century worries over violent mobs overthrowing royalty and disrupting business, and 19th century masculinist gender role anxieties. It is a product of structural/functionalist schools of thought, ones that see causal connections between social strain and mass movements. "Hysteria" sees collective behavior as irrational, abnormal, or psychopathic, just as Victor (1993) erroneously used the word "bizarre" several dozen times to describe the Satanist scare. The hysteria, which *is* the correct description, was rather a confluence of traditional elements of America's professional, political, and popular cultures. The institutions, and the people they select for as members, are iatrogenic and it will continue to happen.

5. Elshtain 1985:23. The editorial lead-in to Barrie's (1992) article begins "A peculiarly British hysteria about the realities of child sex abuse." The hysteria in fact was extremely similar in the United States, Britain, Canada, and Australia. Initially Europe remained more rational, though later there were several severe attacks against abuse critics, pedophiles, and youth on the continent.

6. Critics were often afraid to speak up only to be branded as child molesters (Elshtain 1985). The Eberles report that experts asked to testify for the defense at the McMartin trial were pressured and intimidated by the Los Angeles District Attorney's office, as well as receiving negative pressures from their own colleagues (1993:307, 376, 404). See also note 42.

7. TRB 1985:42, ignoring seven years of critique. Bullough said "we are not agreed as a society on exactly what constitutes sexual abuse" (1985:52); Pride (1986) from another perspective also pointed out many definitional problems of the time.

8. Ofshe and Watters 1994:294, similar to remarks made by Densen-Gerber, and by Ellen Bass whom they quote from a 1992 interview they held with her. In it, Bass offered several explanations of repression and recovery and saw her own views as "common sense." She later commented, "if we waited for scientific knowledge to catch up, we could just forget the whole thing" (p. 29f).

9. One partial exception is by Nathan and Snedeker (1995), but they ultimately return to restate the mundane and incorrect assumption of the universal pathological nature of the relationships.

10. The short-lived exposure of parental kidnapping in the early 1980s challenged the belief that most children were abducted by strangers and pedophiles. Abrahms (1983, 1985) noted that most kidnappers in the country were parents in custody disputes, a fact documented since the mid-1970s. Whitman's article (1985) raised three issues that had been and would continue to be ignored by the rest of the popular media: that most missing children were runaways (and soon returned home, willingly or not) fleeing an abusive and/or intolerable environment, that kidnapping parents frequently represented physical and emotional dangers to their own children, and that the hysteria was escalated in part by the proliferation of phony child-find groups and fund raising schemes with vested interests in exaggerated images of villainy and suffering.

11. Those cited, plus Whitman 1985; Fritz and Altheide 1987; Budiansky 1988; Gentry 1988; Best 1990.

12. Landers 1990. Wexler followed up these complaints with a letter (Landers 1991e).

13. Nathan 1988a. There was a reply by Lisa Manshel, with followup letters to Manshel's piece. A gullible book account appeared in 1990 by Manshel, but other looks at the case confirm Nathan's critical examination.

14. Donegan 1993b. The article, like many others, talks mostly about sexual abuse to maintain reader interest but offers figures only for a more generic "child abuse." In either case, by the article's own admission, reports of each remain severely flawed in quantity and quality. In late 1995, a tabloid television show (*20/20*, "Truth on trial," September 8, 1995) admitted that of 30 day care abuse cases prosecuted in the 1980s, two-thirds of them had collapsed, but no thorough study has been done. Prosecutors still bragged on their high rates of conviction, based on the assumption that all such sexual contact is abuse and all accusations correct, as if this were proof of their good intentions and legitimacy of the laws. Thus reporters and prosecutors may then claim, as did Lindee Bordini, chief of the family violence unit, Bexar County (Texas), that one "rarely deals with cases of false or maliciously false accusations" (Donegan 1993b).

15. On *Front Page* (July 24, 1993, Fox), Bass said that over 650,000 copies of the book had been sold as of July, 1993. When asked if she felt any responsibility that people were using her book to make false allegations, Bass confidently said that most of the parents who claim innocence are really guilty. The Souzas had also been the focus of a segment of the *Larry King Live* show (CNN, May 7, 1993). Rabinowitz (1993) referred to the book as "the current bible for neurotics," but this takes attention away from political and historical forces that contextualize the book.

16. "Innocence Lost: The Verdict," *Frontline*, Public Broadcasting System; part 1: July 20, 1993, part 2: July 21, 1993. Written, produced, and directed by Ofra Bikel.

17. A made-for-television film on the McMartin trials was aired in mid-1995 (*Indictment: The McMartin Trial*). While highly critical, the film's superior production values deflected attention from its melodramatic stylization (the soundtrack uses B-movie violins and chorus voices for suspense enhancement). The local news media were shown in their usual feeding frenzies but generally got off easy. The film supported demonization of the pedophile and took the overall position that the system will right itself with truth and justice for all prevailing in the end.

18. Hollingsworth 1986:55f. The narrative is apparently based on a video made of the interview. Quotes are given in dialogue form, but the inner thoughts and emotions of the boy are also given to reinforce the interrogator's image of gentle inquiry and of the child as trusting, "guileless" (p. 53), and a "cherub" (p. 68).

19. Cartwright 1994. It's an old professional tradition. In reviewing Wertham's famous *Seduction of the Innocent*, Denney (1954:18) noted that Wertham's own interviews "appear to record the uneasy spectacle of children [who] tell their interviewer what they guessed he wanted to hear."

20. Hopkins' article also contained the suggestion by Alan Levy and Arthur Green, both of New York's Presbyterian Hospital, that women who were abused as children will often make false allegations of abuse of their own children, another twist to the abused-become-abusers formula.

21. Lasch 1978, Gross 1978. This late 1970s criticism was itself a continuation of dissatisfaction with older psychological approaches (Rieff 1966, Jacoby 1975). See Wilkinson 1983 for context.

22. Reiff 1991. Boyle (1994:107) cited a January 23, 1993 news story by Malcolm Ritter ("Studies show wide variation in child's response to sexual abuse"). See Bower 1993a, 1993b and Anonymous 1994e.

23. Kitzinger 1988. The confused article is torn between insights into the hysteria and a reliance on clichéd assumptions about adult-youth sex. Her glimpse of British popular media indicates the same form and content as American imagery; see also Jenkins 1992. Some years ago, Russell (1950) remarked that the totally innocent child, despite attributions of divine connections, is a figure that necessarily lacks any real power. To give such a child effective and authentic power would be a corruption of purity and virtue. From the 1940s on, and especially with the rise of children's movements in the late 1960s, society was faced with many adults wanting to give children and youth more power, and (more frightening) youth simply taking more powers. Russell saw that protectionism was the only way open for many adults to retain their own sense of place and purpose, defined as superior and deserved.

24. Wright 1994:24f. She had previously accused a man of attempted rape (no charges filed; the man had put his hand on her knee), and accused a neighbor of sexual abuse (no charges filed; her accounts varied too much). Both of her charges originated in contexts of fundamentalist revivals that encouraged emotionally charged confessions and religious rebirth.

25. Two were shown on television. One was of the girl frowning; the therapist said this was sadness caused by abuse. The other family photo, that of a young girl in her panties climbing into a bathtub, was said by the therapist to be "child pornography."

26. Taylor 1994; *20/20*, "My Family, Forgive Me" (July 22, 1994). The television melodrama gave some history and built tension ("Will they forgive her?") to a climax of tearful reunions.

27. Goldstein 1992, McHugh 1992, Anonymous 1993f, Loftus and Ketcham 1994; Goldstein and Farmer (1993) collected a number of revealing and damaging accounts of the production of "recovered memories." There appeared in the 1990s individuals calling themselves "Retractors," those who had made charges against others of abuse but then recanted, usually claiming to have been led or coerced by therapists, prosecutors, or police (a newsletter, *The Retractor: Survivors of Recovered Memory*) was published 1992-1994).

28. Two *Frontline* shows (PBS) tried to document the controversy (part I: "The hunt" [April 4, 1995] and part II: "A house divided" [April 11, 1995], written, produced and directed by Ofra Bikel). While moderately successful, like other journalistic endeavors the shows avoided fundamental issues, and disturbingly featured people in the emotional throes of therapy. Allowing such use of their clients may constitute unethical practice by therapists. "Recovered memories," like claims of Satanism, are among the easiest of targets for criticism. Disputes over "recovered memories" also came up in other areas, especially among those claiming to have been abducted by aliens; see Goertzel 1994. The idea keeps its allure; Bowman (1997) suggests that "recovered memories" may come from children's past lives.

29. Troy Stokes, a well known Texas gay activist and one of the few vocal critics of the child sexual abuse hysteria throughout the 1980s, often referred to "the Church of Clientology" when speaking of populations targeted by professional careers and the manner in which such customers were treated. Hughes (1993) saw much of the religious ethos of victimhood rooted in Puritan traditions, a view taken here, though I emphasize popular, professional, and political mechanisms that keep such traditions traditional. In the 1960s, a number of men and women left the clergy to become secular psychologists, but by the early 1980s, the trend had reversed. The sciences became attractive to religious believers who exercised varying degrees of activism (Creationists referred to themselves as scientists; others entered science to demonstrate divine intentions behind material phenomena). Psychology and social work in particular attracted believers. The fields offered chances to operate personal ministries, and while the social and behavioral sciences had always had some liberal religious precepts at their roots, from the mid-1970s more conservative and fundamentalist conceptions began to shape method and theory. Further, there was a reconceptualization of religion from a psychopathological to a "psychospiritual" disposition, and therapy took on "spiritual validation" as one of its tasks. The movements caught slight popular notice, usually historically incorrect (Anonymous 1994d; see also Goleman 1991). The popular works of M. Scott Peck (e.g., 1983) who had been "born again" in 1980, helped allow the entry of a concept of evil into therapeutic and political practice. It became much easier to sanctify the child and demonize the pedophile via such assumptions after they became a part of science.

30. Anonymous 1993d. Not noted in these revelations was the long institutional history of coercion and abuse by psychiatry. An activist who helped lay the basis for the sex abuse hysteria had to play catchup, publishing an exposé of psychiatric child abuse that only echoed critiques from the 1960s and early 1970s (Armstrong 1978, 1993). In Texas, a 1991 inquiry into "patient bounty hunting" by for-profit mental health institutions resulted in a national investigation that closed nearly 40 Texas units by 1995. Charter Medical Corporation stayed and, without admitting guilt, paid 1.5 million dollars in expenses, vowed to adhere to "minimum admission and assessment standards," and to provide some free care to Texas youngsters. The investigation was based on complaints involving a teen taken from his home by security guards without a court order and against his grandparent's permission. The psychiatrist who detained the youth was not charged with abduction or child abuse but was convicted for financial misdeeds, sentenced to five months in a halfway house and three years of "supervised release." Dr. Timothy Bowlan's hope was that his crime should "not deter physicians...from being assertive in the areas of suspected child abuse" (Price 1994).

31. Mazur and Pekor 1985, Linell Smith 1993. The latter article led off with Gloria Goldfaden, founder of Maryland's People Against Child Abuse, Inc., a chapter of the National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse, saying indignantly that she hardly ever heard of any anxiety over touching children and exclaiming, "Why are we even talking about this when child abuse is rampant?" An

unsigned side column to Smith's article urged people to "Follow your instincts with kids, expert says," and another ("Media criticized for 'excessive' approach to topic") offered the remarks of a few media critics but hedged the impact and avoided their responsibility by placing the word excessive in quotes.

32. Many readers reacted negatively to her advice, but Landers insisted, saying "I wouldn't have given that advice 10 years ago, but times have changed." To prove her point she provided a confessional letter supposedly from a man imprisoned for sex crimes in which he claimed friendly boys "will be sexually molested many times before...the age of 12" (Landers 1989).

33. Hollingsworth 1986:135. Her only complaint of injustice here is that she felt this is another form of rape the children had to go through, and implies that children should just be believed and those they name automatically arrested and imprisoned.

34. McHugh 1992:505, 506. Evidence that physical and psychological "diseases" can come from cultural sources had been provided by social science for decades. The professional vehemence in abuse accusations in large part derives from the extensive doubt cast from the late 1950s into the mid-1970s upon expert competence and authority, and from the prioritizing of subjective views. Professionals were in an awkward position of wanting minimize subjectivist challenges to authority while trying to maintain the value of personal perspectives as vehicles for professional evaluation and income.

35. Wexler 1990:28, 1985. Pride (1986) reflected a conservative view of this, and Eberle and Eberle took a liberal approach (1986, 1993). The newsletters of VOCAL speak of profound failures of law enforcement and social service and the irrational meanness of individuals in zealous over-prosecution. Wexler's comment on destroying things in order to save them was uttered by many observers. The phrase has entered the American lexicon as disparagement toward experts who claim competence and goodwill and demand allegiance and obedience to their dictates, but whose behavior results only in decimation of all involved. Justifying the obliteration of Ben Tre City by U.S. and South Vietnamese forces during the 1968 Tet offensive, an unidentified Major said "It became necessary to destroy the town to save it" (Weintraub 1968). It was a wonderful expression of the political and military mentality of the time.

36. Nathan 1988b; 1987, 1990a; Kanof later became an Assistant U.S. Attorney. Eberle and Eberle (1993) also relayed remarks from several others wanting the investigation and prosecution of prosecutors.

37. Rabinowitz 1990:60f. See Eberle and Eberle 1993 for possible judicial misconduct in the McMartin case. The experience of wrongful prosecution and incarceration was not limited to abuse cases; at least one popular book was published to console those convicted during the period's frenzy to imprison people (Yant 1991).

38. Barrie 1992:22. Hicks (1991a) provides a good deal of documentation of a similar circularity of self-validating and self-fulfilling authority among police, therapists, clergy, and the press. An important purpose of circularity is to maintain purity of discourse, accomplished by several filters, one of which is the suppression of contrary data. U.S. Prosecutor Ruth Nordenbrook tried to stop publication of Stanley's 1989 article (Stanley, personal communication, May 6, 1990). The *Journal of Sex Research* rejected a paper on positive adult-youth sex after one reviewer said sex with juveniles was "wrong" (the paper was published elsewhere). Pat LaFollette's seized content analysis coding sheets were described by Los Angeles detective Garry Lyon as "child pornography order forms," a common police tactic done because of political reasons or incompetence. This process, common to many ideological contests, was pointed to earlier in the child abuse panic by Parton (1985:89) who noted that the "control culture" offers a (usually limited) definition of issues and terms which is accepted and reproduced by the mass media. Media reproduction attaches traditional images to the control culture's views. These images and scenarios now appear to be an objective and independent reality. The experts then use the mass media as authorization and justification; the professional culture offers similar comforts by citing each other as they build their careers. See also note 50.

39. Rabinowitz 1990:56. That they are encouraged in their imagination is the whole point.

40. Rabinowitz 1990:58. Under a direct leading question by prosecutor Sara McArdle the boy shifted to agree with her interpretation and said he meant he "hoped" it was all lies (p. 61). Eberle and Eberle also documented similar interrogation techniques in the McMartin case by MacFarlane (1993:153, 187-199, 201f, 365) and her assistant Sandra Krebs (pp. 373, 388). A parallel scandal in the helping professions was the exposure of "facilitated communication" as a means of breaking

through to autistic children. Adherents of the method (by which the facilitator guides the hands of autistic youth to keypads to tap out messages) formed extremely tight organizations with a cult-like commitment, seeing themselves as another form of 1980s child savers. The method was used to testify in court that the children had "communicated" that they had been sexually abused, usually by their parents. Independent research finally showed that it was the facilitator constructing the messages.

41. Hicks 1991a and Victor 1993 see the media as fundamental to the hysteria, though they acknowledge critical voices when they appeared. Sociologist Victor, however, believed that "moral claims don't originate in the mass media" (1993:210). Even for an academic, it is surprising to see such ignorance of the extensive research on journalistic practices in which reporters overtly take activist roles, deliberately select some sources and silence others, and fabricate statements and events, particularly during the period he was researching. For a more general view, see Valenstein 1986.

42. Rabinowitz 1990:53. A related reaction was mentioned by Kaminer. When she voiced criticism of the "recovery movement," she was attacked with "evangelical fervor" (1992:3). Eberle and Eberle (1993) throughout their book report on instances of disbelief, flight, or hate when they challenged peoples' certainty about the guilt of the McMartin defendants. When Tavris criticized the "incest-survivor machine" (1993), she felt "the polarization among professionals is now so bad that researchers are quickly branded as being on one side or the other," and that "you feel you have to apologize for any support you might be providing to molesters, rapists, pedophiles and other misogynists." Aside from the simple-minded homogenization of her named groups, she was writing nearly fifteen years after the hysteria began; her late-coming, easy, and obvious critique occurred at a much safer time. Still, in reply Bass and Davis responded that such "backlash" was only due to "the need to distance ourselves from human cruelty," missing the criticism of injustice and bigotry; doing exactly what Tavris said the reaction would, E. Sue Bloom lumped Tavris in with those "molesters, rapists, pedophiles, and other misogynists" (letters, *New York Times Book Review*, February 14, 1993, VII:-3, 27). Journalism instructor Gerald Hannon was suspended from Ryerson Polytechnical University (Toronto) for his critical view of media and police conduct over adult-youth sex, commenting, "I don't think such relationships are automatically bad" ("Prof backs adult-kid sex," blared a November 15, 1995 *Toronto Sun* headline). Nathan said her critical reports resulted in false accusations of child maltreatment against her (Nathan and Snedeker 1991:ix). My own experiences have been similar: professional reactions were usually ruthless and vindictive, but on the bright side they did lack the death threats promised me by the citizenry, though one graduate student, trembling with rage, said he wanted "to do violence" to me.

43. Miller 1992. See Groner 1991 for an account of the case with essential data that were available to the writers and producers but ignored. Thaler (1994) was disturbed that two television films on the Amy Fisher case with diametrically opposed points of view were aired, "yet two major networks evidently proceeded...as if the truth, quite possibly not on their side, was beside the point." Professor Thaler seems unaware that it *is* beside the point; Miller's issue of ethics is specious, for public relations only.

44. The other side of this at that time was the popularity of historical fiction in which real characters and events were reconstructed in fictional contexts.

45. Katutani 1980 and Lardner 1984 raised the issue early in the hysteria but they were paid little or no attention.

46. Wooden 1985b:60. He was trying to legitimize the missing children issue, although he minimized the role of parental abduction. His statement seems ironic in view of his own continued "Child Lures" program, but much of this early criticism was directed at liberal and secular methodologies.

47. Carlson 1985. Pro-choice sympathies contribute to child abuse, he says, referring to an anti-abortion article by Ney (1979; also Pride 1986:34, and pp. 236f, note 7).

48. Gratteau and Gibson noted in 1985 the lack of substantiation for Huebner's activities, but it took two more years for the news to be admitted to Texas markets: Hendricks 1987.

49. Nobile 1990a, Baker 1990, Sennott 1992. Some criticism was raised earlier, such as financial mismanagement, but basic issues were not examined. McIntosh 1983 and Grothaus 1985 passed along the usual press release hype, but noted comments by local officials that Ritter's representation of youth prostitution was exaggerated and that Covenant House actually aggravated the area's crime scene.

50. Waller 1991. The idea that there was "widespread" support for adult-youth sexual relationships is not supported by any evidence. The *idea* that there was extensive acceptance of pedophilia was based upon the increased popularity of conspiracy theories generally in the 1980s, and by a tendency of reactionary thought to turn in that direction for explanation.

An interesting outcome of increased criticism was the emergence of reversed conspiracy theories, that is, rather than child abuse being a product of an international pedophile conspiracy, the hysteria itself became a conspiracy. Paul and Shirley Eberle fall for this in their book on the McMartin trials. One friend of the defendants believed the children and their stories were purposely planted in the school to set up the Buckeys. There were suspicions of coverups with the federal government involved working overtly with funding, covertly with pressure for convictions (1993:178); "McMartin was only a piece of a much larger, extremely sinister agenda," said the Eberles (p. 341). They did provide some evidence that could be used in this view, including three mysterious deaths of participants whose testimony would have been damaging to the prosecution (pp. 119f). Also used as conspiracy evidence is the extensive networking among law, mental health, and medical professionals; "a vast consortium of molestation hunters," and a "nationwide network of corrupt prosecutors, physicians, psychologists, social workers, law enforcement officials, public officials, and media figures..." said the Eberles (p. 179). There is also "a federal molestation hierarchy, apparently orchestrated by the National Association of District Attorneys" (cf. Hicks 1991a, Victor 1993, Nathan and Snedeker 1995 on professional networking). The Eberles said that many VOCAL members believe that the child sex abuse hysteria is "only a small component of a larger agenda to separate children from their parents and indoctrinate them," to establish the government as the authority over children rather than the family (pp. 348, 350), or "an agenda to compel mindless conformity and blind obedience" (p. 409). So too with the homogeneity of media coverage. The Eberles speculated that "It seemed more likely that they were just obeying orders. But in whose name were the orders given?" (p. 354).

The networking and cross-influencing of ideas and techniques alone is substantial and real enough to drive one to conspiracy dramas, but my point is that the ordinary, business as usual structure of everyday activity and value as institutionalized in professional, political, and popular cultures is responsible for the madness. There may indeed be plots to covertly and/or illegally buttress the successes and authority of this ideology (history is full of this evidence, particularly where governments are concerned, and more may be uncovered as the hysteria is further investigated), but secret plots are not needed to explain certain life-spans of cultural savagery.

51. *The Nation* reprinted a portion of a 1986 fund raising appeal from CDTL in which Keating invites members to lay hands upon their membership card and "Feel the bond with me, and with the hundreds of thousands of decent, God-fearing people across the country who stand in unbending line against the forces of absolute evil" (vol. 249, #20, December 11, 1989, p. 708).

52. Camper 1990. In the article there are a few allusions to Bettelheim's harsh interpersonal manners but these are excused and there is no mention of physical abuse.

53. Letters to *Society*, vol 28, #5, 1991, pp. 6-9; letters to *Commentary* magazine, vol. 91, #2 (February), pp. 6, 8-12, 1990.

54. Waters 1986. "Being open-minded," he had lunch with the defendants but used them and the issue only to display his role of extoller of trash. He did mention that he tried to get a sense of what they were going through by attending a showing of *The Care Bears Movie* in his usual sunglasses; he reports suspicious looks and comments by theater staff, with mothers moving their children away from him. See also "How not to make a movie" in the same volume where he comments that he is puzzled by youth-adult sex, "since everybody knows that the whole reason to have sex is because cigarettes taste better afterward, [so] don't these molesters feel foolish being there naked as a six-year-old hacks away on his first Lucky Strike?" (pp. 124-133).

55. January 24, 1993. In a later *Outland* strip (March 13, 1994), Opus accuses Milquetoast the roach of pouring drain cleaner down his nose, but the roach replies, "I feel abused that you're abusing your power to begrudge me my ABUSE!" Opus confesses he's "an abuse abuser." Milquetoast readies another dose of drain cleaner.

56. January 21, 1993. In a later strip (April 7, 1995), Calvin says a bad grade damages his self-esteem, but his teacher tells him to work harder. Calvin retorts, "Your denial of my victimhood is lowering my self-esteem!"

57. *Funny Times*, vol. 8, #4 (April), 1993, p. 6.

58. Missing Children Trading Cards appeared as a spoof in the December, 1986, issue of the *NAMBLA Bulletin* (vol. 7, #10, p. 11) at a time when satire was less safe and less appreciated. Trading cards, traditionally limited to sports figures, underwent considerable thematic expansion from the late 1980s, venturing into such areas as cars, political figures, and erotica stars. Cards featuring criminals, especially serial killers, came in for considerable criticism, fearing for the mental health of children. The legislatures of New York and Maryland wanted to ban any depiction of violence to anyone under 18; some supporters admitted issues of free speech were involved, "but not for children," they insisted, continuing the use of children as a way around problematic Constitutional issues (National Public Radio, April 24, 1992).

59. The other two "waves" for Gardner were the late 17th century New England witch trials, and the 1950s anti-communist purges. For many, the witchhunt concept included this comparison to the McCarthy period. From the opposite direction, Professor Raschke said of the epidemic of ritual child sex abuse he believed was occurring, "America has not truly known evil until today" (1992:403). Critics of the hysteria often made comments of this sort, displaying the usual American lack of historical consciousness. Not mentioned are the lengthy genocidal campaigns against Native Americans, racist terror against non-whites, antisemiticism, political pogroms against leftists in the 1880s, 1920s, and 1960s, popular and professional cleansings of sexual variants, especially of homosexuals, gender tyranny, and so on. Such neglect promotes a view of hysterias as historically isolated exceptions rather than as ordinary institutional and individual practice, as everyday American life.

60. After she had spent five years in jail. All charges were finally dropped in December, 1994.

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INDEX

20/20 (ABC) 219, 225, 250, 253-254
48 Hours (CBS) 202, 208

A Current Affair (ABC) 29, 219, 231, 245
A Mother's Right 218
A Physician 238
abortion 40, 44, 62, 126, 221, 244, 247, 256
Abrahms, Sally 252
abstinence *see* chastity
abused-become-abusers 16, 21, 64, 71, 85, 103, 253
Adam, Barry 140
Adams, Scott 224
addiction 140, 151, 196
  drug 76, 95, 120
  sexual 83, 87, 95, 141, 213, 238, 244
  to comic books 100
  to computers 250
  to tobacco 75, 95
  to young females 43
  to young males 64
advertising 103-105, 131-133, 187, 240
Advertising Age 105, 230, 250
advice columns 45-47
African-Americans 58-59, 100, 133, 190, 228, 237
age at first coitus 42, 232
Agnew, Joe 77
AIDS 40, 42, 71, 106, 127, 139, 172, 181, 192, 194, 237, 251
Alali, A. Odasuo & Kenoye Eke 235
Alan Guttmacher Institute 45, 209
Albert, Edward 192
Alexander, David 250
Alger, Horatio 12
Alien 197
alien abduction *see* captivity narratives
Altenberg, Peter 27
Altheide, David 217
Altman, Dennis 192
Aman, Reinhold 154
American Association of Sex Educators, Counselors, and Therapists 41
American Civil Liberties Union 65
American Family Association 30
American Medical Association 42, 212
American Psychiatric Association 212
American Psychological Association 212
American Nightmare 160
America's Most Wanted 220
Amerika (ABC) 188
Amiel, Barbara 252
Amirault family case 147, 215, 245
anarchism 15, 128, 202
Anarchy 202
Andelin, Helen 29, 230
Anderson, Bill 235
Angres, Ronald 223
Annihilators, The 126
Anslinger, Harry 76-77, 93
  & Will Ousler 76, 237
  & William Thompkins 76
anti-circumcision movement 70
anti-clericalism 71
anti-cult movement (*see also* deprograqmming) 72
anti-tobacco movement 75
  Joe Camel 104
Applebaum, Irwin 193
Applebome, Peter 250
Applegate, Christina 35
Applewhite, James 155, 157
Arax, Mark & Bill Billiter 237
Ariès, Philippe 2-3, 92
aristoff, n. s. 229
Aristophanes 26
Aristotle 24
Armbrister, Trevor 218
Armstrong, Louise 168, 250, 254
Arnold, Roseanne 213
Ashcraft, Richard 58
Astin, Patty Duke 234
atheism 15, 62, 92, 109, 111, 128, 184, 235, 239, 249
Atlanta Constitution 102
atrocity story 166, 193-194
Auden, W. H. 157
Augustine, Aurelius 99, 144, 158
Avery, Gillian 14, 19, 98, 228

baby-doll fashion 29-30, 230
Babysitter, The 234
Bachelor and the Bobby Soxer, The 32
Bad Seed, The 228, 251
Bade, Patrick 229
Baer, Donald 220
Bailyn, Bernard 114
Baker, Mark 229
Baker, Russell 256
Baldick, Chris 244
Balthus (Balthasar Klossowski de Rola) 28
Balun, Charles 245
Banta, Martha 25-26, 128, 134, 136, 161, 169
Banta, Melissa & Curtis Hinsley 243
Bark, Ed 69
Barker, Clive 241
& Dennis Etchison 241
Barker, Martin 100, 239
Barker, Sandra 192
Barker-Benfield, G. J. 86, 238-239
Barlay, Stephen 56
Barnardo, Thomas John 243
Barnes, Dick 206
Barrie, Edward 203-204, 209, 214, 216, 221, 252, 255
Barron, Stephanie 243
Barry, Kathleen 237
Barrymore, Drew 37-38, 231-232
Bartov, Omer 233
Bass, Ellen 252-253
& Laura Davis 206, 256
Bates, Frank 72
Baudelaire, Charles Pierre 26
Baudrillard, Jean 172, 178, 247
Beals, Ross 3
Bearchell, Chris 252
Beatles, The 249
Beavis & Butthead 31
Begbie, Harold 80-81
Believers, The 236
Bell, Ernest 81, 84
Bellmer, Hans 28
Bennett, Peter 146
Benthan, Jeremy 157
Bentley, Dorie 42
Bercovitch, Sacvan 17
Berends, Polly 236
Berkhofer, Robert 58
Berlin, Fred 147
Bernheimer, Richard 57-58
Berry, Jason 235
Bersani, Leo 203, 209
Besharov, Douglas 203, 205
Best, Joel 237, 252
Betrayed by Innocence 37
Bettelheim, Bruno 198, 222-223, 257
Bey, Hakim 229
Big 196
Bikel, Ofra 253-254
Billington, Ray Allan 67
Billington-Greig, Teresa 84, 237-238
birth control 40, 81, 93
Birth of a Nation 233
Bisticas-Cocoves, Marco 64
Black, Bob 251
& Adam Parfrey 251
Black Sheets 245
Blake, William 11, 13
Blanchard, Phyllis 232
Blatty, William 228
Blinken, Anthony 230
Boodbath at the House of Death 243
Bloom, Allan 101
Bloom, E. Sue 256
Bluefarb, Sam 246
Blumenthal, Ralph 222
Blumer, Herbert & Philip Hauser 239
Boas, George 11
Boberach, Heinz 233
body 169, 247, 251
hatred 98, 158, 171-173, 176, 233
stimulated 132, 154
suffering 62, 85, 94, 157, 162, 164, 169, 171, 247
transformation 139-140, 142, 162, 170-171, 194-197, 247-248, 251
Body Politic, The 202
Bogdan, Robert 136
bondage 46, 63
Boop, Betty 228
Boorstin, Daniel 184, 248
Booth, Leo 141
Bordini, Lindee 253
Borowitz, Helen 28
Boss, Pete 247
Bossy, John 238
Boston Globe 252
Boswell, John 63, 234
Booth, Michael 134
Bouza, Tony 79, 232
Bowen, Louise de Koven 97
Bower, Brue 253
Bowland, Timothy 254
Bowles, Paul 20
Bowman, Carol 254
Boy Scouts 69, 125, 171, 189
Boyer, Peter 250
Boylan, James 219
Boyle, John 170
Boyle, Patrick 125, 170, 253
Boyle, Thomas 245

Boys of St. Vincent, The 235
Brace, Charles Loring 26, 169-170, 237
Bradford, Krista 39, 231
Brady, James 245
Braga, Joe & Laurie 208
Brain, Robert 12
brain washing (*see also* seduction) 71-72
Brami, Joseph 240
Brand, Dana 158
Brandon, Jay 36
Brann, William Cooper 59
Break the Silence (CBS) 124
Brean, Herbert 76
Breathed, Berkeley 223-224
Breault, Marc & Martin King 236
Brecher, Edward 235
Bremner, Robert 238
Brent, Bill 245
Brians, Paul 249
Briggs, Joe Bob 247
Briggs, Sheila 53
Brissenden, R. F. 111, 133, 156, 172, 241
Broken Angels 70
Broken Blossoms 60
Bromley, David, *et. al.* 194
Brooke, Christopher 58
Brotherhood of Satan 236
Brothers, Joyce 47
Browder, Clifford 62
Brown, Herb 213, 215
Brown, Herbert 75, 114, 239
Brown, Peter 161
Browne, Gerald 33-34
Bryant, Anita 64, 66-67
Bryson, Jodi 230
Budiansky, Stephen 252
Bullough, Vern 209, 217, 221, 252
Burchard, John 49
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, & Firearms (ATF) 73, 236
Burke, Thomas 60, 234
Burkett, Elinor & Frank Bruni 235
Burns, E. Bradford 188
Burt, Daniel 117
Büssing, Sabine 21, 33
Buttafuoco, Joey 38-39, 126, 231, 245
Bytwerk, Randall 54-56, 233

Cabinet of Dr. Caligari, The 128
Cable News Network (CNN) 31, 73, 251
Caldwell, Patricia 149
Caldwell, Taylor 21
Califia, Pat 202
Calvin and Hobbes 224, 257
Calvin, John 17, 108, 240
Calvinsm 3, 11, 17, 20
Camille, Michael 227, 229, 233
Campbell, Ramsey 251
Campbell, Robert 35, 160
Camper, John 257
Camporesi, Piero 234
Canby, Vincent 21
Cannon, Ralph 239
Caplan, Arthur 236
Captain January 32
captivity narratives 73, 166-168, 188, 246-247
  UFOs 189-190, 224, 254
Care Bears Movie 257
Carlson, Allan 203, 214, 221, 256
Carnes, Patrick 141, 148, 244
Carroll, Lewis (Charles Dodgson) 29, 229
Carroll, Noël 143
Carter, Angela 39, 232
Cartwright, Gary 225, 253
Carver, Charles 59
Casanova, Giacomo 110
Castle, Terry 113, 137, 239
castration 94
Casualties of Love 231
Cawelti, John 200, 251
Cecil, Robert 233
celebrity 248-249
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) 236
Chamberlain, Houston Stewart 56
Chandler, Raymond 155
Charlton, D. G. 26, 229
Charters, W. W. 239
Chase-Marshall, Janet 21
Chastain, Thomas 127
chastity 53-54, 86, 112, 143, 161, 170
Chauncey, George, Jr. 63
Chicago Tribune 66, 104, 204, 217, 222
child (*see also* victim)
  as ruin 13, 173-174, 180
  as victim 15-16, 22, 49, 125, 127, 130
  beauty of 7, 11-12, 25
  center of nostalgia 12-13, 174
  crying 124-127, 170-171, 175, 254
  demonic 20-21, 26-27, 37-39, 143, 197, 231
  dying 12-13, 19
  evil 4, 10, 16-22, 62, 96, 191, 221, 243
  fearful 125, 198-200, 213, 228
  inherenmtly moral 12, 14, 48, 177, 212
  innocent 10-16, 25, 31, 35, 49-50, 56, 70, 94, 96, 116, 161-162, 173, 181, 198, 207, 244, 253
  never grows old motif 165-166
  nude 175-176
  savior 12-13, 197, 236
  sexual *see* sexual child, masturbation

suicide 228
suffering 16, 75, 165, 174-175, 178, 234, 245, 247
witches 16-17, 228
Child Bride 32, 233
Child Find, Inc. 222
childhood, history of 2-8
children (*see also* victim)
and religion 17-19, 161, 176, 236, 248
beauty of 7, 11-12
hope of future 12-13, 174, 183
in witch hunts 12, 16-17
infantializing of 14, 228, 232
lie 208-209
never lie 207-208, 215
sentimentalized 4, 6, 10, 13, 16, 18, 125
threatened 14, 174, 228
vulnerable 8, 12, 16, 95, 162, 176, 188, 198, 244
children and women identified *See* women
Child's Play 243
Chinese 56, 59-60, 76, 81
Christ, Carol 15
Cisneros, Henry 101
Citizens for Decency Through Law 222
Citro, Joseph 124, 242
Clarens, Carlos 82
Clark, Cindy 240
Clark, Mary Higgins 123-124
Clarke, David 41
Clarke, Edward 238
Clary, Mike 209
claw motif 123-125, 128-129, 242
Cline, C. Terry 228
Clinton, Bill 101
clowns 79, 124, 137, 236, 243, 248
Clutching Hand, The 242
Cohen, James 127
Cohen, Judith 212
Cohen, Morton 29, 229
Cohn, Bob 123, 244
Collins, James 186
Comfort, Alex 238
comic books 69, 78, 100, 141, 184, 195, 239, 242, 251
Cominos, Peter 15, 25, 241
computers 187, 194, 230, 249-250
Comstock, Anthony 84, 92, 238-239
confession 142, 144-145, 147-152, 162, 166, 169, 187, 207, 210, 238, 245, 248
Confidence Man figure 112, 144
Connelly, Mark 81, 237-238
Conquest, Robert & Jon White 188
conservatism 27, 40, 42, 49, 54, 62, 66, 84, 100, 102, 132, 185-186, 210, 221, 237, 254-255
conspiracy 53, 56-57, 66, 69, 72, 101, 108, 143-144, 146, 149, 190-191, 205, 234, 236, 257
Constantine, Alex 236
Conway, Flo & Jim Siegleman 73
Cook, Robin 244
Cooke, Janet 77, 237
Cops 220
Corio, Paul 29
Corman, Roger 241
Cotton, John 17, 118
Coveney, Peter 13, 16, 19
Craig, Judith 42
Cramer, Jerome 249
Crane, Stephen 20, 247
Cranston, Alan 203, 252
Craven, Kenneth 107
Crawford, Christina 168
Crowley, Diane 48
Crowley, Patricia 217-218, 247
Crusaders, The (NBC) 207
Crush, The 38
Cuba, Nan 127
cults (*see* also religion) 72-74, 193-194, 233, 235-236, 250
Christian sex 108-109, 240
of the body 172
of the child 6, 11, 229
of the little girl 27
Virgin Mary 10, 54
Cummings, Judith 78

D'Emilio, John 65
Dahl, Roald 39, 232
Dandy figure 109, 117
Daniels, Les 244
Dannemeyer, William 67-68, 235
Darby, William 20
Dateline (NBC) 30, 231
Davey, Richard 233, 237
Davidson, Arnold 113, 115
Davis, David 15, 115, 176
Davis, Natalie 61
Davis, Susan 135
Dawson-Brown, Claire 142
de Beauvoir, Simone 32
de Laclos, Choderlos 109
De Mornay, Rebecca 234
Dead End 160
decadence 62-63, 116-118, 156, 241, 244
Decadent figure 109, 116-118, 154
DeCoursey, Jennifer 30
Defoe, Daniel 158

degeneration 113, 118-121, 162
degenerate art 243
Degler, Carl 4, 6
Delgado, Richard 72, 236
Delumeau, Jean 158, 172-173, 234
Demon Seed 195, 228
demonic babysitter 63, 234
Demons 247
Demos, John 227
Denny, Reuel 253
Densen-Gerber, Judianne 13, 43, 175, 222, 239, 252
Denton, Jeremiah 40
Denver Post 205
deprogramming 72, 231, 235-236
DeRosa, Peter 231
developmental theories 5, 7, 11, 14-15, 114, 162, 166, 175, 177, 179, 227
Devil Girl From Mars 134
Devon, Gary 36
Devroy, Ann & Charles Babcock 234
Diaper, William 156
Dickens, Charles 159
Dijkstra, Bram 168, 235
Dika, Vera 241
Dilbert 224
dinosaurs 136
dirty dancing in San Antonio 101
disaster motif 133-134, 162, 164, 168, 184, 249
disease 42, 54, 58, 65, 83, 85, 88-90, 97, 118-120, 139, 154, 170-171, 197, 227-228, 247-248, 255
disguise 112-113, 140, 142-144, 244, 246
disgust 139, 142, 154-156, 176-177
disgusted cop motif 81
Disney, Doris Miles 33, 123
Dittmar, Linda & Gene Michaud 250
Dixon, Thomas 59, 233
Dobkin, Bethami 188
Dodson, Susan 123
Doe, William 245
dolls (*see also* teddy bears) 6, 21, 26, 125-127
anatomically correct 48
Cabbage Patch 126-127, 244
Dolls 243
Don Juan figure 110, 113
Donaton, Scott 240
Donegan, Craig 207, 253
Don't Bother to Knock 234
Doolittle, John 203, 252
Dorner, Marjorie 125
Douglas, Mary 154
Dowd, Maureen 31
Dower, John 61
Downs, Hugh 225
drugs 36, 42, 54, 60-61, 63, 68-71, 73, 76-79, 83, 99, 101, 114, 121, 167, 181, 193, 231, 237, 246-247, 250
drug fiend 68-69, 76, 185, 236
War on Drugs 75, 192
du Maurier, George 53, 233
Duberman, Martin 248
Duersted, Yul 150
Duffy, John 238
Duggan, Lisa & Nan Hunter 68, 250
Dunlap, George 158
Dunleavy, Steve 231
Duras, Marguerite 230
Dwight, Timothy 114, 141, 244

eating disorders 251
anorexia 196
bulimia 196
Eberle, Paul & Shirley 204-207, 214, 216, 218-219, 252, 255-257
Ebert, Roger 247
Ebon, Martin 21
Eckardt, Wolf, *et. al.*, 229
Edelman, Murray 215, 248
Eftimiades, Maria 38, 231
Ehrenreich, Barbara, *et. al.*, 34, 192, 249
Ehrlich, Paul 125
Eisley, Loren 156, 228
Eiss, Harry 23
El Paso Times 217
Elders, Joycelyn 42
Eleniak, Erika 70
Elliott, Stuart 31, 230
Elmer-Dewitt, Philip 230, 250
Elshtain, Jean 203, 213, 221, 249, 252
Elson, John 42
Emerson, Ralph Waldo 183
Emmerman, Lynn 148, 152, 241
Engel, Beverly 126
Engelhardt, H. T. 238
English, O. Spurgeon & Gerald Pearson 64, 234
Englund, Robert 251
entrapment 92, 127
ephebophilia 71
erotophobia 54, 67
escape motif 167, 246-247
essentialism 67, 130, 151, 170
Eurasmus 182
exaggeration 182-185
exhibit 135-136, 169, 183, 244
exorcism 72
Exorcist, The 228

Fairchild, Cissie 234

Fairchild, Hoxie 25
Falk, Gerhard 139
Fallen Angel 123
false accusations of abuse 205-208
False Memory Syndrome Foundation 211
fantasy *see* imagination
Farber, Bernard 4, 227
Farge, Arlette & Jacques Revel 70
Farrell, William 248
Farris, John 34, 231
Fass, Barbara 62
Fatal Attraction 38
Faulkner, William 20
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (*see also* Hoover, J. Edgar) 23, 28, 30, 65, 73, 82, 93-94, 101, 235-236
Feldman, Gayle 245
Fells Acres case *see* Amirault family
feminism (*see also* women) 62, 82, 84, 116, 128, 170, 178, 185, 192, 205, 221, 228, 230, 231, 237, 247, 249-250
femme fatale (*see also* women) 18, 26, 28, 33, 62-63, 118, 145, 229, 242
Ferguson, John 245
Fernandez, Giselle 219
Fielding, Joy 124
Fiedler, Leslie 20, 23, 113, 133, 136, 171, 183, 228
fiend 156, 241
  sex 109, 116
Fink, Mitchell 230
Finkelhor, David 178, 208
Firestone, Sulamith 8
Fischer, Mary 206, 243
Fischer, Roger 153
Fisher, Amy 38-39, 126, 231-233, 245, 256
Fisher, David James 223
FitzGerald, Frances 249
Fitzpatrick, Jean 236
Flandrin, Jean-Louis 88
Flemming, Sandford 3-4, 17-18
Fly, The 140
Fonolleras, Lou 206, 208, 216
food (*see also* eating disorders) 196, 238
forensics 23, 51, 248
Foster, Peg 216
Foster, William 96-97
Foucault, Michel 85-86, 112-113, 137, 146, 158, 238, 241, 244
Fowler, O. S. 238
Fowler, W. Ward 3
Fox, James & Jack Levin 250
Fox, Matthew 13
Fox network 228, 240, 247
Fraenkel, Heinrich 50, 232, 234
Francis, Connie 49
Francoeur, Robert 248
Frank, Leo 56, 233
Franklin, H. Bruce 189-190, 246, 249
Fraser, John 166, 175
Freaky Friday 196
Freedman, Estelle 242
Freethought *see* atheism
Freund, Kurt 244
Frey, Robert & Nancy Thompson-Frey 233
Friedenberg, Edgar 8
Friedman, John 153, 233
Fritz, Noah & David Altheide 252
Frohock, Fred 247
Frontline (PBS) 253-254
Front Page (Fox) 232, 253
Fuster, Frank 233

Gacy, John Wayne 230, 234
Gainsbourg, Charlotte 32, 230
Gallant, Sandy 250
Gallonio, Antonio 234
gangs *see* youth, gangs
Garbage Pail Kids 243-244
Garcia, Sandra 71
Gard, Wayne 76-77
Gardner, Augustus 86-87
Gardner, Richard 147, 204, 216, 224, 258
Garfield, Bob 30, 230
Garrett, Major 237
Garton, Ray 21
Gathorne-Hardy, Jonathan 63
Gay Community News 202, 232, 252
Gay, Peter 92
Gaylor, Annie Laurie 235
Gebhard, Paul 139, 203, 2144
Geertz, Clifford 163
Gelfant, Blanche 157
Geller, Steven 231
Gentry, Cynthia 252
gerontophilia 229
Gerson, Jean 24
Gerstein, Norman S. 218
Ghost Breakers, The 201
Giamo, Benedict 158, 246
Gibson, Charles Dana 26
Gibson, James 190
Gilbert, Dennis 219
Gilbert, James 100
Gilman, Richard 116, 118
Gilman, Sander 63
Gingrich, Newt 234
Girl, The 231
Glassman, Bernard 54
Gleiberman, Owen 230
Gober, H. Fred 70
Goehring, James 108

Goertzel, Ted 254
Goldberg, Jacob & Rosamond Goldberg 49
Golden, Mark 26, 229
Goldfaden, Gloria 254
Goldfarb, Ronald & Gail Ross 220
Golding, William 191, 228
Goldman, Kevin 30
Goldman, Stuart 249
Goldstein, Eleanor 254
& Kevin Farmer 254
Goldstein, Richard 244
Goleman, Daniel 69, 251, 254
Good Son, The 22
good touch-bad touch motif 86, 200
Goodman, Ellen 230
Gordon Elliott Show (CBS) 51
Gordon, James 21
Gordon, Mel 155
Gordon, Sol 41
Gore, Tipper 102, 230, 239
Gough, John 236
Goulart, Ron 103-104
Gratteau, Hanke & Ray Gibson 222, 256
Gray, J. Glenn 140
Gray, Thomas 156
Green, Harvey 247
Green, Richard 248
Green, Thomas 193
Greene, Graham 32
Greider, Katharine 237
Greuze, Jean-Baptiste 26
Greven, Philip 236, 241, 248
Griego, Diana 205
Griffith, D. W. 32, 61
Griffiths, William 70
Grimsted, David 136, 241
Groner, Jonathan 256
Gronewold, Sue 237
Gross, Louis 115
Gross, Martin 253
Groth, Nicholas 245
Grothaus, Dan 256
Grover, Kathryn 247
group sex 50, 231-232, 251
Grylls, David 18
Guilfoy, Christine 227
Guimond, James 243
Gutcheon, Beth 35, 128-129

Haffner, Debra 243
Hale, Christina 228
Hale, Nathan 93
Haller, John & Robin Haller 87, 93, 96, 98, 107, 238
Halttunen, Karen 8, 79, 114, 248
Hand That Rocks the Cradle, The 234
Handlin, Oscar 60
Hannon, Gerald 256
Hard Copy (ABC) 231
Hardcore 160
Hardoon, Lawrence 215
Hardwick, Elizabeth 241
Hare, E. H. 238
Hariman, Robert 147, 250
Harper's 78
Harris, Mrs C. I. 237
Harris, Charles 95
Harris, Michael 235
Harris, Neil 187, 239
Harshbarger, Scott 215
Hartman, Mary 238
Hatch, Orrin 40
hate-the-sin-love-the-sinner motif 67
Hauser, Otto 53
Hawes, Joseph 8
Hawkins, Paula 205, 213
Hawthorn, Nathaniel 155, 183
Hayakawa, S. I. 66
Hayden, Torey 146, 241, 245
Hazlitt, William 182
Hegel, G. W. F. 234
Heimel, Cynthia 246
Hellmann, John 250
Hellraiser 241
Henderson, Sally & Robert Landau 242
Hendin, Herbert 66
Hendricks, Bill 212, 256
Henry, Clarissa & Marc Hillel 54
Henry, William III 38
Herman, Judith 144, 150, 250
Hernandez, Rainer 177
hero(ism) 123, 125, 128, 145, 148, 150, 163-164, 166, 168, 174, 177-178, 181, 188-189, 191, 207, 219, 220, 242-245
fallen 222-223
Hersch, Patricia 127
Hertsgaard, Mark 219
Hicks, Robert 204, 237, 250, 255-257
Highwater, Jamake 234
Hill, Christopher 158
Hill, Morton 102
Hilliard, David 72
Hilliard, Raymond 109, 111
Hilts, Philip 41
Himmelfarb, Martha 157, 234
Himmelstein, Jerome 76
Hitler, Adolf 55
Hodler, Ferdinand 27
Hoffmann, R. Joseph 240
Holleran, Andrew 171
Hollingsworth, Jan 208, 214, 233, 253, 255
Holloway, Diane 217

Homintern 65
homophobia 64, 66
homosexuality 88, 103, 108, 117-118, 122, 138, 144-145, 151, 172, 180, 190, 192, 202, 210, 221, 230, 234-235, 237, 239, 244, 248, 252, 258
female 46, 544, 65-66
latent 43
male 38, 43-45, 48, 61, 240
threat to children 63-68, 86
Hoover, J. Edgar (*see also* Federal Bureau of Investigation) 93-95, 101, 124, 238-239
Hope, Christine 227
Hopkins, Ellen 185, 205, 208, 253
Horowitz, Irving Louis 223
Houghton, Jay 187
Hsia, R. Po-Chia 55, 108, 234
Huebner, Carolyn 205, 222, 256
Huffman, James & Julie Huffman 28
Hufton, Olwen 227
Hughes, Robert 254
Huizinga, Johan 130, 184
Humbert(s) 27-28, 33, 43, 230
Hun 69-70, 235
Hunter, Howard 152
Hunter, J. Paul 86, 132, 149-151, 155, 158, 183, 239, 249
Hunter, Robin 69
Hutton, Jim 127
Huyssen, Andreas 131
Hyde, H. Montgomery 64, 117
Hyman, Paul 45
Hyman, Ronald 80

Illinois Legislative Investigating Committee 127, 204, 217
imagination 110, 127, 131-132, 135-137, 139, 155, 160, 164-166, 177, 182, 184, 237, 239, 249, 255
incest 21, 36, 40, 54, 108, 117-118, 224, 233, 236
Inciardi, James 76, 93, 238
Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom 188
Indictment: The McMartin Trial 253
Ingram, Paul 210, 215
Invasion of the Body Snatchers 251
invasion motif 188, 190, 198, 246-247
Invasion USA 188
Investigative Reports 37, 150, 245
Irving, Clive 235
Is Any Girl Safe? 237
Is Your Daughter Safe? 82
Ivey, James 3
Ivie, Robert 249

Jackson, John 228
Jacob, James, *et. al.* 127
Jacobs, David 190, 250
Jacobs, Harriet 5
Jacoby, Russell 253
James, Henry 20, 26
Janeway, James 18
Janus, Sam 124
Japanese 61
jazz 99-100
Jenkins, Philip 54, 71, 234, 253
Jenks, Chris 9
Jennings, Gary 36
jeremiad 163
Jerry Springer Show 153
Jewish Moral Committee 64
Jews 53-56, 64, 106, 190, 233
against gays 63-64
ritual murder 53-54, 233
Johnson, John 194
Johnson, Sharlene King 251
Johnson, Tom 237
Johnston, William 124
Jones, Gerald 203, 234, 252
Jones, Suzanne 21
Jordan, Minnesota case 204, 208
Jordan, Thomas 229
Jordan, Winthrop 58
Jordanova, Ludmilla 54, 86, 141, 241
journalism 7, 25, 33, 38-39, 41, 45, 59-61, 66, 70-73, 76-77, 79-80, 82, 95, 100-101, 127-129, 131, 134-135, 146, 148, 153, 155, 157-158, 167-168, 171, 174, 183-189, 192-194, 202, 204-207, 209, 212, 215-221, 223, 228, 231, 234, 237, 243, 245-246, 250, 252-257
as pornography 171
Judgment 235
juvenile delinquent (*see also* youth) 20, 76

KABC-TV 126
Kafka, Franz 20
Kahaner, Larry 192
Kahn, Albert 235
Kahn, Joan 199, 251
Kaminer, Wendy 171, 185, 212, 256
Kane, Leslie 144
Kanof, Debra 215, 255
Kaplan, David 221
Karageorgevitch, Prince 126
Katutani, Michiko 256
Katz, Jonathan 65
Katz, Michael 246
Katz, Stan 204
Kaufmann, Lynn 240
Kaufmann, Reginald 80
Keane, Walter & Margaret 125, 242

Keating, Charles 222, 252, 257
Keeney, Carole 205
Kellerman, Jonathan 21-22, 36, 55, 124, 228
Kelley, Susan 215
Kemp, Evan 248
Kennedy, Edward 40
KENS-TV 239
Kent, Peter & Melissa Key 235
Kerekes, David 241
Kern, Louis 61
Kern, Stephen 85-86, 238
Kever, Jeannie 71
Kibby, Ann 233
Kids 230
Kids Don't Tell 217
Kilzer, Louis 2-5
Kincaid, James 229
King, Graham 31
King's Row 195
Kinsella, James 192, 237
Kinsey, Alfred C. 49
et. al. 203
Kirp, David 203, 205, 208-209, 217
Kitzinger, Jenny 210, 253
Klein, Calvin 29-31, 101, 104, 230, 240-241
Klein, Stephen 240
Klor de Alva, J. Jorge 248
Kobal, John 25
Koenig, Laird 228
Kokoschka, Oskar 27
Kolata, Gina 237
Komisar, Lucy 222
Koontz, Dean 195, 228
Koresh, David 73, 236
KPRC-TV 129
Krafft-Ebing, Richard von 91, 138, 238
Kraizer, S. K., *et. al.* 200
Krebs, Sandra 255
Kröhnke, Friedreich 68
Krueger, Freddy 244, 251
Kübler-Ross, Elisabeth 13, 228
Kuhn, Reinhard 20
Kumar, Krishan 157
Kunzel, David 54, 227, 234
Kurnit, Paul 240
Kurtis, Bill 245
KXAN-TV 28

Landers, Ann 45-48, 126, 141, 205, 213, 243, 249, 252, 255
Landow, George 134
Lannes, Roberta 40
Lanning, Kenneth 23, 185, 207
Laqueur, Thomas 178
Lara, Jan 123
Lardner, James 256
Larry King Live (CNN) 253
Larson, Bob 192
Lasch, Christopher 253
Laslett, Peter 111
Laumann, Edward, *et. al.* 232
Lauper, Cyndi 230
Lawrence, Elizabeth 126
Lawson, Carol 243
Leach, Henry 76
Lecher figure 114
Lee, Tosca Moon 250
LeGates, Marlene 15
Legislative Investigation Committee (Florida) 64-65
leisure suit 154
Lenbach, Franz von 26
Lennon, Marlyn 29
Leo, John 31, 104, 241
Leonard, Neil 239
Levin, Eric 28
Levine, Martin & Richard Troiden 141
Levitt, Eugene & Albert Klassen 65
Lew, Mike 185
Lewin, Michael 35, 231
Lewis, Jan 6
Lewis, Michael 188
liberalism 11, 15, 21, 40, 42, 56, 67, 69, 73, 84, 92, 100, 146, 174, 180, 185, 188, 194, 210, 214, 221-222, 225, 237, 239, 241, 254-256
Liberatore, Tanino & Stefano Tamburini 195
libertinism 62. 107-113, 116, 118-119, 122, 240-241
Life 125
Lifton, Robert 249
Like Father, Like Son 196
Lindemann, Albert 56, 233,
linear chain reasoning 101, 119, 131, 133, 151, 162-163, 168, 172, 177, 179, 248, 252
Linedecker, Clifford 49, 101
Lippard, George 26, 114, 169
Lissarrague, François 106
List, S. K. 104-105
Little Girl Who Lived Down the Lane, The 228
Little Rascals case 206
Little Red Riding Hood 39, 232
Little, William 114-116
Lloyd, Robin 204
Lochte, Dick 35
Lofgren, Dennis 125
Loftus, Elizabeth & Katherine Ketcham 254
Lolita 32-33,38, 118, 197, 240
Lolita 33, 39, 44, 229, 232, 245
lolitaism 25-27, 29, 38, 43-44, 85, 227, 230

Los Angeles Times 206, 218, 243
loss 9, 12-14
Lothario figure 110
Love, Keith 66, 222
Lovecraft, H. P. 128, 159
Loveland, D. M. 227
Lover, The 32, 230
Lucie-Smith, Edward 243
Luckovick, Mike 102
Lynd, Helen 153
Lyon, Gary 255
Lyon, Sue 32, 44, 230

Macaulay, Rose 173, 228
Maccoby, Hyam 54, 233
MacDonald, J. Frederick 228
Macdonald, Robert 238
MacFarlane, Kee 206, 255
Mack, John 190, 250
Maclay, R. S. 60
Macleod, Anne 75
MacMartin, C. D. 236
MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour 234
Madigan, Tim 235-236
Madonna (Madonna Louise Ciccone) 102, 230
Magid, Ken & Carole McKelvey 243
Magie, Rev. David 96, 239
Magistrade, Tony 197
Maiorino, Giancarlo 246
Major and the Minor, The 32
Make Them Die Slowly 247
Malcolm, Janet 220
Malthus, Thomas 141
Mandese, Joe & Alison Fahey 240
Mann, Sally 28
Mansfield, Jayne 33
Manshel, Lisa 216, 253
Manson, Charles 234
Maplethorp, Robert 28
March, Jane 230
March, William 20, 228
Marcus, Leah 10
Marcus Welby, M.D. 63
Mark, Mary Ellen 125
Markus, David 129
Married...With Children 35
Martin, Gary 73
Martin, Lloyd 66, 204, 222
Martin, Lloyd & Jill Haddad 44
Martyr, Justin 52
masquerade (*see also* disguise) 137
Masson, Jeffrey 220
Masters, R. E. L. 17, 52, 228
Masterson, Graham 200
Mastrangelo, Richard 216
masturbation 24-25, 42, 63, 97-98, 141, 232, 238, 249
  anti-masturbation movement 81, 85-92, 98, 136, 151, 238
Mather, Cotton 17, 19, 58, 118
Mathews, Tom 38
Matusow, Harvey 69, 235
Mazur, Richard 123
Mazur, Sally & Carrie Pekor 254
McArdle, Sara 255
McBain, Ed 35-36, 39
McBee, Susanna 239
McCall, Cheryl 125
McCarthyism 65
McCarty, John 247
McCormack, Patricia 41
McCormack, Patty 251
McCoy, Kathleen 42, 232
McHugh, Paul 214, 254-255
McIlwaine, Shields 233
McIntosh, Barbara 256
McMartin Preschool 60, 126, 204, 206, 208, 218-219, 223, 225, 252-253, 255-257
McMahon, John 100
McMenamy, Kristen 29
McNamara, Brooks 136
McNeal, James 104
McNeill, William 186
Mecklenburg, Marjory 40
Medved, Michael 101, 247
Melville, Herman 135, 155, 183
Mendès, Catulle 118
Merriman, Christina 237
Mertz, Steve 125, 128, 242
Metzenbaum, Howard 242
Metzger, Thom & Richard Scott 21
Meyers, Catherine 211
Miami Herald 66, 232
Michaels, Margaret Kelly 205-206, 208, 215-218, 225, 251
Midelfort, H. C. Erik 16, 228
Milano, Alyssa 231
Miles, Margaret 176
Milgram, Joel & Dorothy Sciarra 229
militarism 187-188, 190
Millar, Margaret 123, 128, 234
Miller, Annetta 126
Miller, Cyndee 230
Miller, D. A. 98, 158
Miller, Joy 171
Miller, Perry 178
Miller, Ron 218, 256
Miller, Stuart 60-61, 234
minatures 165
Minne, George 27
Mironovich, Alex 240

missing children 56-57, 71, 77, 80, 127, 174, 189, 193, 204-205, 214, 217, 222-223, 225 , 231, 237, 252, 256
Mitterauer, Michael & Reinhard Sieder 227
Momism 61
Mommy Dearest 168
Monroe, Marilyn 32, 228, 234
monster 133, 136-137, 139-140, 142-143, 145, 156, 166, 182, 191, 194-196, 198-199, 201, 204, 228, 243-245
monster hidden by facade motif 53, 58, 71, 109, 146, 198, 241, 243, 247
monster truck 251
Monter, E. William 228
Moog, Carl 30
Moon, Michael 12, 20
Moore, Dick 229
Moore, Lisa 104, 248
Moorehead, Robert 81
Morality in Media, Inc. 102, 239, 244
Morgan, Edmund 178, 227
Morgan, Elizabeth 218
Morgan, Marabel 230
Morgan, Robin 228
Moriarty, Erin 202
Morin, Edgar 56
Morrison, Michael 247
Morrow, Lance 186
Mosher, Donald 248
Moss, Kate 29
Mosse, George 233
Mottram, eric 159
Motz, Marilyn 6
Moyer, Leroy 70
Ms magazine 242, 250
MTV 31
Mueller, Pete 224
Mullaney, Stevan 137
multiple personalities 112, 196, 211, 214, 251
Murder of Mary Phagan, The 233
Murray, Margaret 16
museums 136, 173, 178, 244, 249
Musto, Michael 224

Nabokov, Vladimir 33, 229, 231, 245
Nanny, The 234
nannys 63, 86
Nash, Nathaniel 73
Nathan, Debbie 205-206, 213, 215, 217, 221, 236, 253, 255
& Michael Snedeker 225, 252, 256-257
Nation, The magazine 257
National Association of Children of Alcoholics 78
National Catholic Reporter 235
National Gay Task Force 65
National Organization of Women 29
National Public Radio 71
Native Americans 57, 118
Nazis 50, 54-56, 63, 243
Nead, Lynda 79
Neal, John 182
Nekromantik 241
Nelson, Barbara 167
Nelson, Ross 207
New York Native 64
New York Times 78, 102, 230
New Yorker 220
Newman, Andrea 128
Newman, Kim 194
Newsweek 206, 218, 221, 235
Ney, Philip 256
Nichols, D. W. 234
Nickelodeon network 240
Nietzsche, Friedrich 121, 171, 186, 241
Nightmare on Elm Street, A 244-245
Nobile, Philip 256
Noble, Alice 41
Noble, Michelle 205-206, 215, 217
Noel, Mary 159, 239, 246
Nolan, Bruce 237
Novak, Maximillian 250
Now It Can Be Told 39
Nordau, Max 119-122, 241
Nordenbrook, Ruth 255
Nordheimer, Jon 73
North American Man-Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) 68, 234, 244
nostalgia 12-13, 116, 160, 163-166, 168, 173, 181
Not In My Family 224
Novak, Maximillian 110, 112, 241
novels 75, 86, 88, 97, 115, 117, 149, 184, 239, 249

O'Brien, Shirley 37, 148, 150, 162, 245
Ofshe, Richard 215
& Ethan Watters 204, 210, 238, 252
Okun, Milton 43
O'Malley, Jack 228
Omen, The 228
Oprah Winfrey Show 54, 153, 213, 218, 220
Oregon Citizens Alliance 68
orphan trains 246, 249
Orvell, Miles 248
Outland 224, 257
Overbeck, Joy 29, 230
Ozmont, Steven 3, 227

Palmer, Cynthia & Michael Horowitz 69
Pam, Leslie 29

Pan 106-107, 240
Paperboy, The 22
Papke, David 241
parades 135-137, 169, 244
paranoia 140, 142-144, 160, 164, 188
Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC) 101, 239
Parfrey, Adam 242
Park, Katharine & Lorraine Daston 133
Parker, Noelle 231
Partnership for a Drug Free America 77-78
Parton, Nigel 255
Paterson, Katherine 40
Patrick, Ted 72-73, 236
Pattison, Robert 13, 16
Paulson, Ronald 146, 171
Pearce, Roy 58, 233
Pearson, Michael 80
Peck, M. Scott 254
Pederson-Krag, Geraldine 141
pedophile(s) 29-31, 35, 37, 41, 43, 45, 55, 67, 70-72, 86, 101, 104, 111, 115, 120, 135, 138, 143-144, 162, 166, 170, 192, 195, 197, 203, 207, 209-210, 231, 233, 241-242, 253, 257
  collector 23, 120
  killer 62, 167, 174-175, 207
  manipulative 47
  rationales 92, 150
  record-keeper 105, 148
  wealthy 47
pedophilia (*see also* ephebophilia) 27, 29, 37, 66, 117, 141, 229, 231, 235
Peele, Stanton 213
Pekow, Charles 223
Perrett, Geoffrey 20, 49-50
Pervert figure 113, 117, 140
Pessen, Edward 65, 235
Petty, Lori 230
Pfau, Michael & Henry Kenski 188
Phagan, Mary 233
Phil Donahue Show 153, 245
Phillips, Susie 102
Picano, Felice 229
Pick, Daniel 119
Pienciak, Richard 248
Planned Parenthood 42, 51
Plante, Edmund 123
Platt, Anthony 246
Pleck, Elizabeth 246
Plummer, Kenneth 139
Poe, Edgar Allen 117, 156, 183, 241
Pogue, Alan 28
Poison Ivy 38
police as threat to children 70
Pollens, Bertram 203
popular culture (*see also* jazz, novels, popular music) 86, 95-103, 132, 141, 146, 148, 171, 181, 183-184, 193, 197-198, 200, 248
popular music 100-102
pornography 31, 50, 54, 63, 65-66, 121, 125, 132, 134, 138, 155, 171, 184, 221, 229, 239-240, 245, 247-248, 251
  youth 23, 26, 30, 73, 125, 137, 144, 165-166, 175-176, 179, 205, 229-231, 236, 240, 249, 252-253
Porter, Dennis 153, 155, 157, 160
Porter, Kevin & Jeffrey Weeks 229
Postman, Neil 8
POW/MIA 189, 246, 249
Powney, Clare 231
predisposition 16, 56, 63, 65, 120, 234
Pressley, Elvis 249
Pretty Poison 231
Price, Jim 254
Price, Vincent 241
Prichard, James 119
Prickett, Stephen 132, 134, 156
Pride, Mary 205, 221, 252, 255-256
Priest, Bob 37
priests, sex with youth 24-25, 71-72
Prime Cut 82
profiles 87, 119, 121, 141, 145, 158, 207, 233
prosecutors 193, 206-208, 213-216, 218, 250, 253-255, 257
prostitution (*see also* white slavery) 53, 55, 79, 81, 83, 116, 145, 169, 237, 248
  youth 50, 64, 66, 73, 76, 79-80, 127, 167, 256
psychiatric abuse 212, 254
Puberty Blues 35
Pulling, Pat 192
Punter, David 136
Puritanism 3-4, 17-19, 95, 134, 147, 152, 156-157, 168, 178, 198, 227, 254
Putnam, Frank 251
Pykett, Lyn 97

Quindlen, Anna 225

Raab, Selwyn 237
Rabelais, Francois 110
Rabinowitz, Dorothy 203, 215-217, 224, 245, 253, 255-256
Rachilde (Marguerite Vallett) 118
Radbill, Samuel 234
Raimondo, Tony 66
Rake figure 109-110, 241
Rakolta, Terry 35
Rambo *see* Stallone, Sylvester

Ramirez, Richard 234
Rapson, Richard 4
Raschke, Carl 241, 258
Rasmussen, Mark 236
Rawls, Walton 70
Reade, B. 72
Reagan, Nancy 77
Reagan, Ronald 186-189, 195, 219, 223, 245
Real Stories of the Highway Patrol 220
reality 45, 130, 132, 134, 142, 150, 155, 163-164, 168, 173, 175, 179-181, 182-187, 191, 196, 201, 203, 213, 219-220, 233, 239, 248-249, 256
Reckless, Walter 84
recovered memories 72, 151, 164, 204, 206, 210-212, 224-225, 239, 246, 248, 250, 254
Red Dawn 188
Reed, Cecelia 78
Reefer Madness 79
Reeves, Tom 252
reform movements 6, 10, 13-14, 75-105, 131, 169, 177, 184
Reiff, David 253
Reily, Carolyn 193
Reily, Joseph J. 103
Reinarman, Craig & Harry Levine 237
Reinecke, William 49
Reisman, Judith 242
& Edward Eichel 68
relativism 186, 221
religion (*see also* cults) 24-27, 40-41, 49, 52-55, 58, 60, 62-63, 67-68, 71-75, 90, 98-99, 102, 106-107, 119, 122, 125, 130, 133-134, 136-137, 141, 144, 148, 153, 156, 158, 160-161, 167, 171, 173, 176-177, 181, 184, 187, 192-193, 212, 221, 227, 229, 233-236, 240-241, 246, 248-250, 253-254
Reno, Janet 73, 218
revenge motif 195
Reynolds, David 25, 158, 182-183
Rhodes, Neil 158
Rice, Ann 33
Rice, Cy 95
Richardson, James *et. al.* 250
Richardson, Samuel 223, 240
Richardson, Valerie 68
Richburg, Keith 41
Richetti, John 111, 115, 146, 155, 157
Ricoeur, Paul 173
Rieff, Philip 253
Ridge, George 118
rings 66, 117, 232, 234
pedophile 81, 167, 194
sex, youth 48-50, 64-65
Ritter, Bruce 222, 237, 256
ritual abuse (*see also* cults, religion, Satanism) 54, 71-73, 185, 193, 204, 208, 211, 225, 241, 244, 250, 258
Rivera, Geraldo 134, 192, 218, 220, 245, 250
Rivers, Gayle 69, 235
Robertson, Pat 235
Rocker, Rudolph 53
Rodriguez, Gloria 71
Roe, Clifford 63, 80-84, 86-87, 97, 237
Roeg, Nicolas 241
Rogin, Michael 186
Rogoff, B., *et. al.* 3, 24
Rohmer, Sax 234
Romanticism 11, 15, 25
Rooney, Rita 127, 242
Rose, Elizabeth 250
Rosemond, John 141
Rosenberg, Carroll Smith246
Rosenberg, Howard 207, 217
Rosenberg, Marvin 39
Rosenfield, Leonora 172
Ross, A. S. 192, 208
Rossetti, Christina 26
Rossetti, Stephen 235
Rossman, Parker 234
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 11, 67
Rowbotham, Sheila 6
Rowlandson, Mary 168
Royko, Mike 124, 232
Ruben, Katt Shea 231
Rueda, Enrique 234
ruins 13, 160, 173-174, 181, 249
runaways 85, 127, 252
Rush, Florence 250
Russell, Bertrand 253
Russell, Jeffrey 233
Russo, John 104, 195
Russo, Vito 65
Rutman, Darrett & Anita Rutman 3
Ryan, Mary 135
Rybczynski, Witold 5

Sade, Marquis de (Donatien Alphonse Francois de Sade) 112, 117
sadomasochism 46, 64, 102, 117, 145, 185, 199, 231
Sage, Victor 149, 247
Said, Edward 180, 235
& Christopher Hitches 235
Sally Jessy Raphael Show 218
Salvian 98-99
Sampson, Robert 158
Samuelson, Robert 153

San Antonio, Texas 101-102
San Jose Mercury News 232
Sánchez-Eppler, Karen 236
Sanders, Lawrence 36
Sanford, Charles 233, 241
Sangster, Paul 17-19, 228
Satan 16, 52, 58, 92, 106, 157, 250
Satanism 39, 61, 72-73, 101, 108, 111, 116, 185, 192-193, 204-205, 225, 236, 241, 245, 250, 252, 254
satire of abuse hysteria 223-224, 258
satyrs 106, 240
Saturday Night Live 39
Satz, Wayne 126, 243
Saul, John 20, 228
Scared Silent 125, 129, 218
Schafly, Phyllis 42
Schiele, Egon 27
Schneider, Karen 234
Schoell, William 247
Schoenfield, Barbara 205, 214
Schorsch, Anita 3, 10, 228, 234
Schroeder, Theodore 181, 248
Schulz, Benjamin 19
Schwarzenegger, Arnold 195
Schweiker, Richard 40
Schweizer, George 40
Scott, James 135
Sebald, Hans 62
secrecy 142, 144, 146-147, 149, 151, 158, 191, 250
Sedgewick, Eve 246
Seducer figure 113-116, 144
seduction (*see also* brain washing) 25-26, 50, 52, 66, 68, 71, 73, 79-80, 113, 116, 169
  by advertising 105
  by Chinese 60
  by cults 72-73
  by gangs 70
  by homosexuals 64-66, 86, 234
  by Jews 54
  by mothers 61
  philosophical 115
Seiden, Morton 54
Seligmann, Jean 141
Seltzer, David 228
Seneca, Lucius 98
senex amatore 107, 109
Sennott, Charles 235, 256
sentimentality (*See also* children, sentimentalized) 15-16, 18, 23, 27, 72, 110, 112, 116, 132, 153, 162-164, 171, 174, 181, 183, 227, 241
serial killer 114, 201, 234, 258
Sesame Street 198
Seth, Ronald 17, 228
Sex Information and Education Council of the U.S. (SIECUS) 243
sexology 27, 64, 91, 122, 138, 145, 172, 180, 187, 214
sexual child 12, 14, 18, 21, 23-51, 85-92, 117, 127, 129-130, 138, 144-145, 163, 170, 195, 209, 228, 231
  aggressive females 37, 43, 46-47, 49
  as criminal 27, 40-42, 45-46, 48-49
  as innocent 27
  as sex offender 103
  dangerous 26, 28, 36, 48, 231
  defective 43-48
  denial of 36-37, 43, 49, 51, 228-229, 232
  hates sex 36-37, 43
  peer sex 27, 41-42
  representations of (*see also* pornography, youth) 14, 128, 197
  suppression of 23-26, 33, 40-42, 228
Seyffert, Oskar 106
Shakespeare, William 62
shame 152, 176
Shapiro, Arnold 129
Shapiro, Joseph 45, 218
Shapiro, Laura 206
Shaw, Cathy & Dan Froomkin 240
Shay, Jonanthan 191
She Should'a Said No 162
Sheler, Jeffrey 235
Shields, Brooke 230
Shoales, Ian 223
Short, Ray 41
Shupe, Anson 72, 140, 236
  & David Bromley 193, 235-236
Sieminski, Greg 246
Signorielli, Nancy 166
Silk Stalkings 38
Silver, Gary 69, 76
Silverman, Samuel 66
Silverstone, Alicia 232
Simmons, Lee 20
Simmons, Pete 39
Simms, Alice 28
Sinatra, Frank 249
Sinclair, Marianne 230
Sindall, Rob 153
Singer, Margaret Thaler & Janja Lalich 236
Siskin, Clifford 151
Skal, David 239, 251
Slansky, Paul 78
sleaze 136, 153-160, 162, 164, 171-172, 177, 181, 242, 245-249
  city as 157-160
Sloan, Kay 237

Sloan, Pat 77
& Jennifer DeCoursey 30
Sloman, Larry 93, 237
Slotkin, Richard 58
Smith, Bill 245
Smith, Curt 41
Smith, Daniel 5
Smith, Eric 169
Smith, James 157
Smith, Jerry A. 48
Smith, Linell 254
Smith, Richard 102
Smith, Timothy d'Arch 229
Smith, Timothy & John Conte 152
Smokin, Fred 114
Socarides, Charles 66
social work(ers) 28, 35, 159, 172, 193, 204, 206-208, 211, 213, 216, 218, 237, 254, 257
Society for the Scientific Study of Sex (SSSS) 179-180, 248
Sokol, Jacob 69
Solinger, Rickie 62
Soman, Shirley 166
Somers, Suzanne 213
Sonenschein, David 30-31, 231, 236, 244
Sontag, Susan 172, 248
Soren, Tabitha 31
soul murder 56, 76, 81, 114
Souza family case 206, 210, 253
Spacek, Sissy 82
Spacks, Patricia 133-134, 156, 227, 246
Spector, Arlen 147, 242, 245, 247
Spencer, T. M. & Jim Brosseau 205
Spengler, Oswald 184
Spethmann, Betsy 240
Spiderman 126
Spiegelman, Jim & Flo Conway 73, 236
Spillaine, Mickey 62
Spitz, René 238
Spitzer, Neil 205
Springer, Claudia 195
Sprinkle, R. Leo 189
Stahl, Sandra 149
Stalker figure 115, 241, 249
Stallone, Sylvester 189
Stallybrass, Peter & Allon White 99, 234
Stanley, Lawrence 255
Stannard, David 4, 10, 17, 198
Stansell, Christine 158-159, 246
Starks, Michael 76
Starr, G. A. 246
Stauffer, Donald 169
Staves, Susan 115, 170, 246-247
Stead, W. T. 64, 79-80
Stearley, Rhonda 209
Stein, Benjamin 44-45
Steinberg, Leo 233
Steinhauer, Jennifer 45
Sternberger, Dolf 171, 233
Stewart, Susan 165-166
Stinson, Roddy 45, 73, 102
Stokes, Try 254
Stoller, Robert 45
Strasser, Susan 187
Stratford, Lauren 150, 170, 247
Straub, Peter 228
Strauss, Gerald 17, 24-25
Streicher, Julius 56
Strieber, Whitley 250
Sturges, Jock 28
Styles, John 129
Sudden Impact 126
Summit, Roland 208
surrealism 28
survivor 166, 168, 177, 180, 185, 190, 251, 256
Susan Slept Here 32
Sussman, Vic 105, 240
Sutherland, Edwin 139
Sutton, Terri 31
Swing Kids 232
Sykes, Charles 210
Szajkowski, Zosa 233
Szasz, Thomas 79

Tacitus 53, 98
Talmage, Thomas 157
Tambling, Jeremy 151-152
Tank Girl 230
Tanning, Dorthea 28
Tate, Cassandra 236
Tavris, Carol 256
Taylor, John 254
Taylor, Ronald 246
teddy bears (*see also* dolls) 21, 124-127, 243
Temperance movement 75, 82, 86, 116, 169, 236
Temple, Shirley 32
Tentler, Thomas 238
Terminator, The 195
Terr, Lenore 251
terrorism 69, 188, 190-191, 235
Terrot, Charles 181
Terry, Maury 192
Tertullian 98
Texas Child Search, Inc. 222
Thaler, Paul 231, 245, 256
therapy 23
for youth 49
They Came From Within 197
They Won't Forget 233

Thing, The 142, 197
Thomas, Donald 229
Thomas, Gordon 167, 228
Thompson, Becky 251
Thompson, Patricia 247
Thompson, Paul 102
Thompson, Roger 4, 227
Thompson, Sharon 43
Thoreau, Henry David 183
Thornton, Mary 242
Thorstad, David 202
Thurber, James 232
Time magazine 230, 249, 250
Times-Picayune 237
Timmes, Edward 28
Timnick, Lois 206
Tissot, Samuel Aguste David 90, 141, 151, 238
Tobias, Madeleine & Janja Lalich 236
Tocqueville, Alexis de 182, 184
Toomer, George 251
Toppin, Brenda 207
Toronto Sun 256
tough love 18
Trachtenberg, Joshua 233
Traffic in Soles 237
Traffic in Souls 82
Trainer, Russell 43-44
TRB 203, 205, 208, 217, 252
Trebach, Arnold 237
Trilling, Lionel 248
Trueman, Patrick 30
Tsang, Daniel 127
Tsing, Anna 63
Tuan, Yi-Fu 179, 244
Tuller, David 234
Turner, James 241
Turner, Lana 233
Twiggy (Leslie Hornby) 230
Twitchell, James 251

unaffiliated scholar movement 247
Under Siege 69
Underwood, Barbara & Betty Underwood 236
United Press International 249
Unsolved Mysteries 220
unspeakable 144-145, 149, 151
Utne Reader 249

Vachss, Alice 150
Vachss, Andrew 36, 185
Valenstein, Elliot 256
Van Buren, Abigail 46
van den Berg, Jan 9, 14
van Doren, Mamie 33
Van Ferney, Shirley 66
Vance, Carole 250
Vanderknyff, Rick 229
Vaneigem, Raoul 240
Veyne, Paul 9, 227
Vice-Versa 196
victim (*see also* child, children) 115, 130, 133-134, 146, 161-181, 189, 197, 223, 241, 245, 247, 249
  contrasted with villain 127-128
  damaged forever 55, 85, 162-164
  innocent 124, 143, 161-162, 169, 223
  reaction against 210, 212, 223-224
  suffering 63, 116, 163-165, 168-170, 176-178, 193, 198
Victims for Victims 214
Victims of Child Abuse Laws (VOCAL) 125, 205, 242, 255, 257
Victor, Jeffrey 204, 225, 250, 252, 256-257
Viereck, George 70
Viet Cong 62
Viet Nam war 186, 189-191, 195, 247, 255
vigilantism 75, 114, 126, 163, 220
villain 139-160
  ordinary appearing 124-125
von Hoffman, Nicholas 217
voyeurism 82, 85, 124, 146, 148, 153, 168, 207, 243

Wadsworth, Benjamin 17
Wagner, Geoffrey 166, 184, 248
Wakeman, Samuel 18, 198
Waldeck, R. G. 65
Walker, Benjamin 240
Walker, D. P. 157, 246
Walkowitz, Judith 80, 246
Wallace, Robert 45
Waller, Gregory 191
Waller, Paul 222, 257
Walsh, John 205
Walters, David 213
Walters, Ray 21
Walvin, James 229
Walzer, John 4, 20
Warner, Marina 62
Washington Post 77
Waters, John 223, 257
Watt, Ian 239
Watters, Ethan 185, 250
Watterson, Bill 224
WCIX-TV 219
Weart, Spencer 191
Webb, Cathleen 208
Wedekind, Frank 241
WEEI radio 252
Wee Willie Winkie 32

Weinstein, Deborah 248
Weintraub, Bernard 255
Weld, Tuesday 231
Welles, Patricia 123
Wertham, Fredric 253
West, James 42
Wexler, Richard 185, 203-204, 207, 214, 221, 249, 255
White, Hayden 233
white slavery (*see also* prostitution) 55-56, 62, 64, 79-86, 99-100, 181, 237-238
Whitman, David 252
Whitman, Walt 183
Whitney, Atwell 60
Wibbelsman, Charles 42
Wickham, Glynne 99, 239
wild man 57, 106
Wilde, Alan 131
Wilde, Oscar 72, 117
Wilder, Billy 230
Wildmon, Donald 30
Wilkinson, Rupert 178, 248, 250, 253
Will, George 66
Willeford, Charles 35, 37
Williams, Hubert 69, 235
Williams, Samuel 60
Williams, Simon 26
Wilson, Cammy & Henry Harris 232
Wilson, Colin 27, 229
Wilson, S. Clay 234
Wilson, Steven 54-55, 233
Wilt, Judith 197-198
Winell, Marlene 236
Winship, Beth 46
Winski, Joseph 240
Winter, Douglas 241
Winthrop, John 17
Wishy, Bernard 4, 14, 18
witches 52, 62, 106, 147, 228, 234, 236, 251
  child 16-17, 228
Wolman, David 127
women (*see also* feminism, *femme fatale*) 34, 57, 59, 108, 127, 146, 169, 172, 190, 210, 223, 227, 236, 240-241, 248
  child-like 29, 32-33, 81, 85, 165, 228, 234
  desexualized 54, 116, 161
  fallen 169-170, 172, 178, 247
  identified with children 6-7, 12, 25-26, 28, 227
  infantilizing of 228, 237
  restricted 85-87, 100, 238
  sanctified 15, 94, 114
  threat to youth 62-64, 116, 146
Wood, Forrest 58-59, 233
Woodbury, Richard 250
Wooden, Kenneth 69, 73, 174, 207, 221, 250, 256
Woodward, Richard 28
Wordsworth, William 11, 13, 96, 134, 244
Wright, Lawrence 147, 211, 215, 253
WRKO radio 252
Wu, William 60
WWOR-TV 217
Wyatt, Gail Elizabeth 48
Wylie, Philip 62
Wynne, Robert 129

X, Victor 150, 245

Yant, Martin 255
YM magazine 230, 240
Yoffee, Emily 48
Young, Ann 236
Young, Elsworth 70
Young, Wayland 67, 108-110, 141, 229, 244
youth
  gangs 70, 227, 231
  violence 22-23, 76, 88, 228

Zeldin, Theodore 25, 159
Zill, Nicholas 200
Zimmerman, Jean 81
Zoglin, Richard 219-220
Zola, Emile 241
Zolotow, Maurice 230

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PEDOPHILES ON PARADE
Vol. 2:
THE POPULAR IMAGERY OF MORAL HYSTERIA

THE BOOK: The child sex abuse hysteria of the 1980s serves as a reference point for a far-ranging cultural historical survey of the ways sexual villains, victims, and heroes have been constructed and used in America. Including an extensive and unique chapter on "The Sexual Child"—one of the most avoided and undocumented subjects in history, social science, and policy research—a varied number of contemporary and historical influences are brought together for the first time around the subject of adult-youth sexual relations.

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"To fully appreciate the decade, we would have to consider the 1980s not through dramaturgy, as it was for 1960s critics; not through Situationism, as it was for the 1970s politically astute; but rather as a cartoon: figures and landscapes drawn with heavy outlines around primary colors on a flat surface, made to move and speak by agencies not their own, all the while maintaining dignified poses while falling flat on their faces. The apocalyptic pronouncement, meant to be solemnly intoned with authority and finality, came out only as a repetitious chattering and stuttering, sweat beads bursting visibly from excitement, frustration, anger, and fear. "The End Is Near" became "Th-th-that's all folks!" — ***From Chapter 9***

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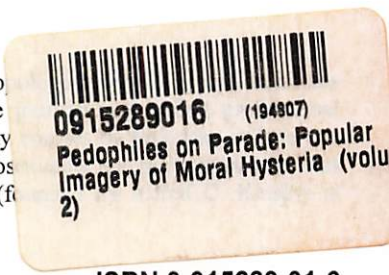

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